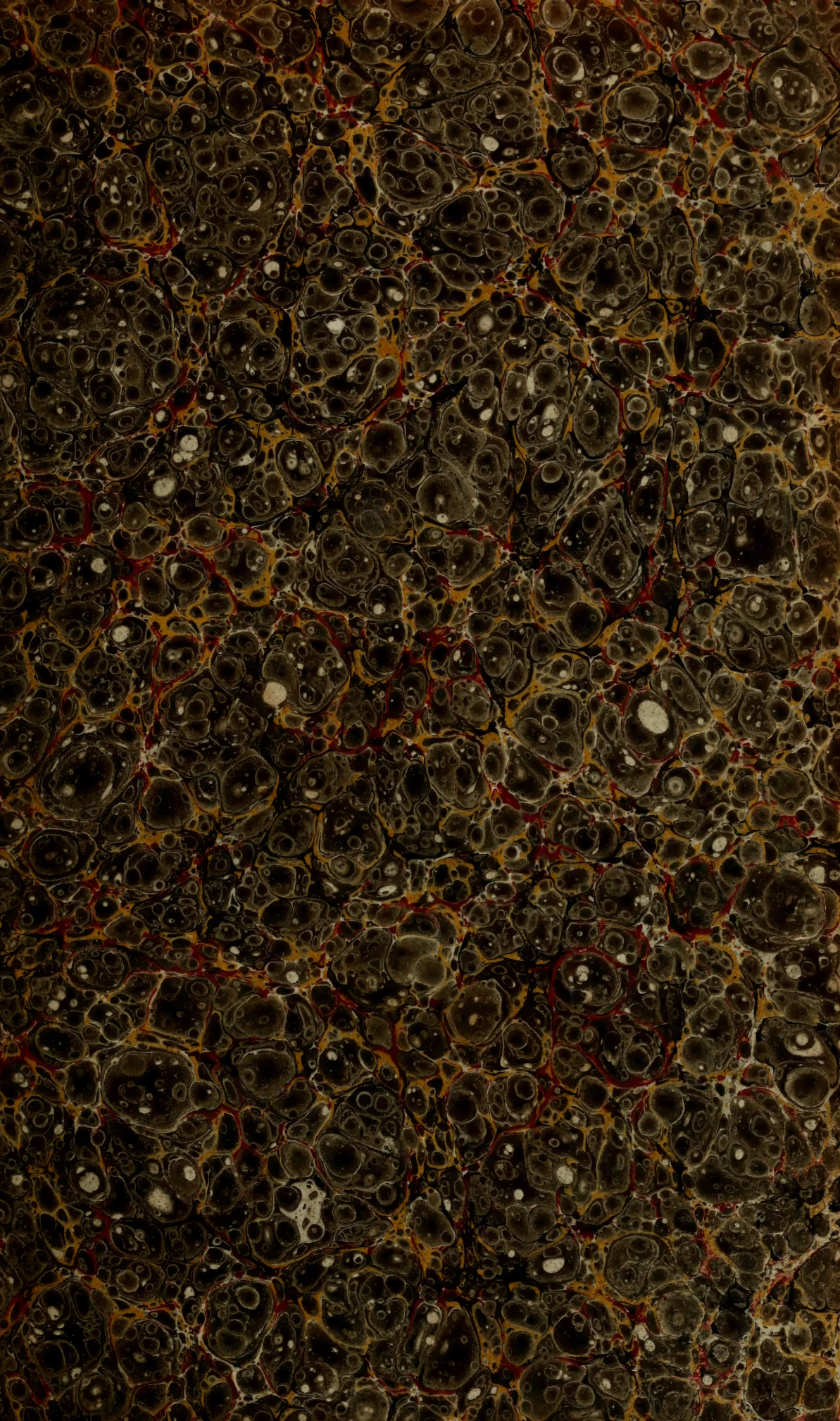


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THE
REFORMISTS
REGISTER

AND
WEEKLY COMMENTARY,

Complete.

BY WILLIAM HONE.

London :

PRINTED BY AND FOR WILLIAM HONE, 67, OLD BAILEY.

1818.

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FROM FEBRUARY 1, 1817,

TO JULY 19, 1817.

BY WILLIAM HONE.

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AT THE REFORMISTS' REGISTER OFFICE, 67, OLD BAILEY,

THREE DOORS FROM LUDGATE HILL.

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1817

PREFACE.

THIS, the first Volume of the REFORMISTS' REGISTER, commenced with the commencement, and closes with the close of the last Session of Parliament; during which, the House of Commons rejected immense numbers of Petitions for Parliamentary Reform---wholly refused to take steps to Reform itself in any way---and even refused to *inquire* into the acknowledged corrupt state of the representation:---Both Houses at the same time attempting to restrain freedom of speech, by passing *gagging* Bills, and sanctioning the proceedings of ignorant, weak, and contemptible Ministers, by measures in the same spirit, and by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act---*twice*!

These subjects, and various others connected with them, are elucidated, or adverted to, in the present volume; of which two thirds were written during the *suspension*, and one third whilst I was in confinement, by virtue of Judges' Warrants, on charges explained in the Work.

Under these untoward circumstances the REFORMISTS' REGISTER has hitherto proceeded. Being sensible of the kindness to which I am indebted for its extensive circulation, I shall endeavour to render it in future still more acceptable.

W. H.

17th July, 1817,

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Price Two-pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER

AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 1.]

SATURDAY, FEB. 1, 1817.

[VOL. I.]

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Publication entitled HONE'S WEEKLY COMMENTARY, the *first* number of which appeared January 18, and the *second* January 25, is *merged* in the REFORMISTS' REGISTER; which, from its difference of plan and price, is altogether a new work. The two Numbers of the WEEKLY COMMENTARY, consisting entirely of *original articles*, may still be had—price Six-pence each.

THE REFORMISTS' REGISTER will, every *half-year*, have a TITLE PAGE, with a COMPLETE INDEX of reference to its contents, and bind up into a volume, as large in size as a volume of the best edition of HUME'S History of England, or Gibbon's Rome. But a volume of the REGISTER will contain more than double the quantity contained in a volume of those works, and be at *one half* the price, so that a reader will have, at the end of every year, TWO VOLUMES of an authentic HISTORY of REFORM, abounding with excellent political information, in which he himself, and his children, and his country are deeply interested; and the contents of these TWO VOLUMES, which he obtains by an easy purchase of TWO-PENCE a week, and which do not cost him NINE SHILLINGS, will be equal to the contents of *Four* volumes of HUME'S History of England, which will cost *One Pound Twelve Shillings*.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

AGAIN has the energy of THE PEOPLE been roused; and once more will the great question of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM be discussed. Numerous have been the MEETINGS—singularly wise are the Resolutions and Petitions passed at those Meetings—wonderful indeed, has been the unanimity of the people. Numerous, and not less wise, or less unanimous will those be which are about to follow. At no Meeting has there been a want of speakers. An extent of talent and political knowledge has been displayed from one end of the island to the other which no man could have anticipated.

Vain has been the hope that *abuse*, and *calumny*, and persecution, and new fangled laws of treason, and Gagging Bills, had extinguished reason—had extinguished the spirit of Britons, and prepared them for the yoke of slavery. The blaze of intellect—the glorious light of knowledge—so equally shining and generally diffused as the MEETINGS FOR REFORM show it to be, should encourage every *good* man, as it will confound every *bad* one. To war against *mind* is to ensure defeat. A man cannot be made to unlearn that which he knows; nor can any laws, nor any power prevent him from *communicating* his knowledge; and, sooner or later, Statesmen will be taught, what they alone seem ignorant of—that “KNOWLEDGE IS POWER.”

But in what classes, among whom is it that we witness this knowledge—this improvement of the understanding? Is it

among the NOBLES of the land—our *hereditary* guardians? Do *they* manifest superior wisdom—do *they* call PUBLIC MEETINGS—do *they*, or any of them, *attend* Public Meetings, to instruct the people and point out the road to good Government—to independence—to happiness? No; *not* they. They *call* no Meetings—they *attend* no Meetings—on the contrary, they do all they can to *prevent* Meetings. They would have all *quiet*—quiet as death. They prove, as a wise man once said of them, that “in knowledge they are a hundred years behind the state of society in which they live.” By an unvaried and unqualified support of all the violent measures of Ministers both at home and abroad, they have reduced the mass of the nation to a state of poverty—of dependence—of starvation; until—*alarmed for themselves*—they have established soup kettles to dole out broth in scanty portions to the industrious people, who, but for their conduct, would have been living as became men—independent-minded men—on their own *earnings*.

It is to the MIDDLE class *now*, as at *other* times, in this country, the salvation of all that ought to be dear to Englishmen must be confided: it is amongst *this* class that the great improvement has been going on; it is from *this* class, now informed as no class in any country, at any time, ever were informed, that whatever of good may be obtained will proceed.

To *record* the *Proceedings* of these MEETINGS; to preserve the memorials of the public spirit and public virtue of the present day, THIS PUBLICATION has been undertaken. It commences with the opening of the *present* Session of Parliament, and will contain the RESOLUTIONS, PETITIONS, and VOTES at Public Meetings throughout the country, and the PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS so far as they relate to the subject of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. The *Opinions* of the Members of both Houses respecting REFORM, on whatever occasion expressed, will likewise be faithfully registered.

It is intended also to print, in the same size and manner, the Resolutions, Petitions, &c. &c. of Public Meetings, held *prior* to the 28th of January. The mode of printing these will be so arranged as to admit of the several accounts being placed in the order of their dates; for which purpose Newspapers, and other publications connected with the subject, are requested from Persons who have taken part in the Meetings.

REPORTS of Meetings hereafter held in the country, or NEWSPAPERS containing them, and Communications of authentic information and useful Hints and Suggestions, will also be thankfully received.

January 30, 1817.

ATTACK ON THE REGENT.

THIS affair, which took place on Tuesday, January 28th, 1817, is of deep importance to the PEOPLE, being connected with REFORM in a manner which will appear hereafter. It is, therefore, necessary to record the particulars of the PRINCE REGENT'S Journey from St. James's Palace to open the present Session of HIS PARLIAMENT until his return to Carlton House, after having delivered from the Throne in the House of Lords the following

SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES.

“*My Lords and Gentlemen*,—It is with deep regret that I am obliged to announce to you, that no alteration has occurred in the state of His Majesty's lamented indisposition.

“I continue to receive from *Foreign* Powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country; and of their earnest desire to maintain the *general tranquillity*.

“The hostilities to which I was compelled to resort, in vindication of the honour of the country, against the Government of Algiers, have been attended with the most complete success.

“The splendid achievement of His Majesty's fleet, in conjunction with a squadron of the King of the Netherlands,

under the gallant and able conduct of Admiral Viscount Exmouth, led to the immediate and unconditional liberation of all Christian captives then within the territory of Algiers, and to the renunciation by its Government of the practice of Christian slavery.

"I am persuaded that you will be duly sensible of the importance of an arrangement, so interesting to humanity, and reflecting, from the manner in which it has been accomplished, such signal honour on the British nation.

"In India, the refusal of the Government of Nepaul to ratify a Treaty of Peace, which had been signed by its Plenipotentiaries, occasioned a renewal of military operations.

"The judicious arrangements of the Governor-General, seconded by the bravery and perseverance of His Majesty's Forces, and of those of the East-India Company, brought the campaign to a speedy and successful issue; and peace has been finally established upon the just and honourable terms of the original Treaty.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons*,—I have directed the ESTIMATES for the current year to be laid before you.

"They have been formed upon a full consideration of all the present circumstances of the country, with an anxious desire to make every reduction in our establishments which the safety of the empire and sound policy allow.

"I recommend the state of the Public Income and Expenditure to your early and serious attention.

"I regret to be under the necessity of informing you that there has been a deficiency in the produce of the Revenue in the last year; but *I trust* that it is to be ascribed to temporary causes; and I have the consolation to believe that you will find it practicable to provide for the public service of the year, *without making ANY ADDITION to the burthens of the people*, and without adopting any measure injurious to that system by which the public credit of the country has been hitherto sustained.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,—I have the satisfaction of informing you that the arrangements which were made in the last Session of Parliament, with a view to a New Silver Coinage, have been completed with unprecedented expedition.

"I have given directions for the immediate use of the New Coin, and I trust that this measure will be productive of

considerable advantages to the trade and internal transactions of the country.

"The distresses consequent upon the termination of a war of such unusual extent and duration, have been felt, with greater or less severity, throughout all the nations of Europe; and have been considerably aggravated by the unfavourable state of the season.

"Deeply as I lament the pressure of these evils upon this country, I am sensible that they are of a nature *not* to admit of an *immediate* remedy; but whilst I observe with peculiar satisfaction the fortitude with which so many privations have been borne, and the active benevolence which has been employed to mitigate them, I am persuaded that the great sources of our national prosperity are essentially unimpaired, and I entertain a confident expectation that the native energy of the country will at no distant period surmount all the difficulties in which we are involved.

"In considering our internal situation, you will, I doubt not, feel a just indignation at the *attempts* which have been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, *for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence*.

"I am too well convinced of the loyalty and good sense of the great body of his Majesty's subjects to believe them capable of being perverted by the arts which are employed to seduce them; but *I am determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected*: and I rely with the utmost confidence on your cordial support and co-operation, in UPHOLDING a system of law and GOVERNMENT from which we have derived inestimable advantages, which has enabled us to conclude, with *unexampled glory*, a contest whereon depended the best interests of mankind, and which has been hitherto felt by ourselves, as it is acknowledged by other nations, to be the most perfect that has ever fallen to the lot of any people."

After some new Writs were moved and ordered in the House of Commons, and before the Speech was taken into consideration,

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT rose and said, "I rise thus early to give notice, that on this day month I shall bring forward a motion for a REFORM IN THIS HOUSE of Parliament."

Whilst the Debate on the Address was proceeding, it was interrupted by a Mes-

sage from the Lords, requiring an immediate conference in the painted Chamber, which being had, it appeared that the person of the PRINCE REGENT had been insulted in his passage from Parliament, and that the Lords had agreed to an Address, assuring him that they felt the "deepest concern and indignation that there should be found any individual in his Majesty's dominions capable of an attack so daring and flagitious, and wishing him to order measures to be taken, without delay, to discover and bring to justice the aiders and abettors of the atrocious proceeding."

The Duke of MONTROSE, the *Master of the Horse*, and Lord JAMES MURRAY, a *Lord of the Bedchamber*, having been examined by the Lords, touching the proceeding, the latter attended at the door of the Commons, and on the motion of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, (Mr. VANSITTART) was called in and examined at the bar; the questions being addressed to the Speaker, and by him to the witness.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER asked what situation his Lordship holds in the household of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent?—Lord JAMES MURRAY. That of Lord of the Bedchamber.

The CH. of the Ex. Was his Lordship in attendance on his coming to open the Parliament this day?—Lord J. MURRAY. Yes.

The CH. of the Ex. Was his Lordship in the carriage with H. R. H. when he returned from the Parliament?—Lord J. M. Yes.

The CH. of the Ex. What happened in his Lordship's own sight on that occasion?—Lord J. M. On H. R. H.'s return from the House, between Carlton House Gardens and St. James's Gardens, the glass of the carriage on the left side of H. R. H. was broken.

The CH. of the Ex. In *what manner* did the fracture appear to his Lordship to have been produced?—Lord J. M. It seemed to have been produced by TWO BULLETS of a small size, about a *quarter of an Inch* apart.

The CH. of the Ex. Was his Lordship confident that the fractures must have been produced by BULLETS or SOME OTHER substances thrown with great violence?—Lord J. M. I have *not the slightest doubt* that they were produced by BULLETS.

The CH. of the Ex. Would his Lordship make any other observation respect-

ing this proceeding?—Lord J. M. About a minute *after the glass was broken* in the manner I have described, a *large* stone was thrown against the glass of the carriage, which broke it, and *three or four other* small stones were thrown which struck the glass and the *other* parts of the carriage.

The CH. of the Ex. Was the glass which was broken by the *large* stone the same which had been perforated by the BULLETS?—Lord J. M. It was the same glass.

The CH. of the Ex. Had his Lordship TIME to observe the manner in which the glass was perforated, in the interval between the first fracture and the glass being finally broken?—Lord J. M. In *that interval* I observed the part which was first broken minutely.

The CH. of the Ex. Did the Noble Lord observe whether such a number of persons surrounded the carriage, that a pistol might be discharged, and the person by whom it was fired not immediately recognized?—Lord J. M. The crowd *not being excessive near the carriage*, I conceive that if a *pistol* had been fired *with gunpowder*, the person must have been observed.

The CH. of the Ex. Does his Lordship conclude that the *first* fracture was produced by a BULLET discharged from SOME OTHER instrument than a pistol SUCH AS AN AIR GUN?—Lord J. M. I suppose, *as I heard no report*, that THE BULLETS must have been discharged *without gunpowder*.

The SPEAKER then asked whether any other Member wished to put questions to the witness?

Sir B. HOBBHOUSE asked whether any BULLETS had been found in the carriage? [*Hear, hear!*].—Lord J. M. I have not heard that any BULLETS have been found in the carriage; I should observe, that I CONCEIVE, from the manner of the fracture, that the BULLETS must have come from *some height*, perhaps from *one of the TREES*, of which there are many in that part of the Park, in which there were several persons.

A MEMBER asked, Did his Lordship hear any noise, which induced him to suppose that the bullets had passed *through* the carriage?—Lord J. M. I heard no noise but that produced by the fracture of the glass.

Mr. C. W. WYNNE asked, Whether the *opposite* glass was up or down?—Lord J. M. It was UP.

Mr. BROUGHAM. Did his Lordship observe similar holes in the *opposite* glass?—Lord J. M. It was NOT BROKEN AT ALL. The reason I supposed the BULLETS to have come from a height was, that *splinters* of the glass were thrown violently to the *lower* part of the opposite side of the carriage.

Mr. BROUGHAM. I would ask whether BULLETS or any similar substances were in the *bottom* of the carriage?—Lord J. M. I had no opportunity of ascertaining this, as I left the carriage immediately after the Prince Regent.

A MEMBER wished to ask, Whether H.R.H. had given any directions to search the carriage?—Lord J. M. I cannot speak to this on my own knowledge.

Mr. BROUGHAM. I wish to ask who was in the carriage besides his Royal Highness and his Lordship, and who sat on the side nearest the glass which was broken?—Lord J. M. The *Master of the Horse* (the Duke of MONTROSE) was in the carriage, and sat on the side where the glass was broken.

Mr. BROUGHAM.—Did his Lordship observe at the bottom of the carriage any thing but the splinters of glass?—Lord J. MURRAY. I only observed the splinters of glass at the bottom of the opposite door of the carriage.

Mr. BROUGHAM. I wish to know whether the large stone which afterwards broke the glass entered the carriage?—Lord J. MURRAY. No; the plate glass is *very thick*, and the stone did not enter.

Lord COCHRANE. Was the window which was broken next his Royal Highness?—Lord J. MURRAY. H. R. H. sat in the *middle* of the carriage.

Lord MILTON. I wish to know whether the stone which was *subsequently* thrown smashed the window, or merely starred the glass?—Lord J. MURRAY. It not only smashed the window, but *pounded* the glass.

Mr. WYNNE (we believe). Was not the glass of an *unusual* thickness?—Lord J. MURRAY. It was *remarkably thick*.

Sir R. HERON. Who were the persons on the *outside* of the carriage nearest the window when thus struck, whether soldiers or others?—Lord J. MURRAY.—There was one footman on the side of the door, and one of the Life-Guards immediately behind him, but no soldier opposite the window.

A MEMBER asked whether his Lordship supposed that the BULLETS perforated any other part of the carriage at all?—

Lord J. MURRAY. Whether they perforated any other part of the carriage, I do not know, but I SUPPOSE they did.

His Lordship was then ordered to withdraw.

The CHAN. of the Ex. then moved, that the House do adopt the Address of the House of Lords, which having been again read, it was agreed to—*nemine contradicente*.

The feelings of the House being overpowered by the Examination of Lord J. MURRAY, it adjourned at half-past eight o'clock.

It appears that the PRINCE REGENT left Carlton-house at half-past one o'clock, and repaired to St. James's Palace, from which place it is the etiquette for the royal procession to start. After some formalities usual on these occasions, the REGENT took his seat in the state carriage, accompanied by the Duke of Montrose and Lord James Murray; the other attendants followed in other carriages. The grenadier guards were on duty, and saluted the REGENT with the accustomed honours, except that the band did not play, nor did the trumpets of the life-guards sound, on account of the indisposition of the Duchess of CUMBERLAND, who was delivered the day before of a dead child. From the same motive there was no firing of cannon on the entrance of the REGENT into the House of Lords, nor on his departure from it. In the decorative part of the procession, there was nothing new, except the helmets of the life-guards, which are on the plan of those of the French cuirassiers, and seemed to the unwarlike eyes of the Reporter to the TIMES preposterously *large*. He says, that the procession to the House was not seriously disturbed; nor was there such expression of disapprobation as to excite alarm.—“It is probable, however,” he remarks, “that his Royal Highness observed this *unfavourable disposition* of part of the mob; for it appeared to us, that his *man-ner* of delivering the speech was that of “one whose *spirits* were somewhat *depressed*; at all events, the voice of his Royal Highness was not so strong and distinct “as we have been used to hear it.”

On the Regent's return, the most offensive epithets were applied to him as he passed along in the State Carriage, guarded on both sides by a strong escort of Guards and Constables. The crowding, clamour, and insults increased, but cries of “God save the King,” and huzzas were mixed with the vociferations personally

offensive to the Regent. After the cavalcade had entered the Park, at the Horse Guards—and it had proceeded about half way down the Mall, the window was shattered as described by Lord J. Murray.—From the small puncture of the points from which the cracks in the pane radiated, it was at first thought to have happened by the accidental contact of an officer's sword, riding along side, and who might have been pressed by the crowd against the carriage, or that fragments of gravel had been thrown up against the glass by the horses' hoofs, or that it had been done intentionally—but these ideas, says the MORNING CHRONICLE, were *discountenanced*: an ALARM was therefore excited that it MIGHT have proceeded from an AIR GUN!!!

Lord JAMES MURRAY's evidence goes to show that, between Carlton House Gardens and the Stable-yard gate, one glass of the State Coach was struck three times and broken, and his Lordship had "*not the least doubt* it was fractured by BULLETS." Some allowance must of course be made for the Noble Lord's being so *confident*, when it is recollected that in answer to the first question put to him in the House, he said, "*I am a LORD of the BEDCHAMBER!*" In remarking on this Noble Lord's conduct, the *Editor* of the TIMES, with great good sense says, "after some consideration, we are inclined to differ from his Lordship. In the first place no gun or pistol was seen, no smoke appeared, no report was heard, NO BULLET has been FOUND. It is true, that an air-gun would have emitted no smoke, and that the report from it would be but trifling—still *there would be A BULLET; and yet no such substance is found*, though one glass window was broke, and the other was *unbroken*. If there had been a bullet fired, it must have been in the coach, for though a stone might rebound from the glass, a bullet would not."

The COURIER—in perfect consistency with its character, as the great *Gong* of a desperate faction, who would *dungeon* the best men in the country, and stab the Constitution to its very vitals—this *machine* has been set in motion to ring the *tocsin* of alarm as quickly and as loudly as possible, and in the execution of this insurrectionary duty, it asserts that the REGENT *himself* was aware that he had been FIRED at. The Regent however has not ventured to say any such thing yet, but if he *does*, it will very much

illustrate the assertion, if the people are indulged with the publication of a Drawing which His Royal Highness is said to have made *with his own hand*, of the perforated glass before it was smashed in: provided, however, that it be a fac-simile of the pane, and not a sketch from memory assisted by the recollection of the Noble Lord of the Bedchamber, who, there is "*not the least doubt*," was very much FRIGHTENED, and who, according to the BRITISH PRESS, "*thrust his HAT into the broken window*"—to prevent the entrance of ANY MORE BULLETS!!!—and held it there until the Carriage drove into the Stable Yard. Well done, Lord JAMES MURRAY! Nobody, who reads his Lordship's evidence, and considers the material composing the BULLETS, will think of looking for them beyond his Lordship's head.

THE HOUSE'S TREATMENT OF REFORM.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

JANUARY 29, 1817.

Lord COCHRANE said, he had several petitions to present, praying for a reform of Parliament, which it appeared to him desirable and necessary to have laid on the table previous to the important discussions which were expected to take place on their contents. In these petitions, or the meetings of the bodies who signed them, he knew of nothing calculated to excite riots or disorders. The public opinion was general on the subject of these petitions, and he therefore thought the House ought to consider the subject, and to know the public opinion. One petition which he had to present was, as he was informed, from no fewer than 20,700 inhabitants of Bristol, held on the 26th of December: some parts of this petition he should take the liberty of reading. The petition stated the general distresses of the country; that the gaols were filled with insolvents, the poor-houses with paupers, and the streets with beggars; that the enormous amounts of taxation and debt were the real causes of the nation's misery, and, combined with the objects of placemen, pensioners, and sinecurists, the enormous civil list, the military establishment of 150,000 men in profound peace, were a gross insult to the understanding. It next stated the evils of the system of paper money, the continu-

ance and extension of which had so greatly occasioned property to change hands, and affected the farmer and tradesman almost to ruin, and the lower classes to starvation. Its prayer was for equal suffrage, and annual Parliaments, as the only remedies. The public grievances could not be remedied by members who were the tools of an oligarchy of borough-mongers, but a reform in the Commons' or people's House, and by voting by ballot to prevent undue influence. Lord COCHRANE said, that it appeared to him the times would be very portentous, if the House refused to consider the prayer of this and other petitions immediately. He knew in his own heart, that in his conduct he was guided only by love of his country, as he ever had and should be. He wished to see what there was of improper or dangerous tendency in the petition. (*Murmur*). He trusted for silence in the House while he was reading it.

The SPEAKER observed, that the Noble Lord should first state the substance of the petition. Then, if the House pleased, the clerk read it: but it was not in order for the Noble Lord to read it prematurely. (*Hear.*)

LORD COCHRANE said, he had often regretted, when petitions did not agree with the views of some gentlemen, that the reading of them was interrupted with much coughing and clamour, so that none could hear them. As this petition was signed by so many persons, and as the speech and address evidently alluded to coercion, he wished to shew what it was that the people desired previously to future deliberations. He regretted, too, that they were read sometimes by the clerk, to whom he meant no disrespect, in a tone of voice not sufficiently audible: he therefore hoped now a patient hearing. He only said this as an *admonition* to the House.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER spoke to order.

The SPEAKER spoke to order.

LORD COCHRANE did not wish to interrupt or depart from the orders of the House; he therefore only moved, that the petition be read in *an audible voice*. This was *particularly necessary after what the speech contained*. But he must challenge any person to state, that he had seen, at any of the meetings for Reform, any indications of a disposition to subvert the constitution, or any such disorderly conduct as would require the interference of the military. (*Hear.*) What had been the fact at *Bristol*? Why, that a police officer made

attempts which might have produced a riot. So again at the Spafields meeting, a set of people came from the Old Bailey, who had been seeing a man hanged there that morning. The others who were said to be disorderly, were *starving Sailors*, who had fought the battles of their country under Lord Nelson, Lord St. Vincent and others, who were now disbanded, and not like the *army*. (*Order, order.*)

The SPEAKER observed, that the Noble Lord was again wrong. He should exercise his right in the regular forms of the House.

Mr. WEBBER thought, from the tone, words, and manner of the Noble Lord, something might be suspected of *indecorum* in the *petition*. The Noble Lord had used the strong expression of an "*admonition*" to the House. There was something peculiar in this word, as well as in the Noble Lord's tone and manner, which was not decorous. He hoped the Noble Lord would say this Petition was respectful.

The Petition was then read by the clerk.

Mr. PROTHEROE (Member for Bristol) said, not one of *his* constituents had applied to him to support the Petition; which, it was his thorough conviction, did not speak the sentiments of *his* constituents, or of the inhabitants of Bristol. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. HART DAVIS (Member for Bristol) said, he believed that not one hundredth part of the population of Bristol attended the meeting concerning this Petition. He could therefore proclaim for the great body of the people of Bristol their objection to it, and protest for them against it. The story of the peace-officer endeavouring to make a riot he had not heard before.

The CH. of the Ex. had listened to the Petition, and though he was far from approving it, he saw no necessity to depart so far from usual practice as to refuse to let it lie on the table. (*Hear!*) Ordered to lie on the table.

LORD COCHRANE rose to press its consideration on the House. (*Order.*)

The CH. of the Ex. spoke to order, as no question was before the House, which the Speaker confirmed.

LORD COCHRANE then presented a Petition on the same subject from the town of Wick, at Saddleworth in Yorkshire.

After the clerk read it,

The CH. of the Ex.s aid, the other had certainly gone very far in its language; but did not directly attack the whole opinions and conduct of the House. The present

one was actually a libel upon the whole opinions, conduct, and orders of the House.

Lord COCHRANE observed, that, sitting where he did, he had been unable to hear distinctly a word that was read, from the noise that was heard.

Sir WILLIAM GARROW (Attorney General) said, that he himself had heard it distinctly; and he would state without difficulty, if the Noble Lord thought fit to invite a new reading of it, that *it was from the beginning to the end of it, a contrived, deliberate, and determined libel on the House.*

Lord COCHRANE assenting to this, the clerk read it again. It was worded in very strong terms. It stated, among other matters, that the House did not in any constitutional or rational sense represent the nation; and, by its inadequacy of representation and corruptions, subverted the principles of the constitution. It complained of enormous taxation, and observed, that the cause of the war in 1793 was well understood, though possibly its contrivers did not originally intend its evils to extend to such a magnitude and duration. Now the eyes of the people were opening, and our wicked rulers saw it. They were shocked at the proceedings of contending factions, who were alike forgetful of the nation's interests, in their party views; and their repeated, protracted, and disgusting debates. Petitioners saw nothing in their discussions, except that the lash of unconstitutional taxation was to be kept applied to the poor. Taxation and representation ought to go hand in hand. There was no way to prevent the establishment of despotism but by having a free Parliament. Through the conduct of boroughmongers, the people could not pay taxes. They prayed for a law to give the aggrieved people their rights of equal representation and annual Parliaments, which they should exert every constitutional means to obtain. (*Hear.*)

Mr. BROUGHAM said, that he expected it to be very different from what he had just heard. The Learned Gentleman had characterised it as being, from beginning to end, in all its parts, a deliberate slander upon the House. It began and ended with a desire and argument for a Parliamentary Reform. This desirable object might have been obtained, if the Petitioners had enjoyed the benefit of the advice and assistance of that consummate advocate, the Learned Attorney-General, particularly if he were a sincere friend to the cause.—(*Hear!*)

Some years ago, indeed, they might have received such support.—(*Hear!*) He begged to declare his dissent from some of the doctrines contained in the Petition. He was an enemy to the plan of universal suffrage, as he would be to any one which led to the destruction of the constitution of Parliament, and not to its amendment, which never could be secured but by the security of property. The Petitioners maintained that the Members of that House did not fairly represent the people in Parliament. If their opinions were wrong, let them be confuted by reasoning. The allusions to the parties and debates in that House, were certainly neither judicious nor temperate; but, in times like these, they ought not to be too chary in criticising the Petitions of the people.

Mr. CANNING asked, when these Petitions said, not only that the people were not represented in that House, but farther, that the House had subverted the Constitution, what was the natural effect of such language but the encouragement even of *rebellion*? He could not consent to accept from Petitioners direct assertions that the House and Country were under no legal Constitution. His Learned Friend's objections were, therefore, founded on the true, undoubted, and uncontested principles of our Constitution. (*Hear!*)

Mr. C. WYNN did not desire to be too nice; but, *the remarks on the debates, if permitted, might give rise to people constantly criticising and revising their whole proceedings.* No doubt the Petition was intended to insult them.

Mr. BRAND had attended much to Petitions and discussions of this nature, and on hearing this read, he hesitated at first, *because it denied that the House represented the people.* He did not know what might have been the language of Parliament on this subject, and perhaps he could not speak parliamentarily, but he could historically, and he was quite certain that the Parliament had not at all periods, been the representatives of the people; he therefore felt anxious to see if this Petition could be received; and surely for a mere want of courtesy, for a little intechnicality in language, it ought not to be altogether rejected. Surely, in common language, it was allowable to say, the Constitution was at an end, without incurring the imputation of a wish for disorder or rebellion. He saw no reason why the Petition should be rejected, for containing expres-

sions, which, at most, were unguarded; and he should indeed lament, if the House should be stimulated by this language, to adopt a course, which must disgust all who were temperate in their views, and the real friends of the Constitution.

LORD COCHRANE regretted that any thing appeared improper in the language of the Petition, knowing, as he did, that all men were not equal to balance the nice subtleties of language. This was not the time for him to express any opinion on the sufferings of the nation and their extent: the Petitions were only now brought up, that the House might know the sentiments of the people, *before they discussed that part of the Prince Regent's speech which alluded to the prevailing spirit of disaffection*. He had carefully perused the various Petitions now presented, and it had not occurred to him, that any of them contained a sentiment derogatory to the dignity of that House, or to the dignity which the House ought always to support. That in various discussions on Parliamentary Reform, some improper expressions had escaped in the heat of argument, there might be no doubt; but he saw nothing in the present Petition that could be deemed of such a nature; and he should now merely move, that the Petition be received, considering as he did, that it was the duty of the House to receive the sentiments of the people, and not reject them on the ground of a mere technical informality.

THE HON. W. LAMB, after the language that had fallen from his Lordship on so many public meetings, thought it impossible not to feel convinced of the sincerity of his expressions on the present occasion. As for the Petition, it at least had this merit, that it requested the House to frame and pass a Bill, while many of the Meetings that had been held wished to send a Bill ready framed, that might at once demand the sanction of the House; much in the same manner as Sergeant Maynard, in the time of the Republic, recommended that a King should be created by Act of Parliament, to give his assent to a Bill for abrogating the office of a King altogether. There was nothing in the present Petition that dictated terms to Parliament; and, on the whole, he thought it should be suffered to lie on the Table.

MR. BRAGGE BATHURST considered it altogether a libel to assert, that the House did not represent the people; they had for ages been lawfully constituted in the same mode as at present. If, indeed, this Pe-

tition were received, the House must receive all others, however insulting; and this had clearly for its object to insult the Parliament to which it applied for relief. The Hon. Gentleman concluded most strongly against receiving the Petition.

MR. F. DOUGLAS supported the motion for the reception of the Petition. If it were to be rejected on the ground of its alleging that the House did not represent the people, the House must on that ground reject every Petition that had for its object the Reform of Parliament. He thought that the rejection of the Petition might tend to increase the disaffection that had been complained of, and that if the House wished to check that spirit, they must be indulgent to all sentiments that might be offered for their reception.

SIR S. ROMILLY maintained, that the Petition ought to be received. On his conscience, he thought it was not designed as an insult to the House; and that it contained no more than an expression of the *real sentiments* of those who had subscribed it. It had been alleged, that to say the House did not fairly represent the people, was indicative of an intention to subvert the Constitution; but if this were so, how could persons say, that any matter was unconstitutional, without being accused of using language subversive of the Constitution.

MR. C. GRANT contended that such a petition should be unequivocally rejected, on the ground of intentional disrespect.

SIR W. GEARY observed that he could not give a silent vote on this occasion. If a petition, such as the present, were to be refused, he could not see how any petition on the subject of reform could ever be admitted. The question under consideration of the petitioners was whether they were well represented or not, and he could not see in what other manner that question could be expressed. The House owed it to every great man who had written or spoken on the liberties of the country, to enter on this great question: he did not see how the wishes of the country on the subject were to be ascertained if not by petition; but even if the people were silent, the House was bound to proceed itself. Much more was the House bound to receive the petition after the language of the Hon. Gentleman opposite; language which was contrary to every feeling of regard for the constitution? What! did the Hon. Gentleman wish to exclude from the House every expression of the people on the subject of

amendment? Did he think that rebellion would follow every discussion of the subject? The fact was not so. The people desired lawfully to express their sentiments, and if ever there was a petition to which the doors of the House should be open, it was the present.

The House having divided on the question, whether the petition should lie on the table, the numbers were—Ayes, 48.—Noes, 135.

On the gallery being opened, the clerk was occupied in reading another petition, similar to the former. The question being put, that the petition do lie on the table,

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he need not take up the time of the House. Worded in nearly the same manner as the former, the House might judge, from the similarity of the language in both petitions, whether they were an expression of the sentiments of the people, or the artful dictation of factious demagogues. (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

LORD COCHRANE said, he was in every respect ignorant of the views of the Petitioners, or how the Petitions were drawn up. They were put into his hands, and he considered it his bounden duty to present them. As to their tendency he would venture to say, with regard to himself, that, notwithstanding all the misrepresentations which had gone abroad, there was no man in the country more sincerely attached to good order and to the Government than he was. But that abuses have crept into the Constitution, which ought to be instantly corrected, was a truth which no man, at all acquainted with the history of the country, could deny. It was therefore by no means proper for them to cavil nicely about the mere form or construction of words, but to receive the Petitions of the People, as thus only could the sense of the Country be known. By rejecting these Petitions he was afraid the People would be *too successfully irritated*, and consequently too much scope be given for the exercise of those *coercive* measures alluded to in the Speech delivered yesterday from the Throne. He was conscious that in presenting these Petitions he was doing nothing more than his duty. He remembered very well the time he was first returned as a Member to the House, which was for the Borough of Honiton, and on which occasion the town bellman was sent through the town to order the voters to come to Mr. Townsend's, the head man in that place and a

banker, to receive 10l. 10s. [*Hear, and a laugh.*] This was the truth, and he would ask, how could *he* in that situation be called a representative of the people in the legitimate *constitutional* sense of that word. He knew very well, that had *universal suffrage* been then the law, he must have had to pay 20,000 persons; and though he was now conscious that he had done wrong, he assured the House that that was the very way by which he had been returned [*Hear, hear!*] If any Member disputed it, he could only say *he was willing to shew the bills and vouchers which he had for the money* [*a general laugh*]. He had no doubt but there were very many in that House *who had been returned by similar means* [*hear, hear!*]. His motive, he was now fully convinced, was wrong, decidedly wrong, but as he came home pretty well flushed with Spanish money, he had *found this Borough open and he took it*, and he was sure *he would have been returned had he been Lord Camelford's black servant, or his great dog* [*a laugh*]. He was persuaded the House would believe him actuated by the purest motives in presenting such Petitions as he did. It was not now the proper period to enter into any discussion respecting the object of these Petitions, but he felt himself bound to say, that were a Petition put into his hands, he should have no hesitation in presenting it to the House, even though it differed materially from his own opinions. He trusted the time was not far distant when the House would see that he never presumed to state, in that House, a single circumstance which he was not fully prepared to prove. He had already expressed his hope, that *even from regard to public tranquillity* the House would condescend to receive the Petitions of the People, and he now begged leave to say, he fondly trusted they would make every allowance for that irritation of feeling which had unhappily obtained possession of the public mind from the public wrongs.

MR. CANNING thought, that after the House had rejected one petition couched in the same language as that now read, the Noble Lord was not acting most beneficially for the petitioners without allowing them an opportunity of amending the language of their application.

LORD COCHRANE consented to withdraw the petition.

LORD COCHRANE said, that he held in his hand a petition from the township of Lees, in the parish of Ashton-under-Line,

containing complaints of excessive taxation, &c., and praying for reform, which he moved should be read.

The petition was accordingly brought up and read. It stated, that the petitioners did not approach the House with feelings of revenge, although the mad Quixotism of the proceedings of Government for the last 25 years had brought the nation to the brink of ruin. It stated, as the decided opinion of the petitioners, that the kingdom would continue impoverished while such immense sums were squandered in useless pensions, &c.; and that this lamentable condition of public affairs would never have been brought about, had the whole of the people been in the Honourable House (*a laugh*), or duly represented. It therefore prayed, that the nation might be put in possession of its constitutional rights by means of universal suffrage and annual Parliaments. This petition was received, and ordered to be laid upon the table.

Lord COCHRANE then presented a petition from the town of Oldham, in the county palatine of Lancaster, stating a long list of grievances, and attributing the distresses of the country to the pressure of an enormous load of taxation, imposed for the purpose of carrying on long and ruinous wars, for objects detestable "to every religious and well-thinking being;" to an extravagant war expenditure; to an overgrown civil list; to unmerited pensions and sinecure places; to grants conferred on French and Dutch emigrants, to corn bills, that raised the price of provisions; all which evils were owing to the state of the representation. It therefore prayed for Parliamentary Reform, by the adoption of universal suffrage and annual elections. Ordered to lie on the table.

The Noble Lord next presented a petition from the town of Ashton-under-Line. The petition was brought up, and the clerk having begun to read it.

The CH. of the Ex. asked if it was not couched in the very identical language of the one that had been rejected by the House, and of the other that had been withdrawn?

Lord COCHRANE answered, that if the Right Hon. Gent. or any other Hon. Member would say it was the same, he would withdraw it.

It was accordingly read, and found to be the same, and was rejected without a division.

Lord COCHRANE presented another petition from Oldham, in Lancashire.

Upon the motion that it be brought up, Lord STANLEY, though one of the representatives of the county from which many of these petitions came, and although the petitioners had not chosen to honour him with their applications, yet he suggested, from the interest he took in their affairs, that it would be better to withdraw their petition for amendment, if couched in the terms to which the House had objected, than to risk its rejection by pressing it at the present moment.

Lord COCHRANE said the petitions were given him to present as a Member of the House, but he knew nothing about the petitioners.

Lord STANLEY again pressed the question if the petition was the same; to which Lord Cochrane replied, that it was in part the same, but it complained, in addition to the grievances stated in the former one, of the money given to French emigrants.

Mr. C. W. WYNNÉ asked if the language of this, in the judgment of the Noble Lord, was as disrespectful to the House as the one it had rejected? If it did, surely the Noble Lord was not conducting himself with due regard to the *feelings* of the House if he persisted in pressing its reading.

Mr. HUSKISSON observed, that the prayer of the petition was written on one piece of parchment, and the signatures on another; and that the latter was merely appended to the former. Might not the signatures be previously obtained for some other object, and affixed to a document of which they had no knowledge?

The SPEAKER said the rule was, that every paper presented to the House as a petition, should have a signature subscribed of the parties whose prayer it purported to convey. If the names of the petitioners and the application were written on separate papers, and merely attached to each other, there was no certainty that any authority was ever given for uniting them.

Mr. CANNING said, the petition from Ashton-under-Line was likewise destitute of signatures.

On the question that the petition be brought up, it was negatived without a division.

Sir F. BURDETT asked, if any man could lay his hand upon his heart, and say, that he disbelieved that the signatures appended to the Petition were those of persons who did not concur in it, who had not subscribed it, or who did not agree in its prayer. Different persons residing in

different and distant parts of the country might subscribe at different times on a separate paper, detached from the prayer of the petition, for the sake of convenience; but such a mode of procedure furnished no ground for doubting the authenticity of the document when the two papers were joined. In all petitions with numerous signatures, there must be some of the names on paper, originally disconnected with that which contains the body of the application, but this circumstance was never made an objection to the reception of such documents. If a Petition, purporting to be subscribed by several hundreds, but which only contained six signatures at the bottom of the prayer, could be received as the petition of those hundreds, why not a Petition that contained only one or none at the bottom, but carried them all to a separate paper? His opinion was, that the Petitions were genuine, and as such should not be rejected from the mere want of technical form.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL observed that the House should be open to grievances and representations of the people, but it should know if the statement of these grievances and the prayer for relief really came from themselves, or were brought forward by persons who abused their confidence, in order to inflame public discontent. [*Hear*]. The Noble Lord had no reason to complain of the rejection of the petition. He could give no information about the parties: he could not tell who they were—whether they had subscribed, or whether the whole might not be a fabrication, of which he was made the dupe.

Sir F. BURDETT thought that the People could not complain of the prevailing system of corruption, in less palatable terms than they used on this occasion. It was necessary for the House to point out the precise words in which every Petitioner ought to approach them. He knew there were, or might be nearly, about a thousand Petitions which would soon be presented to them, and most of which, he was persuaded, would by no means be palatable to them. It was rather curious, that in all Petitions, excepting those of a nature similar to the one now before them, this defect of the papers containing the names and Petition being distinct, was overlooked. It appeared now there was no name to this. He knew well the manner in which the Petition would have been treated, had it been

signed by even one, as it would then have been considered merely the Petition of one individual.

Mr. W. ELIOT could not consent to receive a petition the whole tenor of which was grossly insulting to the House.

Mr. CALVERT thought, that as one Petition was received, precisely similar to this in the mode of subscribing their names, this one should not be rejected.

A Member (Mr. GIPPS, we understood) wished to know if it was the same as those rejected.

Lord COCHRANE. I have not had time to read it.—(*Loud cries of Chair! Chair!*)

The SPEAKER. I must inform the Noble Lord, that it is always expected when a Member presents a Petition, he should be able to give some information to the House respecting it. The Noble Lord may read it now, and gain the information he has not yet obtained.—(*Hear, hear, hear!*)

Mr. W. WYNNE. I decidedly object to the Petition being received, unless it differs from the former. I say, it is absolutely necessary that the fact be established, that every Member is responsible for the Petitions he presents to the House, that every term in these Petitions be respectful to the House.

Mr. ROBINSON. The Noble Lord has been asked if the Petition be the same as those rejected?

Mr. H. MARTIN. Is the Noble Lord prepared to say that the Petition has signatures on it?

Lord COCHRANE. No.

SPEAKER. Then I must, in the discharge of my duty to the House, say, that this Petition cannot be received.

Lord COCHRANE. Then I understand, Sir, this is your decision.

SPEAKER. The Noble Lord must know that this has been the established custom of this House for ages.—(*Hear, hear!*)

Lord COCHRANE presented another petition from a town near Saddleworth, in Yorkshire.

Mr. CANNING asked if it was not couched in the identical words of the one that had been rejected;

Lord COCHRANE answered, it did not appear to him to be exactly the same; and upon the Speaker's saying that it seemed to be *in terminis* the identical petition, his lordship replied, that he had been so much importuned upon the subject that he had forgotten the exact words of the rejected one, and could not say till he heard it whether this was the same. In

consequence of this declaration, it was read to the end, and his Lordship moved that it do lie on the table.

Mr. CANNING appealed to the Noble Lord to consider whether he was not, by persisting in his most objectionable course, doing an irreparable injury to the cause of the petitioners. God forbid that the question of Reform, in whatever view the petitioners adopted it, should not be discussed with all that importance which so vital a question imperiously required. What security was there in the present course, that those Petitions were not the work of one hand, as they evidently were the emanations of one mind?

Lord COCHRANE denied that he pressed the receiving the Petition from mere pertinacity. Knowing that they were all the same in substance, and forgetting the particular words objected to, he did not think the rejection of one was a sufficient reason for refusing to hear another. He therefore as a member of the House, exercised his undoubted privilege in laying them before it, and in moving that they should be received, without intending any disrespect or being guilty of any obstinacy.

Mr. Alderman SMITH said the Petitions were the manufacture of one hand.

The Petition was rejected.

The amendment moved upon the Address to the PRINCE REGENT for his Speech, was negatived, on a division of 264 against 112.

Lord COCHRANE then proposed a second amendment to the Address, which, after touching upon the general distress of the country, and beseeching His ROYAL HIGHNESS to rely with confidence upon the loyalty and good sense of the great body of the People, proceeded:—"And this House, with great humility, begs to assure YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, that NOT ONE SINGLE INSTANCE can be discovered, in which MEETINGS assembled for the purpose of PETITIONING FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, have been accompanied with any attempt to DISTURB the public tranquillity."

This was succeeded, says the Times, BY A LOUD LAUGH OF DERISION throughout the whole house.

The amendment next adverted to the SINECURE PLACES and the CIVIL LIST, and concluded by earnestly and particularly recommending PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. His Lordship's Motion was NOT SECONDED, and therefore fell to the ground.

PARLIAMENTARY OPINIONS

ON

REFORMISTS AND REFORM,

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

JANUARY 28, 1817.

Lord VALLETORT (*Mover of the Address.*)

—He should now add a few words on the late domestic disturbances. We had seen a most mischievous spirit diffused among the poorer classes of the community; they had been told that Parliament was acting unconstitutionally; that it was necessary to effect a change in the government, and that the remedy for all their grievances would be an *Annual Parliament*. Annual Parliament was become a watch-word for the commencement of disturbance; but the same watch-word had formerly been used when Ireland was agitated by faction, and it was now intended for nothing more than a *signal for disturbance*. He trusted these disgraceful tumults would agitate the country no more; but if it should be otherwise, he hoped that this House would have the will and the power to defeat and subvert every attempt to destroy the *Constitution*. Our present distresses arose from a cessation of demand; and how was this to be remedied?—by affording security to capitalists, and finding out new sources of employment. But if our security were endangered by *this spirit of anarchy*, the capital of the country would be drawn off to find a refuge in safer quarters. The House had before them a delicate and arduous duty: the eyes of the whole country were upon them—one part of the nation looked to them for relief in its distresses, the other for the support of property and the Constitution.—(*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. DAWSON (*Seconder of the Address.*)—The exertion of a wise Government, with the patience of a considerate people, would be found soon to rescue us from all our difficulties. But it should be recollected that the Government and the people had great and imperious duties to perform; and it became the people to consider that in encouraging—that in exciting the Government to prosecute the late arduous contest—that in participating the glories which marked the progress and the result of that contest, they were bound patiently to bear the burthens, and honestly to discharge the debts which,

through that contest, were inevitably contracted—(*Hear, hear!*).—From the consideration of this duty then he trusted the people of England would never allow themselves to be withdrawn by the delusive appeals of those, who under the pretence of petitioning for a redress of grievances, were found haranguing large assemblies upon topics which were quite above the comprehension of THE VULGAR. (*Hear, hear, hear! on the Opposition side of the House.*)—But the design of such demagogues could not be misunderstood. Under the pretence of declaiming about public distress, those demagogues were in fact seeking only their own private interest. Such demagogues were indeed as bad as the fanatics who went forth with the bible in one hand and the sword in the other, preaching peace and benevolence, while they meditated war and bloodshed. But he trusted, with the Speech from the Throne, that the good sense and loyalty of the country would effectually defeat those wild and desperate projects.

MR. PONSONBY.—He had heard about violence abroad, and the efforts of *designing men*; he had never countenanced any such persons, and had no disposition to do so now. (*Hear*). But if the House wished public confidence, they should show that they would not trust merely to what Ministers told them, but were resolved to take the public affairs into their own hands: showing the people that they were not to trust to a set of ministers, but to a body of *honest and vigilant representatives*. Any other mode would endanger the loss of public confidence.

HON. MR. LAMÉE.—He allowed, in their fullest extent, the rights of the people to petition for any lawful object, that they thought connected with their interests, privileges, or well-being; he revered popular meetings, which were regularly and quietly conducted (*hear, hear*); he revered the rights and the privileges which they exercised, and was disposed to attend to their representations as much as any man; but when such assemblies proceeded to violence, when they led to breaches of the peace, he (Mr. L.) was for vigorous and immediate repression. (*Hear, hear.*) This conduct he would recommend, not only from motives of public security, but from motives of tenderness and mercy to the deluded persons themselves. [*Hear, hear.*] He deprecated all breaches of the peace, disturbance, and riot, not only for their immediate effects, but for their ultimate con-

sequences. Tumult for liberty and right was not only dangerous and destructive, but was also a liar, and never kept its promises. (*Loud cries of hear, hear.*) It led, in the end, through scenes of anarchy and blood, to a political tyranny, or military despotism; the more fatal in its nature, and the more hopeless in its consequences, from the circumstance, that the people were taught to take refuge under their protection from the more appalling evils of insecurity and confusion. (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

MR. C. GRANT.—With regard to the disturbances that had occurred, he trusted there was but one opinion in that House upon the subject. *There was a spirit at work throughout the country, of a most malicious and daring character, which attempted to pervert our distresses into an instrument of disloyalty and sedition.* The effect of its machinations, if indulged, would be the subversion of the Constitution. He was far from confounding with those *incendiaries*, the individuals who, from motives which he believed to be sincere and honourable, however much he might differ from them, sought a *Constitutional Reform*. But the history of all ages proved, that the most wise and virtuous, in the attainment of their object, had sometimes employed as auxiliaries, instruments who ultimately became their masters and their tyrants, and therefore the danger was to be guarded against.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

JAN. 29, 1817.

EARL GREY. (Alluding to the Attack on the Regent.)—I rejoice to add, that on the best consideration I have been able to give to the statements made on that subject, I am persuaded, that however heinous the offence in itself, and however justly exciting our indignation, there do not appear any strong grounds for suspecting that any criminal design was entertained against his Royal Highness's life. I am anxious to state this because I see no advantage that this country could derive, either at home or in the eyes of Europe, from its being supposed that there could be found an individual capable of contemplating so detestable an act. *It is not an occurrence that calls for any thing but the usual operation of the law as it stands* (*hear, hear, hear!*). My Lords, that it is in human nature, when distressed, to ex-

press its discontent, who will deny? A free people will sometimes express their feelings in a manner not the most guarded. Nobody has been more obnoxious to popular assemblies than myself. On no man have more severe remarks been made.—But, my Lords, I am far from thinking uncharitably of these individuals. Though I extremely disapprove of their views, which if they could be carried into effect (and I am persuaded they cannot) would prove most pernicious, I believe many of them to have sincerely good intentions. I should be very sorry to confound them all under one character.—I should be very sorry to believe that there existed in any great number of them a disposition to overthrow the Constitution. I should therefore most deeply regret, if what has occurred, should be made the pretext for introducing *new laws*, inconsistent with the true spirit of the British Constitution (*hear, hear, hear!*) If any individuals should appear to be animated with evil designs, that ought not to be advanced as a reason for depriving *the people of England*, who have borne the heavy burdens imposed on them with patience so exemplary, of their constitutional rights and privileges—their best possessions and their best hopes. If such be the conduct that your Lordships should unfortunately pursue, will not the people of England with justice exclaim—we sought for bread, and are requited with a stone (*hear, hear!*)? *Will you shew them that the Parliament are more anxious to limit their rights than to relieve their wants—to fetter the voice of complaint rather than attend to the prayer of their aggravated distresses?*

EARL HARROWBY.—In common with the Noble Earl (GREY,) he felt for the outrage that yesterday engaged the attention of their Lordships. He felt the deepest abhorrence and detestation, at the same time that *he could not entertain the doubt that appeared to hang upon the Noble Earl's mind, as to the intention of the outrageous attempt. He could not see greater elucidation in the evidence on the former attempt on the life of the King, than was now proved in the attempt on the Prince Regent.* So, far as the actual evidence before the House—were there not confirmatory reasons for the same opinions in the state of the public mind, and the reprehensible and *seditions* endeavours to delude and prejudice it? Was it astonishing after the dissemination of so many PUBLICATIONS tending to excite odium and hatred against the illustrious per-

sonage at the head of the Government, that an impression of rancour was excited amongst *misguided persons smarting under distress*, and too prone to listen to base calumniators? Rather was it not natural to expect that doctrines of such a tendency had fallen on the soil congenial to the production of their natural fruit [*hear, hear!*] that the base attempt on the Prince Regent was the expected result? The astonishment would be, that outrage had not resulted, or that the aggressors were not more numerous—when every person connected with the Government of the country had been represented as living by public extortion, as fattening on the public spoil.

MARQUIS WELLESLEY.—He must clearly express his notion of *all* the idle theories of *Reform* that had met his eye or ear. However different in their forms, *all* those which he had lately seen or heard of, seemed to be in total and *complete subversion* of the Constitution of the Kingdom. They talked of *universal suffrage and annual election* as inherent rights, when at no time and in no manner could they be proved to be consistent with the *present frame* of our Constitution.—Thank God, they were as impracticable as they were unsound. *Universal suffrage!*—The idea was *utterly ridiculous* applied to a people like that of the United Kingdom. To make the House of Commons the simple organ of democracy was at variance with the very first principle of our three-fold system. Nay, our system was more than three-fold. *There was a mysterious amalgamation that matted all the branches into one another, giving them kindred and connection even in their distinctness.* The balanced nature of the Government therefore led to the balanced nature of the representation, and *all attempts to change it*, so as to take away the intermixture and relation that now existed, *would be no other than a Revolution*—a Revolution as ruinous to the people themselves as to the Government which they sought to destroy.

LORD SIDMOUTH.—RETRENCHMENT HAD BEEN CARRIED AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, consistent with the interests of the country; it would be for the House to consider whether it should be carried farther. THE REDUCTION IN THE ARMY WAS LOWER THAN SOUND POLICY WOULD PERHAPS ALLOW, and it had in fact aggravated the distress, by increasing the number of persons out of employment.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

JANUARY 29, 1817.

Mr. CURWEN.—Upon the important question of *Parliamentary Reform*, he had always entertained but one opinion; and the words of Mr. Pitt, at the conclusion of the American war, seemed almost prophetic—"That we could not have indemnity for the past, nor security for the future, *without it*." While the people were *smarting under present distresses* their language might not always be temperate, but *their conduct* would always be loyal, and they had too much love for the Crown, and for the benefits they enjoyed under it, to wish for a moment to adopt any of the wild schemes of a few infatuated individuals. Their love did not depend upon the individual whose brow it circled; but if the Prince Regent had been anxious to make himself popular, he ought to have set the example of retrenchment, and to have abridged himself of a few of his luxuries, that his people might not be deprived of the absolute necessities of life. (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

Mr. BROUGHAM—said he was an enemy, as much as any man, to certain delusions practised out of doors, respecting rights that never had an existence. He despised such efforts from the bottom of his heart. To say that the whole of our grievances were owing to the want of an equal representation of the people, was a great exaggeration. But the intolerable weight of taxes stood foremost in his opinion, in causing a continuance of the sufferings under which we laboured. He concluded with repeating his desire for a Committee on the State of the Nation, which would prove that our only alternative was retrenchment or national bankruptcy.

Mr. CANNING.—It has been asked, were those who assembled to petition the Legislature to be treated as insurgents? Certainly not. But did those who professed that purpose always adhere strictly to the execution of it? He had heard of a meeting in *Spafields* called for the purpose of petitioning; but he had also heard of a waggon laden with ammunition [*in the foot of an old Stocking!* Ed.] that was there also, and to him this appeared no necessary appendage to a petition for

Parliamentary Reform. Whenever this question should be agitated, *he was prepared to meet it*—not with any objection founded upon inconvenience, not with any suggestion of partial or temporary modifications, but should be prepared to oppose the remedy by a direct denial of the grievance. (*Hear, hear.*) He denied that that House was not, to all useful purposes, an adequate representation of the people. Against all theories he was determined to take his stand (*Hear, hear.*)—He warned those who listened to these doctrines, that those who set the stone rolling were not always able to controul its impetus. The Hon. and Learned Gent. had called them wild and visionary reformers, but they were in fact the masters of the Hon. and Learned Gent. and of all those who called themselves moderate reformers. If the House would submit, like innocent lambs, they would soon find that they would be sheared to the very quick. He read an extract from a publication, entitled, we believe, "The Spencean Plan." Among other principles it was stated, "that the only security for freedom was the restoration of the land to the people; and without that even revolution would be unnecessary." Again it was declared, "that the people were the only proprietors of the soil." How far did the plans of the moderate reformers fall short of these principles? and how were they sure that when they set the whirlwind in motion, they would be able to direct its course?

Mr. TIERNEY regretted Lord CASTLE-REAGH's absence, as he was once a prominent advocate for reform, agreeing with Mr. PITT and others, and if he had not changed, might have opposed Mr. CANNING's anathemas against Reformers. He Mr. Tierney avowed himself a friend to reform, but not to annual parliaments and universal suffrage; but thought it required mature and serious deliberation. Unless he heard something more substantial than Mr. CANNING's speech, he believed he should die a friend to it.

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SATURDAY, FEB. 8, 1817

[VOL. I.]

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE
AND ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS
against
MR. BROUGHAM AND THE WHIGS.

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY.

LOYAL LIVERY.

LOYAL INFLAMMATORY PLACARD.

The *House of Commons* is composed of two principal *Factions*.—those in power, and those who *wish* to be in power; and besides these factions, of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and Lord COCHRANE, between whom unfortunately there seems to be too little co-operation, and of a few other persons of equivocal opinions. The *HOUSE* may be divided into, 1st. those who have the actual sweets of office, viz. money wrung from the people; power over the nation, which enables them to indulge their ambitious propensities; and what are called honours, to flatter self-love, pride, and ignorance. 2nd. Their dependants gasping for jobs, and contracts, and emoluments,—for themselves and their hungry, proud, beggarly relations.

The *OUTS* are a motley, heterogeneous, incongruous mass, which never amalgamates but to abuse the people: on every other point there are disagreements enough among them; but when their prey is in view, no mouth is shut, no hand is closed, all are eager to seize even the offal, in any shape, and in any state—nothing is too mean as *emolument*, nothing too base as *calumny*.

From the *INS* nothing is expected but that they should use all the means they possess, and exercise all the tricks of their

predecessors, to keep what they possess, and to add to it. From the *OUTS* as little of good ought to be expected, and indeed, very little is expected. They may be said to compose the tail of the mighty leader CHARLES JAMES FOX, who, in the true spirit of a MODERN WHIG, when *out* of office always used words favourable to the liberties of the people, and who, when *in* office, always did acts destructive of the liberties of the people—who was always their FRIEND when he could do them *no* service, and always their ENEMY when he could do them *injury*.

The *OUTS*, who were *once* so proud of being called WHIGS as to stun us with the sound, are now fairly ashamed of the title—they are no longer WHIGS—they disclaim the use of the term. But, why this change, why refuse the *watch* word—the *catch* word—the famous *cabalistic* wonder-working word?—why, but because it was used as a cover for rascality, which having at length been lifted by the reformers, and the roguery exposed—the humbug could be no longer continued.—The WHIGS played their game so long and so successfully, they cajoled and deluded the people so often, that they became infatuated, and were the last to perceive what every body saw most clearly. They continued their tricks and their *name*, until it stunk in the nose of the whole people.

Unearthed—driven from cover,—they showed themselves the *open Enemies* of REFORM which they had previously affected to advocate, “and rallied round the minister” the moment he seemed likely to want a shield against the *just*

demands of the insulted and injured people.

The two last sessions were employed by them in factious, vexatious, and petty opposition to the minister; the *people* were not even talked of:—the word indeed was scarcely used, and a foreigner might, if he had no other information than the debates, conclude, that here, as in some other countries, there was no "*Public*"—nothing but a horde of wretched, miserable slaves, too few and too contemptible to claim the notice of the mighty persons who wrangled and abused one another. During the debates on the Corn bill, the kindest words the OUTS condescended to use towards the ENLIGHTENED PEOPLE of this country were words of *reproach*;—and some, who affected to be the most *popular*, called them "*Fools and Incendiaries*"—*misguided Rabble*, seeking their ends by popular clamour;"—they cautioned the ministers to *pay no regard to their petitions*—assuring them, if they did, that they, the INS, would be *ousted*—and that they, the OUTS, would be unable to keep their places if they got in."—*Popular influence* was to be resisted—*popular influence IN THE PEOPLE'S OWN HOUSE* was not to be permitted—*popular influence*, and *public expression* were to be extinguished—the "*cancerous part*," as one of our orators has elegantly designated the *Reformists*—"the *cancerous part*" (of the people) "*must be CUT OFF*."

While the mass of the PEOPLE remained in silence on the great question of Parliamentary Reform, the only question of any real importance to them, the OUTS were silent as the grave. Not a whisper was heard among them. Instead of going among the people, and taking the lead, as men who *REALLY* sought the peace and comfort and happiness of the country would have done, they stood aloof. The people called MEETINGS of themselves—none of the OUTS attended them. The meetings were pub-

lic—the proposals were clear and definite—the OUTS took no part. The *people* went on steadily, orderly, and legally—they abused no one; their object was the restoration of their rights, the restoring of liberty and happiness to their country. Stung to the quick at perceiving the people *doing their own business*, in a manly, intelligent, open, undisguised way, the OUTS could no longer contain their malice. First, they accused them of being *refractory*. "Why," it was said, "do the *Reformists* keep aloof? Why do they not join their friends in the honourable House? Why do they not agree with their *natural leaders*?" and blame, in all manner of ways, was heaped upon them, for not doing what it was impossible for them to do. The Reformists replied, "we have waited long enough, and have had experience enough of *your kindness* towards us; we knew *you* would do nothing—would *concur* in nothing, unless it were to oust the ministry to get their PLACES. We called PUBLIC MEETINGS—why did not *you* attend them? We proposed ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS—why did not *you* come among us, and, by argument, convince us that Annual Parliaments would be injurious? We proposed UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE—why did not *you* attend, and shew us our error? We proposed suffrage as extensive as direct taxation—why did not *you* come and laud that proposition? Why, having done none of these things, dare *you* to abuse us? Who, Mr. BROUGHAM, are the "*demagogues*" whom you hold up to execration? What are the "*wild, vague, impracticable, pernicious propositions*," of which *you* speak? And what right have YOU to use these terms? *You*, who have all along taken care to be so *vague*, that, to this hour, no man can tell, in what that "*degree of reform*," of which *you* speak, consists—While we have *clearly, specifically, and NOT VAGUELY*, laid our propositions open to discussion, it seems only to meet with abuse for argument, and declamation for sense. "*Impracticable*!"—why

impracticable? Because *power* says they shall not be put in practice. "Pernicious," because they would put an end to "CORRUPTION"—that "*Oil of the state machine*," praised by Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG, as 'one of the most excellent things in our glorious Constitution; the obtaining a few *drops* of which seems to be the sole end and object of all *sham* Reformists. He who talks of wild, *vague*, and impracticable propositions, should read the "BILL for Reform of Parliament," introduced in the year 1783, by the late DUKE of RICHMOND, and his "Letter to COLONEL SHARMAN, clearly demonstrating the right of the People to Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments;" and when he has, *in as temperate language as these papers contain*, REFUTED THEM, he will deserve attention and respect, and will be followed, but *not 'till then*. Abuse and Calumny and Misrepresentation and pains and penalties, although contrived or used by the most subtle *Lawyers*, will not now either deter or convince the people; neither will they lessen the *National debt*, nor pay the taxes.

No sooner had Lord COCHRANE presented a PETITION FOR REFORM, than the OUTS rushed forwards, open mouthed, *to assist the minister to put him down, and to deter the people from petitioning*.—Nothing was right, nothing could please them; they knew that about A THOUSAND PETITIONS, signed by nearly a MILLION of men, were to be presented. They knew that a FORM of a PETITION had been sent round, for those who concurred, to sign. They knew that if ONE of them was rejected, the others could not be presented; and thus a vast portion of the people would not be heard.—To argue that the petition should be rejected, would have been too barefaced; that was therefore left to the INS—while a more artful part was taken by the OUTS.

Mr. CANNING—a gentleman of equivocal generation—having talked of rebellion and treason, and

Mr. DAWSON having said—the reformers went forth like fanatics, the bible in one hand and a sword in the other, Mr. LAMB called them incendiaries and liars.

Mr. BROUGHAM said they would "*overthrow the Constitution*." That their propositions were "*wild, vague, and impracticable*;" but he did not condescend to inform the House what in his OPINION WAS PRECISE AND PRACTICABLE.

Mr. BRAND called the petitions the "*wild and impracticable schemes of demagogues*."

Mr. TIERNEY disclaimed the reformers.

All, ALL harped upon the same string—the HOUSE was in unison, and the Petition was rejected.

Lord COCHRANE—the *hard-hearted* LORD COCHRANE, unmoved by the *pitteous requests* of both the INS and the OUTS, refused to *withdraw* the petition, and forced the OUTS to show their *insignificance* by compelling them to vote against the feeling they had mainly assisted to *excite*.

The OUTS having performed their parts thus far, and a day of rest intervening, on account of the act, which in the year 1649 removed a Tyrant, the tool of the party was set to work to smooth the way for the next exhibition; and Mr. JAMES PERRY put the following prelude into his MORNING CHRONICLE:

"Our readers will see, that in both Houses of Parliament, the most decided opinions were pronounced against the scheme of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, which constitutes the prayer of ALL THE PETITIONS framed by the chief movers of Parliamentary Reform, and which have been transmitted from every part of the kingdom for presentation in the House of Commons. The number of these Petitions is nearly ONE THOUSAND, and they are said to be SIGNED BY NEARLY HALF A MILLION OF MEN! We must lament the DELUSION that

has spread so wide, since thereby a false direction has been given to the popular sentiment; and they have been drawn to the contemplation of a theory that would be the total ruin, not only of the *Constitution*, but of **THE COUNTRY (!!!)** By universal suffrage, the representation would be vested almost exclusively in the inhabitants of the great towns, by which the landed interest would be annihilated. **ELECTION BY HOUSEHOLDERS WOULD HAVE NEARLY THE SAME EFFECT.** By dividing the United Kingdom into districts, giving one representative to every 4000 householders (which is the proposed average) the metropolis and its vicinity would have fifty representatives. Every other great town would have a member in proportion; and thus trade, manufacture, and money would engross the representation."

This *time-serving* creature too joined in the howl against the reformers—**UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE** must be *scoffed*. Only think what an *enormity* it would be to allow those "who have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them"—the "scum and dregs of society, the swinish multitude," to have a vote!—of what service are *they* to the state?—*they* pay no taxes, *they* fight none of our battles, *they* are not cajoled to become soldiers, *they* are never seized and robbed of themselves by a press gang, *they* sow no corn, *they* reap no harvest, *they* dig no mines, *they* smelt no ore, *they* produce nothing in manufactories, *they* navigate no ships, *they* catch no fish, *they* do no useful thing, nothing comes from *their* labour—No, no, Mr. PERRY, the **RICH** do all these things with *their own* hands; and, praised be their benevolence, they clothe the naked and feed the hungry; in *their* bounty, the common people "live and "move and have their being."

If, indeed, the **LABOURERS** produced the whole of what *they*, as well as the *rich* consume, if from *their* exertions came the houses, the furniture, the equipages, and the revenues of the *rich*, then, indeed, Mr.

PERRY, it would be difficult to find reasons for excluding *them* from voting.

This point having been *settled*—comfortably and *quietly* disposed of—Mr. PERRY, assuming as much gravity, and affecting the manner of his master EARL GREY, proceeds to *disqualify*, by his *ipse dixit*,—the **HOUSEKEEPERS**.—It would be very absurd that *housekeepers* should vote; Government requires nothing from *them*—why should, *they* vote? The mere plodding *Tradesman*, or *Farmer*, of what use is *he* in society?—is *he* ever called upon to serve on juries, to fill the office of constable, to be a churchwarden or overseer, to lend *his* carts and horses and men to convey troops or baggage, or to be *useful in any way*? He is *too ignorant* to do any of *these* things, and of course too ignorant to choose his representative. Besides, does *he* ever pay either tithes or taxes, or highway rates, or charges for draining the land? Does *he* contribute to keep up sea walls, or sluices?—does *he* ever pay Poor rates, or Excise Duties, or Customs, or House Tax, or Window Tax, or Stamp Tax, or Horse Tax, or Assessed Tax, or Commutation Tax, or Income Tax, or Dog Tax? Mr. PERRY knows he pays *none* of these—let him be *disfranchised* then where he *now* votes, and let us hear no more of admitting others of *his class* to vote; he has neither *intellect* nor *property* to be represented.

The right of **VOTING**, if it could be regulated by this Sycophant and by **HIS PARTY**, if *they* had the power, would soon be limited to the *Placemen*, the *Pensioners*, the *Sinecurists*, and the **GREAT Landowners**.—**THEY** would be the *people*, and the rest of the nation would be *slaves*—Feudal times would be restored, and ignorance, superstition, and barbarity, would re-appear with all their tyranny, mummary, and cruelty. Fortunately, the return to this condition is *impossible*; and, unhappy as is the present state of the nation, ages of comfort and happiness are before them; nor can the miserable, short-sighted mode of governing by *expedients*,

whether exercised by the INS or the OUTS, prevent this approach.

No answer is given, and none can be given to the reasons urged in favour of ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS. No man can shew that any thing desirable in *Triennial* Parliaments is not included in *Annual* Parliaments; while a great many good things have been shewn to be included in annual Parliaments which do not exist in *triennial*. But Mr. PERRY and HIS PARTY say this too must not be allowed. One single observation in favour of restoring *annual* Parliaments, is worth more than all the sophistry which has been, or will be, or can be used in favour of *triennial* Parliaments. It would put an end to *corruption*; it would put an end to *demoralizing* the people; the *whole nation* from the KING to the beggar would be better men; *intellect* would receive a new stimulus; integrity, and honest dealing, and uprightness in every possible way would then be countenanced, where now they are despised. ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS would do more good in a MORAL view than all the TEACHING and PREACHING and WHIPPING, and TRANSPORTING and HANGING can remove, while the practice of elections, the natural consequences of long parliaments, continues.

On Friday, the 1st of February, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, on presenting petitions from *Halifax* in Yorkshire, fought a stout battle against an attempt to narrow the right of petitioning. The petitioners prayed for Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage as their RIGHTS, and for which their forefathers had bled.

These expressions called up Mr. BROUGHAM, who, in the language of the Chronicle, said, "he felt it the duty of every friend to the people, every man interested in the protection of popular rights, every man sincerely disposed to alleviate the severe pressure that now afflicted the country, to lose no time or opportunity in counteracting the wild, the mischievous, the absurd, nay, blundering delu-

sions so unhappily misleading a great and respectable part of the community from the true path of relief and safety. [HEAR, from ALL sides]. No man could entertain a higher respect for a great proportion of the persons who had signed those Petitions. His confidence in the honesty of their views made him the more acutely feel the deviation from any practicable course of redress which they were so blindly pursuing. He felt how severely they were distressed—how aggravated their sufferings, and how natural were their complaints. He was aware that they flew to Parliament, under the hope and expectation of obtaining real and substantial relief. Good God, can they anticipate such a result from universal suffrage? The thing was impracticable; but, were it possible would it be a remedy? It would be the opening to unparalleled mischief. Yet so strong existed the delusion, that the very Petitions before the House prayed for UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, as the inevitable, imprescriptible RIGHT for which their ancestors had shed their blood. When was this right ever exercised?"

Mr. BROUGHAM is a Lawyer, and forgetting, in his zeal, that he was not preaching for a fee, he treated the petition of the people of Halifax precisely as he would have done a slip of the tongue of a brother barrister, who, like himself, had been paid to confound common sense.

The petitioners seem to have applied a general term, true enough in itself, in a particular sense, in which they were a little incorrect. True enough it is that their forefathers fought for their rights, and UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE is a RIGHT, an undoubted right, and must continue to be a right so long as a human being exists. "But," says the Lawyer "your forefathers did not fight specifically and particularly for universal suffrage, and therefore it is not a right; but the orator was here the mere technical lawyer, quite out of his place. His legal understanding could comprehend

nothing of *right* but what he could find in the statute-book: there is no law, says he, "*giving*" or "*granting*" you this right, and therefore *no* such right exists. LAW, according to *this Expounder* of our liberties, *Law* alone makes the RIGHT, and *reason* has nothing to do with it. "If you had no *laws* you would have no *rights*, and I defy any man to shew me the contrary." It is extremely difficult to shew any thing having *reason* for its basis, that can be comprehended by a dull *legal* understanding, but Mr. BROUGHAM ought to have known that the LAW is *not* the *rule* of RIGHT, preventing and excluding whatever it does not *forbid*. He ought to have known, that *every man has a right to do whatever the law does not forbid him doing*, and that RIGHTS may, and *do* exist, although they are not *exercised*. But it is not a *Law*.—We know it is not a *Law*. It never *was* a *law*.—We know that too. It has been so contrived, that we shall not EXERCISE our RIGHT, and it is of this we complain. We say, LET A LAW BE MADE to allow us the exercise of our RIGHT, which you have by other laws deprived us of. If no *law* had been made to prevent us exercising our *right*, none would now be necessary to restore it to us; we should have been in full possession of it, so that your *rule of right*, so far from being the *true rule of right*, has in fact been a *subtraction of RIGHT*. But, still, it never *was* the *Law*—and is that a reason why it should be stigmatized, and why those who endeavour to procure a law to be made should be abused and condemned. The WHIGS have made, and assisted to make, *many laws highly injurious to the people*, but they cannot hear, with patience, of a proposition for discussing a project for a law which is to be serviceable to them.

"When," asks Mr. BROUGHAM, "was this right exercised, or where was the theatre of this struggle? Do they fancy it existed in the reign of King John, or was established in the contest

with Charles the First? If any individual can produce one proof out of any history of the country in support of such a claim, then, he would only observe, that it had wholly escaped his historic research, and he would feel gratified in being allowed access to the authority. [Hear, hear!] In the ancient period so fondly appealed to, the great body of the people, instead of franchises and votes, were in a state of villainage, holden as beasts of burden, under the controul and disposal of a small proportion of their Chiefs. If the people of England, in place of being treated in the bitterness of their sufferings with contumely and reproof, were enlightened on the prevailing errors—had the true merits of their constitutional claims been explained, and were they rescued from the controul of *leaders, who, either from ignorance or worse motives, were misleading them*, the Constitution would derive true improvement, and the public mind would be directed to the salutary and substantial remedy for their distress. [Hear, hear!]"

And this is to be conclusive against its being *exercised*, is it?—the people were then "slaves and vassals;" true—they were; and the Barons, who for their own purposes compelled the wretched King JOHN to sign *Magna Charta*, intended to keep them slaves and vassals, to transfer them, to buy and sell them: they never contemplated the growth of intellect, the parent of independence, which enabled the people to take advantage of the weakness and the animosities of the Lords of those days to recover their liberties. The language of *Magna Charta* is—"No FREE-MAN shall be taken, nor imprisoned, nor disseised, nor outlawed, nor exiled, nor destroyed in any manner; nor will we pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." It excluded none but *slaves*; we are now all FREEMEN, it excludes none of us, and we demand, that the provisions of the Charter, the full exercise of the rights it secured to

the FREEMEN of that day, be restored to us, the FREEMEN of this day.

There has always been a struggle in *this country* of KNOWLEDGE against power; and knowledge in the long run has always gained the victory, and knowledge will still continue victorious.

Bigotry and Tyranny have but too often destroyed the best and wisest of their day; but Bigotry and Tyranny are happily stupid in respect to some important points:—neither can strike until it be too late—and then the striking, although it destroys the individual, confirms and strengthens truth, and assists to the propagation of it.

Will Mr. BROUGHAM condescend to look again into history, and observe how very wretched the people were made after the Conquest by the base-minded Norman and his savage successors. He will find the country depopulated; the King, the Priests, the Barons revelling in barbaric luxury and debauchery; the people bought and sold and mutilated and murdered at their good pleasure. Ignorance and brutality—and nothing but ignorance and brutality—existed from one end of the island to the other, when learning was so uncommon, that *being able to read* excused a man for murder. If he will do this, and if he will carefully point out to us the progress of mind, the march of science and knowledge and liberty, and shew the immediate and remote, the general and particular causes, if he will observe the steps, and point them out clearly to us, he will do us a great service and shall receive our thanks. The History of England, in the view *here* taken of it, yet remains to be written. In his progress he will have to remark that those KINGS who have been considered the *worst*, those who have actually approached the nearest to monsters, the most voluptuous, unsparing, bloody tyrants, have been by far *the greatest promoters of liberty*; and that the quiet, sober, sly hypocrites,—those who affected to love the people—those of the domestic farming kind,—were its greatest enemies. The sa-

vage fury of some, the war mania of others, the vindictive malice of yet a larger number against their relatives—the desire in *all* of them to compel the great Lords to submission, involved them in all manner of difficulties—and the greater those difficulties, the more were they obliged to have recourse to the people.—“I want,” said the King, “a *subsidy*.”—“We want,” said the people—“a *redress of grievances*.”—“I cannot attend to this long string of *complaints* just now,” said the King.—“*We will give you no money until you do*,” replied the people; and thus our brave forefathers extorted from their oppressors, first *one* portion and then *another* portion of those LIBERTIES of which they had been *robbed*. Sometimes the King made war upon the Nobles—sometimes the Nobles made war upon him—sometimes when one man pretended his right to govern, to cajole, and to plunder the nation, another man opposed him on the ground that his was a better *right*.—“*My mother*,” says one, “was *less unfaithful* to her husband than yours was; and I have therefore a better claim to be King:” and the nation was involved in a civil war because a woman of *title* had been a *prostitute*.

This at the time produced great misery, but the dependence the haughty pretenders were compelled to have on the people for support, increased the importance of the people, and although they were made wretched at the moment, it enabled them to go on in the good cause of liberty:—their sacrifices were great—they lost their property—they lost their lives—but they still continued their progress. Painful indeed were their steps, and slowly taken, but they were sure; and if for a time they appeared to *retrograde*, they always availed themselves of the first opportunity to prove it was in *appearance only*.

Mr. BROUGHAM should mark these things well, nor should he slightly pass over the accusations, the imputations, the abuse, and calumnies heaped upon them, by the *powerful*, by the enemies of liberty,

by those who hated or feared them, and by those whose pride or ignorance prevented them seeing the necessity of the change in the laws; and, in their administration, to adapt them to the improved state of the people all innovation was denied; then, *as now*, every proposal for redress of wrongs or the restoration of RIGHT was *resisted as long as possible*—all their proposals were “*wild, vague, impracticable, pernicious, destructive of the constitution*”—and if those who so opposed them *then*, could have prevented the changes which *were* made, we should not *now* be discussing the right of *universal* suffrage, or the expediency of its adoption. Look to Spain, look to Portugal, look to Turkey, look to Barbary, to Tripoly, to Algiers, to Tunis, to Morocco, in these countries no “*wild, vague, impracticable, pernicious innovations*” have been made in the way of REFORM, and in all these countries the people are debased and kept down as low as the greatest despot can desire. There is no “*public clamour*” in these countries—no *public meetings*, no clear-headed writers, no arts, no science, NO LIBERTY—all is superstition—superstition in its most extended and worst forms, benumbing all the excellent faculties of man; while tyranny, with its uplifted hand, holds ropes and chains and racks and gibbets over the victims on whose necks it has fixed its accursed foot. Look to Russia, where the *cudgel* is the law; where, as a celebrated writer has told us, the Emperor beats the Noble, who beats the next beneath him, who beats his dependent; where *the cudgel never ceases* throughout the land. And why all this? *Why*, in the 19th century do these practices still continue? Simply, because THE PEOPLE have not done themselves justice. They have left the ordering of the state to the wisdom of their rulers, who take care to keep them in ignorance, the better to abuse them; they have made them approximate as much as they could do, to the state of brute beasts; and

they treat them worse than beasts. What has preserved this country from the fate of so many others, but the “*wild, vague, impracticable, pernicious propositions*” of our ancestors, who had not only the courage to propose, but the courage to fight for them, and to fight until they were obtained? MR. BROUGHAM has lately been in *Italy*, and his account of the state of mind of its inhabitants, in regard to liberty, would be a useful comment on the practices, and propositions, of the freer people of England.

Why has MR. BROUGHAM put himself forward? why has *he* consented to become the mouth-piece of a CONTEMP-TIBLE FACTION who “*palter with him in a double sense*” to lure him to his ruin?—*Has* MR. BROUGHAM suffered disappointment in his expectations of being returned for WESTMINSTER, to *sour his temper*? Is he so weak as to suffer passion to subdue reason—to put himself in a condition to be USED by artful men as a TOOL, to be laid aside when his measure of folly is filled? Let him beware *in time*. He has talent; he has pertinacity, bordering on the right kind of courage; he may be a highly useful and highly important person; but he has no time to lose:—a little more trifling, a little longer delay, and MR. BROUGHAM will find himself derided by his quondam friends, and *despised by the people*.

The real friends of Mr. BROUGHAM must not suppose there is any satisfaction in commenting upon his *misconduct*—much more pleasant indeed would it be to write his eulogy. But when Mr. BROUGHAM sets his mark on every man who writes, or speaks, or takes an active part in any way, for what those persons conceive will benefit the people; when, instead of endeavouring to convince them of their error by sound argument, he indiscriminately condemns them all; when HE *urges on the Minister to cry* A PLOT; when he, by abusive epithets, and the vulgar practice of imputing *bad motives*, assists to produce a spirit of persecution;

when his vehement exclamations against *some of the best men in the country*, have a tendency to withdraw from them the best sympathies of our nature, and to hold them up as objects of abhorrence, he must not expect to escape being exposed and censured. Mr. BROUGHAM *has courted popular favour*; many excellent persons took a decided part for him; a still larger number were ready to support him whenever he should *by his conduct* satisfy them he was *no trifler*. Mr. BROUGHAM *knew this*, and was gratified by it. Mr. BROUGHAM *might have been* any thing the most popular Englishman ought to wish to be, and with as much ease too, as it will cost him pains to act a subordinate part with the *ci-devant* WHIGS.

Both the INS and the OUTS having proceeded thus far, the next step was to be taken by the *ministers*, and accordingly the following message was delivered to both Houses of Parliament:—

“GEORGE, P. R.—His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, has given orders that there be laid before the House of Commons, Papers containing information respecting certain practices, meetings, and combinations, in the metropolis and in different parts of the kingdom, evidently calculated to endanger the public tranquillity, to alienate the affections of his Majesty’s subjects from his Majesty’s person and government, and to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and constitution.

“His Royal Highness recommends to the House of Commons to take these Papers into their immediate and serious consideration.

“GEORGE, P. R.

Upon this the COURIER remarks that “it may not be unseasonable to refer to two periods of our history, the year 1794 and 1795—the first of these years being the one in which *the conduct of seditious societies* was made the subject of Parliamentary investigation; the second being

the year in which the King’s life was attempted as he went to open the Session of Parliament. On the 12th May, 1794, a Message from the King was delivered to both Houses, in which his Majesty informed them that ‘having received information that the seditious practices which have been for some time carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with societies in different parts of the country, have lately been pursued with increased activity and boldness, and have been avowedly directed to the object of assembling a pretended General Convention of the People, in contempt and defiance of the authority of Parliament, and on principles subversive of the existing Laws and Constitution, and directly tending to the introduction of that system of anarchy and confusion which has fatally prevailed in France, has given directions for seizing the books and papers of the said societies in London, which have been seized accordingly; and these books and papers appearing to contain matter of the greatest importance to the public interest, his Majesty has given orders for laying them before the House of Commons; and his Majesty recommends it to the House to consider the same.’

“These books and papers were referred to a Secret Committee which made its report on the 16th May. The object of the seditious then was to assemble a General Convention. Parliamentary Reform was their avowed object, but ‘*they plainly shewed*,’ said Mr. PITT, ‘*that they looked for no-reform, but from the Convention they had in view; advising, however, a continuance of petitions for reform as a cover to their designs.*’ Mr. PITT, in consequence of the report of the Secret Committee, moved for a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. A bill was accordingly brought in for that purpose, and passed both Houses.

“The Message brought down yesterday to Parliament is more concise than the one delivered in 1794, though the system

of appointing Delegates to a Convention has been acted upon, and though the principles avowed in tracts and pamphlets circulated with such industry, and in speeches at public meetings, tend as in 1794 to the subversion of the Constitution.

"In 1795, on the 29th Oct. an attempt was made upon the life of his MAJESTY, on his way to the House of Peers, to open the Sessions of Parliament. Witnesses, as in the present instance, were examined before the House of Lords, and the evidence was communicated to the House of Commons. On the 4th Nov. a Proclamation was issued, and our readers will be struck with the coincidence between that period and the present:—'Whereas,' said the Proclamation of Nov. 1794, 'it hath been represented to us, that immediately before the opening of the present Session of Parliament, a great number of persons were collected in fields in the neighbourhood of the Metropolis, by advertisements and handbills, and that divers inflammatory discourses were delivered to the persons so collected, and divers proceedings were had, tending to create groundless jealousy and discontent, and to endanger the public peace, and the quiet and safety of our faithful subjects: And whereas it hath also been represented to us, that divers seditious and treasonable papers have been lately distributed, tending to excite evil disposed persons to acts endangering our Royal Person: And whereas such proceedings have been followed, on the day on which the present Session of Parliament commenced, by acts of tumult and violence, and by daring and highly criminal outrages, in direct violation of the public peace, to the immediate danger of our Royal Person, and to the interruption of our passage to and from our Parliament,' &c.

"Every word of this Proclamation might be applied to the present period. In consequence of the Proclamation, and of the Minutes of Evidence, taken before the House of Peers, Lord Grenville proposed a Bill for the Safety and Preservation of

his Majesty's Person and Government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts. A Bill was also introduced for the Prevention of Seditious Meetings. Both the Bills were passed by large majorities.

"Such were the proceedings adopted in the two periods alluded to. *It is probable, though we do not speak from authority, that the measures to be proposed at present will be similar to those adopted after the atrocious attack upon the KING in 1795.*"

The vile tool who probably wrote this article, was, at the time to which he alludes, a radical reformer himself—and he knows that the *Seditious Societies*, of which he speaks, consisted of many thousands of persons—that their object was PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, and nothing but Parliamentary Reform. He however quotes Mr. PITT, as saying—"they plainly shewed that they looked for no Reform, but from the Convention they had in view; advising, however, a continuance of Petitions for Reform as a cover to their designs." But how was this made manifest?—not by any thing proved in any place. What was it then which so plainly shewed their intentions? Was it a secret kept from all the members of these societies? Were the vast numbers who composed them all ignorant of their own designs; or, knowing them, did no one divulge the secret?—Was it possible for the designs so openly charged upon them to exist, and yet be incapable of proof? No man in his senses can believe it possible. So far indeed were these societies from being proved seditious, that none of their publications were prosecuted; not a single *ex officio* could be filed against any of their proceedings: and this shews how dangerous it is to take the word of a CORRUPT MINISTER for the proof of a fact against THE PEOPLE, in favour of the arbitrary measures he may desire to use.

The assertions of PITT and DUNDAS were affected to be believed by their tools, and the REPRESENTATIVES of the people obliged them by agreeing to sus-

pend the HABEAS CORPUS ACT. The minister was now empowered to put into prison whom he pleased, and a number of individuals were accordingly shut up; some in Newgate, some in the solitary prison at Clerkenwell, and some were sent to prison in the country. No particular warrant seems to have been issued against any of them; and one person, a respectable tradesman, was actually imprisoned, without being either examined or committed. The people thus incarcerated were kept in close confinement. Those in the COLD BATH FIELDS PRISON were not allowed to see their friends but at distant periods, and then but for a short space of time, and at a distance, and always in the presence of a turnkey placed as a spy upon them:—even their wives were denied access to them; and thus were innocent men imprisoned, and their families ruined, at the mere will and pleasure of Ministers. Innocent they certainly were, for no bill of indictment was preferred against any one of them—no legal prosecution was commenced—to no trial were any of them brought—but after *more than three years' confinement*, they were set at liberty without even entering into a recognizance for their good behaviour.

In vain did they demand to be tried—in vain did they assert their innocence, and call upon the public for support. The public ear had been *poisoned*, and the Minister rode triumphant over the liberties of Englishmen.

Towards the end of their imprisonment an offer was made to liberate them, upon condition of their entering into a recognizance to keep the peace. To this they replied, “we will enter into no recognizance; if we have broken the law, why do you not bring us to trial?—to sign a recognizance will be construed to imply a consciousness of guilt;—we are not guilty, and intend proving our innocence by actions against those who have violated the law in our persons. One of two things you shall do—you shall either meet us before a jury to defend your own conduct,

or you shall pass a bill of indemnity to screen you from the consequences of your illegal acts.” Finding that *three years' imprisonment* had not subdued the spirit of Englishmen, and fearing to meet those they had so basely injured, face to face, in a court of justice, a *Bill of Indemnity* was brought into the House of Commons, and *the brave but unfortunate men were turned loose upon the world*, without any means of redress for the injury they had suffered, and without any recompence for the ruin of their circumstances.

LET MR. BROUGHAM THINK OF THIS.

The COURIER says, “*there was to have been a CONVENTION OF DELEGATES, on principles subversive of the Constitution—books and papers were seized.*” True; books and papers were seized, and when seized, what did they prove?—why, truly, nothing more, than that the people wanted a REFORM OF PARLIAMENT—for, as was before observed, not one of these papers was ever prosecuted for libel. But there was to have been a CONVENTION—and NOW “*the system of appointing DELEGATES to a CONVENTION has been acted upon.*” What a BASE WRETCH is he, who thus openly puts a bare-faced falsehood into print. There has, as he and all the world knows, been no commotion; there has indeed been a meeting of persons calling themselves Delegates, for the purpose of framing a bill for REFORM—and where is the illegality of this? Folly there was in calling themselves Delegates, but no illegality in their assembling together. Who does not know that it is an every-day practice? Who does not know that meetings are held to form bills to be presented to the consideration of Parliament? In the case, for instance, of the bill to repeal part of the Statute 5th Elizabeth, which disqualified persons from following certain trades, unless they had served an apprenticeship of seven years, not only were there meetings, but a permanent committee was publicly appointed, which committee

corresponded with all the manufacturing towns in England; and when the Act had passed, they publicly voted, and as publicly gave a piece of plate to Mr. Serjeant ONSLOW, for having taken the bill into the House of Commons, and for the support he gave to it as a Member of that House.

What was perfectly harmless, nay, meritorious in a matter of trade, must be much more so in regard to the object for which the meeting, *villainously* called a CONVENTION, was held.

Where is the analogy between the present circumstances and those of 1795, except, indeed, in the throwing of stones at the royal carriage, which Lord Castle-reagh informed the House, did not produce the sealed bag, or the secret committee? He would be a bold man who should say, that no person was HIRED to throw the stone, for the purpose of giving effect to *certain measures*. It is very strange that stones could be thrown in the presence of a *host of constables* and others, whose *business* it was to observe all that passed, and to prevent improper conduct, and yet that no one actually throwing could be singled out. To say the least of it, this looks like extreme negligence. Were I Member of the House of Commons, I should be inclined to call the *magistrate who was on the spot*, when the window was broken, to the bar of the House, to account for this *strange circumstance*.

In 1794-5 we were at war, and invasion was threatened—now we are at peace.

In 1794-5, there were Corresponding and Constitutional Societies, and a system of DELEGATION, in full practice all over the kingdom—now there are no societies, no combinations of any kind.

In 1794-5, attempts were made to convince the people, that Reform was necessary—now THE MINISTERS have *themselves* demonstrated its necessity.

Nothing can be less alike than the two periods, and as there was *then* no reason for the conduct adopted by PITT, so there can be none for imitating it now.

Then, it was said, if you do not put down

the JACOBINS, all kinds of evils will come upon the country. The Jacobins *were* put down—the Minister had his full swing—he had rope enough: yet more misery has been brought upon the country than even the most credulous feared from the Jacobins of 1795, and the end of it can be foreseen by no human being.

The MORNING CHRONICLE of Wednesday, in a tone half snivelling, half bullying, complains thus of the conduct of the Reformers:—"The DEMAGOGUES are *shrewd* men, who do not err from ignorance or folly! and they know well that their speeches and writings have disgusted *all true friends* of our excellent Constitution; whilst they have had the effect of exciting an alarm throughout the country, which MAY PRESERVE MINISTERS IN THEIR PLACE (!!!) and perpetuate the immoderate and wanton system of public expenditure, which has deprived peace of its attributes and commerce of its elasticity. In every former period of our history, the Reformers, violent or moderate, attacked the notorious and avowed supporters of political abuses; but the new adventurers pursue a different game, and have aimed their blows at the constant and incorruptible friends of liberty. No common prey would satisfy them. Whatever was most exalted in mind, generous in temper, and *unsuspected on the side of PRINCIPLE* (!) was hunted down and mangled."

An indiscreet friend is often more to be feared than an open enemy. What service MR. PERRY expected to render HIS PARTY *by letting out the murder*, it would seem difficult to conceive; but it is out—they want to *turn out the present administration*—and they are foiled it seems—foiled by the "*demagogues*"—foiled by those, who the said Mr. PERRY is every day telling us are already "*put down by the good sense of the REAL reformers*"—that is, by THE WHIGS, that were.—This is, to be sure, a most *curious discovery*—The OUTS

could with a breath put down the reformers, and the reformers could, and have put down the *OUTS*!—Precious logic this, Mr. PERRY.—The reformers *HAVE* then prevented the *OUTS* from obtaining the loaves and fishes—So much the better—So far they have done a *REAL SERVICE* to the country—The men in office are gorged to the very throat—Their dependants are pretty well provided for—They can take little more;—why then exchange them for a set of hungry wolves, who, like “the Horse-leech’s three Daughters,” would continually cry, “*give! give!! GIVE!!!*”—Do we not indeed know *them* and their *acts*? have we not had *experience enough* of them?—What did *they* do when in office in favour of the people?—*NOTHING*—What did they do *against* them?—*Every thing*, it may be said, *which their short continuance in office could have enabled the most vile and profligate to accomplish*.—They made Lord GRENVILLE the *Auditor*; that is, the *Examiner* of his own accounts; they made a *Judge* a member of the Privy Council. Judges are to be independent of the Crown and its influence: of course independent of the Ministers and their influence. But a privy counsellor can be removed and disgraced at the will of the King; and experience of human nature forbids us to hope that he who accepts a situation incompatible with the rigid performance of a public duty, will relinquish the honours, and give up the power he has exercised, merely on account of incompatibility. In cases of *TREASON*, in cases as the late Earl STANHOPE called those of 1794-5, in cases of a “suspicion of being *suspected* of high treason”—the Privy council deliberates first, and then seizes whom it pleases—it examines those it seizes—it imprisons whom it has seized—it sends those it has seized to be tried for high treason if it pleases—and in those cases it acts on *ex-parte* evidence—it therefore *prejudges* the persons it sends for trial—and what can be so dangerous to our Liberties, as the *making the very*

JUDGE before whom *they* may be brought for trial one of those whose office necessarily produces prejudication?

Mr. FOX was esteemed “the best constitutional lawyer in England”—Mr. Fox was not then ignorant, neither were his colleagues ignorant, of the nature of the act they committed.

Mr. FOX raised the income tax to 10 per cent. and he told the people plainly, that he was driving them from the parlour to the garret—and for what? for the sake of HANOVER! *He*, who had called Hanover a “millstone round the necks of the people of England”—*he*, who had deprecated the keeping of Hanover at all—he, who had exclaimed against Hanover, as the cause of wasting more money than a thousand times the value of its land, and all it contained—he, who told us truly that it caused the death in war of more Englishmen, than its whole population many times told! When *OUT* of place, Mr. FOX never ceased to condemn the minister, and all former ministers, for their endeavours to please the House of Brunswick in regard to Hanover; but no sooner was he *IN* place, than he told the people that Hanover was as dear to the people of England as HAMPSHIRE—that he would have their substance, and degrade them in their condition for the sake of Hanover!

All kind of *Extravagance* was practised during his administration—the House which had obeyed the nod of his predecessors, now obeyed *his*, as it has since done his *successors*, and as it will that of any minister so long as it continues to be constituted *as it now is*—and until it be made a *REAL*, and not a *SHAM*, *REPRESENTATION* of the people.

While *OUT* of place, THE WHIGS advocated *REFORM OF PARLIAMENT*; but when *IN* place they deprecated the very *mention* of reform—the time was not then come—it would embarrass other measures—all kinds of excuses were made, both by them and by their friends; and the “*DELUDED PEOPLE*” were *cheated and plundered*, with as little

cerebrum as they had before been by Pitt and Dundas.

THE PEOPLE want no change of men; they are not NOW to be cajoled by this, or by that PARTY. They want a CHANGE OF MEASURES—and this they will have. Let them but be peaceable yet ACTIVE—patient, yet RESOLUTE—let them hold to their purpose—let them HOLD TO THE LAWS—and the powers of sin and death shall not prevail against them.

Leaving the further consideration of Mr. BROUGHAM'S conduct in connection with HIS PARTY, as well as some other subjects, on which I intended to remark, but for which there is not room, to a future opportunity, I merely beg the reader's attention to the following extract, from an "account of the Riots in London," on December 2, 1816, published by me about the middle of that month. Observing upon the excellent conduct of the LORD MAYOR, in insisting with the Secretary of State upon a Public Examination of the persons charged with riot in the City, I went on to say, "it is perhaps owing to his LORDSHIP that the *Pie-house Expedition* has not been by this time transformed into a most "*BLOODY PLOT*." Private examination mightily assists in the procuring and dove-tailing of circumstances, in themselves wholly unconnected; and the concoction of a "*TREASONABLE CONSPIRACY*" would have been very pretty employment against the meeting of Parliament. Even at this moment a '*Noble Lord*' is probably engaged in studying the attitude with which he shall rise from the Treasury-bench, throw a green bag full of papers on the table, and with right Katterfelto-looking horror affirm, that it contains certain proof of a most raging contempt against his Majesty's Ministers throughout the whole country, and ask the honourable House to oblige him by the little favour of SUSPENDING THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT!"

It now turns out that what I so wrote and printed two months ago is verified—the *Noble Lord* (CASTLEREAGH) has thrown his "*GREEN BAG*" upon the table of the House, and I am told by a gentleman who saw him, that his gait and gesture, on his coming out of the House, were admirably suited to the close of the business he had been doing. His Lord-

ship walked with such an air, as he assumes, perhaps, on reading the conclusion of a dispatch from Prince TALLEYRAND, which assures him of the said TALLEYRAND'S "*high consideration*." He held his head loftily, as if he were saying, "I am SIR ORACLE!" He stepped forth with a sort of official solemnity, and stopping in the lobby to have a large military cloak thrown over him, he kept the front open, to shew the scarlet lining which gave relief to his figure. As he marched with all due stateliness to his carriage, not a spectator moved—though he had been loudly cheered in the Honourable House, no signs of applause were manifested towards him out of it. It was indeed a fearful day for our country, and had I been there, I should have been as much appalled at the sight of Lord CASTLEREAGH that night, as at the appearance of the figure on the White Horse—I don't mean Alderman HUNTER, but—Death in the Revelations.

Having obtained a vote for a COMMITTEE OF SECRECY to be appointed by ballot to examine the Papers in the Green Bag and report thereon, on Wednesday, (Feb. 5,) the day of ballot, Mr. BROUGHAM said that "in order to remind the House how much time might be saved, and precisely the same result obtained by the *Noble Lord* opposite, (Lord CASTLEREAGH) reading the list of names which he wished to have in the Committee, he would undertake to predict the 21 names that would be actually returned without the trouble of any scrutiny" [a LAUGH, and cries of *read! read!!*] Now this laugh may seem very odd to persons not acquainted with the manner in which the *Ballot* is MANAGED in the Honourable House. *How* it is managed I will not here describe; at present it is enough for the reader to know that Mr. BROUGHAM actually did read a List of 21 Names, being the very persons whom the Honourable House some hours afterwards ELECTED BY BALLOT to be the Committee of Secrecy.

Here follows a correct List of the Names in the order they arose from the balloting box, and to each name is attached such information as I have been able to obtain respecting the *Honourable Members* composing it—

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY.

*Annual
Pensions,
Salaries, or
Gratuities.*

Lord MILTON, eldest son of Earl FITZWILLIAM, a great borough proprietor.	2.
Rt. Hon. GEORGE PONSONBY, a privy counsellor, late lord chancellor in Ireland, uncle to Lord PONSONBY and Viscount LISMORE, and uncle in law to Earl GREY.	4000
Mr. EGERTON, nephew to Mr. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.	
Rt. Hon. W. ELLIOT, a privy counsellor.	
Lord CASTLEREAGH, a cabinet minister, principal secretary of state, commissioner for India affairs, &c. &c.	7500
Lord LASCELLES, eldest son of the Earl of HAREWOOD, a great borough proprietor.	
Rt. Hon. BRAGGE BATHURST, a cabinet minister, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, brother-in-law to Lord SIDMOUTH.	4525
Hon. W. LAMB, eldest son of Viscount MELBOURN, and son-in-law of the Earl of BESBOROUGH.	
Sir ARTHUR PIGOTT, a king's counsel, representative of the 25 electors of Horsham in Sussex, influenced by Viscountess IRVINE.	
Rt. Hon. F. J. ROBINSON, a minister, joint paymaster of the forces, vice president of the Board of Trade, the patron of the corn bill—before whose house, in Old Burlington Street, EDWARD VIZE and JANE WATSON were shot to death, on the 7th of March, 1815, when the military fired from his parlour windows.	2000
Rt. Hon. Sir J. NICHOLL, knt. a privy counsellor, dean of the arches, and judge of the prerogative court	5000
Sir SAMUEL SHEPHERD, knt. a minister, a king's serjeant, and the king's solicitor general.	3000
Sir WILLIAM GARROW, knt. a minister, the king's attorney general, chief justice of Chester, and counsellor of state for the Duchy of Cornwall.	6000
Rt. Hon. GEORGE CANNING, a cabinet minister, president of the Board of Control, receiver general of the Alienation Office.	4400
Rt. Hon. C. YORKE, a teller of the Exchequer.	2700
Mr. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM, a ministerial member.	
Mr. WILBERFORCE, <i>formerly</i> member for <i>Yorkshire</i> , now member for the little Borough of Bramber, and a great supporter of the <i>Gagging Bills</i> in 1795.	
Rt. Hon. W. DUNDAS, a privy counsellor, keeper of the signet in Scotland.	2260
Rt. Hon. GEORGE ROSE, a minister, treasurer of the navy, a clerk of parliament, a lord of trade, keeper of exchequer records, clerk of pleas, verdurer of the New Forest, &c.	11,857
Ald. Sir WILLIAM CURTIS, bart. the loan jobber, and dealer in <i>fimsies</i> .	
Admiral FRANK, a <i>red</i> admiral—not a <i>yellow</i> admiral.	
Eleven of the Committee receive out of the Taxes, annually	£53,251

The *Courier* says that there was a *Laugh* in the Honourable House at the conclusion of this List.—A *Laugh* I am certain that the *reader* will not laugh at the List, and I am also certain that his Reflections thereon will be so like my own, that I shall not express them. As, in the mean time, an *Address* to the *Régent* has been left at the London Tavern, to be signed by the *Loyal and Independent Livery* of London, and as a *Declaration* is left at the same Tavern to be signed by the Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and others, who, I suppose, are *NOT Loyal and Independent Livery*; and as these persons are doubtless desirous of having the utmost publicity given to their acts and deeds, I hereby *SOLLICIT* all, and all manner, of *INFORMATION* of, from, and concerning, each and every of the persons promoting and signing such Petition and Declaration, and particularly respecting their *LOYALTY AND INDEPENDENCE*; and I *promise* to publish a list of their names with such particulars attached to each name, as will show their fellow citizens who they are, and what they are. I will do this most impartially, *without favour or affection to any of them*, and I hope that Gentlemen will not be backward in enabling me to complete my purpose effectually, and with as much dispatch as possible.

Whilst indulging a smile at some proceedings respecting the SPA FIELDS MEETING on Monday next, I have been astonished at the irritation manifestly attempted to be excited in the minds of the persons likely to attend there, by the following Posting Bill:—

(Copy.)

SPA FIELDS ROW!

TRUTH FOR A PENNY.

46, FLEET-STREET.

GO IT MY BOYS!

This inflammatory placard has been posted in Fleet-street, and other parts of the city, and particularly at the West End of the Town. A number of persons not recollecting that my shop in Fleet-street, is No. 55, have been at No. 62, Old Bailey, where, as I there carry on the greater part of my business, I am always to be found,

and they have expressed strong feelings of surprise and resentment at my having, as they imagined, issued it, and requested to know what the "Truth for a penny" is. These inquiries have been made by persons who did not know me; for those who do, are well aware, first, that every thing printed for me, be it ever so trifling, I always announce and advertise with my NAME to it; and, secondly, that my object being to enlighten my countrymen, I am an enemy to all violence and tumult. The Placard is an announcement of a Penny Publication, *ridiculing Reform and Reformists*, sold by Mr. JAMES HARPER, Bookseller, of No. 46, Fleet Street, at the corner of RAM COURT, and directly opposite to PERD'S COFFEE HOUSE. He is a son of Mr. THOMAS HARPER, Silversmith, of No. 207, Fleet Street, at the corner of Shire Lane, who is, I have been informed, an *American loyalist*. He is a Common Councilman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, a decidedly thick-and-thin Ministerialist, and therefore what is commonly called a *LOYAL MAN*. The Placard was issued and caused to be posted by his Son, who has lately gone into business and who, if he goes on in this way, will have enough upon his hands. It purports to be printed by H. BRYER, Printer in Bridewell Hospital, a *Royal Endowment* of which he is an Officer, being one of the *Arts Masters*, with a house in the Hospital rent free, a Salary, and other allowances. He, as well as the Messrs. HARPER, Father and Son, is also a *LOYAL Man*. This inflammatory Bill, therefore, printed by a *LOYAL Printer*, in a *Royal Establishment*, and issued by a *LOYAL Bookseller*, though *WITHOUT HIS NAME* to it. (*three days before a Spa Fields Meeting*) with a recommendation to "*GO IT MY BOYS!*" is wholly and entirely manufactured, published, and posted by the *LOYAL*, whose vociferations in behalf of *LORD CASTLEREACH and Social Order*, and against *REFORMISTS and REFORM*, are stunning and endless.

My limits are already exceeded; and I finish without being able to include several things I wished. Reserving them till by and by, I bid the Reader FAREWELL.

WILLIAM HONE.

Feb. 7, 1817.

ON SIR F. BURDETT'S PLAN OF REFORM in the next Number.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 3.]

SATURDAY, FEB. 15, 1817.

[Vol. I.

TO READERS.

The REFORMISTS' REGISTER will, every *half-year*, have a *TITLE-PAGE*, with a *COMPLETE INDEX* of reference to its contents, and bind up into a Volume, as large in size as a volume of the best edition of Hume's History of England, or Gibbon's Rome. But a volume of the REGISTER will contain more than double the quantity contained in a volume of those works, and be at *one half* the price; so that the Reader will have, at the end of every year, *TWO VOLUMES* of an authentic HISTORY of REFORM, abounding with sound political information on subjects in which he himself, and his children, and his country, are deeply interested; and the contents of these *TWO VOLUMES*, which he obtains by an easy purchase of *Two-Pence a week*, and which do not cost him *NINE SHILLINGS*, will be equal to the contents of *Four* volumes of Hume's History of England, which will cost *One Pound Twelve Shillings*.

No. I. was published on Saturday, February 1, 1817. The leading Article of No. II. for February 8; is, "UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE and ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS *against* Mr. BROUGHAM and the WHIGS."

* * * COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed (post-paid) to W. HONE, 67, OLD BAILEY, three doors from Ludgate Hill, where the REFORMISTS' REGISTER is published.—REPORTS of Meetings held in the Country, or NEWSPAPERS containing them, and authentic Information, with useful Hints and Suggestions, will be thankfully received.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S

PLAN OF REFORM.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT has given notice of a motion to be made in the Honourable House, on the 28th instant, respecting REFORM OF PARLIAMENT. It is now nearly seven years since Sir Francis made his celebrated speech, and laid down his *Plan of Reform*. At that time he was alone supported by his constituents, and by the wishes of the few who still thought Parliamentary Reform worth their notice. The nation had sunk into a kind of lethargy, from which it was slowly recovering. PITT had contrived, by various means, to make the people distrust and hate one another; he had excited a rivalry of egotistical sentiment, which induced a vast portion of the money-getting people to vie with each other in demonstrations of attachment to men and measures, whose tendency and object were to degrade them in their turn, and to make slaves of all. It was the fashion to exhibit this *spurious loyalty* by mis-naming and ill-using any body and every body over whom they had the least power; and, above all, to vilify and degrade the *working man*—to make paupers of the labourers from one end of the country to the other. PITT persuaded these silly selfish men, that, by *keeping down the workman*, by oppressing him in every possible way, by paying him *part of his wages by parish allowance* in

the shape of alms, they would procure their work to be done cheaper; and that all which was saved in wages would be added to their profit, which, as well as their business, was to increase continually. Thus cajoled, thus separated, the silly sheep were annually sheared, without perceiving the loss of their wool. PITT gave them the power to abuse and ill-use one another; and so delighted were they with its exercise, that they never observed the hand of the thief who was all the while robbing them. In this state the ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, more enlightened than their fellows, found the country, when in the year 1807 they were called upon to elect two representatives for their city and liberty. The Whigs had been in power, but the system of PITT had been pursued, and was improved upon; the jacobins of 1795 had been subdued; the reformers had been stigmatized, and were despised;—every thing an arbitrary minister could desire seemed to be attained, or within his grasp:—the rights and liberties of the people were treated as matters not deserving of the least regard; the two factions shared the power and the emoluments of the state, without any one to call them to account, or so much as a murmur being heard against them.

In this state of fancied security and repose, they were suddenly called into action by a proposition made by some of the Electors of Westminster to “return SIR FRANCIS BURDETT to Parliament free from expence, or personal trouble, and without even making him a *candidate*.” The reasons for this proposition were, that SIR FRANCIS BURDETT was the *only* man who had the sense and the courage to fight the peoples’ battle. He had proved himself a friend to very extended suffrage, and to ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS—two important measures of which the people of Westminster were better qualified to judge than the electors in any other place in the kingdom; yet, even in Westminster, the electors had so long been dic-

tated to by one or the other faction, their votes had so long been divided between them, so much pains had been used to mislead them as to their true interests, such monstrous sums of money had been expended in efforts to corrupt them, and so successful were these efforts supposed to be, as to leave no doubt in the minds of the ministers that they could cause the return of whom they pleased. The proposition from *unnamed* and *unknown* individuals, to undertake the return of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, unaided by the rich and powerful of either faction, was treated with contempt; and a man was proposed to the Electors, of whose person and qualifications they were utterly ignorant,—but any *thing*, it was supposed, would do for WESTMINSTER, so it was but supported by some rich families and by the public offices. The ministerial candidate was, to be sure, a *Brewer*; and possessed, as brewers usually do, the leases of many public houses; he was also a *Colonel of Westminster cavalry*—and, with his valiant men, of all shapes and sizes, mounted on all kinds of horses, from the hunter to the poney who usually runs in harness, had flourished before the KING in Hyde Park. With his troops of horses which matched their riders, and riders who matched their horses, he had taken the field on Wimbledon Common, and had performed wonders among the furze-bushes. Many were the victories he had gained in this way; many were the posts and rails his valiant men had chopped at with their swords; numerous were the pigs and dogs they had rode over; and now, forsooth, he and they, backed on by the treasury, were all on the alert to ride over the liberties of the people of Westminster.

A *stand* was, however, now to be made on behalf of the people. It was undertaken, indeed, with full confidence in its success. Those who put themselves forward to manage it were few in number, of no political importance whatever, without influence—even their names were unknown to

the Electors. The Electors, from the long disuse of the elective franchise in the way in which alone it should ever be used, had no confidence in each other. Each man was indeed ready to do his duty, yet few reckoned upon the same disposition in their neighbours: so hopeless, indeed, did the experiment appear to them, that on the day the election commenced *eighty-four pounds* only could be collected, with which to begin a contest on a spot where *hundreds of thousands of pounds* had on former occasions been expended.

Under these circumstances the election commenced. It was the contest of honour, and virtue, and economy, against venality, and corruption, and influence, and profusion. The moment the people were convinced that the election was conducted by some of *themselves*, with no other object than *the good of the whole nation*, they rushed to the poll, eager to demonstrate their devotedness to the cause of liberty. The TREASURY became alarmed: every means, fair or foul, was resorted to; every miserable tool was employed—threats, promises, and persuasions, calumny, misrepresentation; frauds of all kinds were practised; letters were written for those who could not refuse their signatures, to induce others to procure votes; licences were threatened; tradesmen were to have their customers taken away;—no artifice was unemployed by the enemies of the people. Regardless of all this, *the managers for the people* kept their steady course: “We,” said they, “have undertaken your cause; the way is open—it is before you; do you your duty.” “Electors may receive letters of thanks from the candidates who are acting for THEMSELVES, but you will not expect to receive them from the Committee who are acting for YOU, and by *your means*.”

Contemptible as the people had appeared in the eyes of the Treasury—easy as the victory seemed at first to the valiant Colonel, such was the effect of *the people undertaking their own business*,

that the ministerial candidate, having been kept at his post from mere shame, at length slunk from the contest. With him expired the hopes of both factions; and in him was demonstrated the imbecility of ministerial power over the people, when they are *wise* enough to see their own importance, and have *courage* enough to shew it.

At the close of the poll Sir FRANCIS BURDETT had received as many single votes, or plumpers, within 7, as all the candidates, four in number, had received among them; and nearly two-thirds of the whole number of electors polled, voted for him. But the most remarkable circumstance attending this election was, that the whole expense, from the commencement to the close, amounted only to the sum of £780. 14s. 4d.

Too much praise can never be bestowed on the Electors of Westminster for this disinterested and noble act. Not only did they put down corruption,—not only did they display their own dignity,—not only did they shew themselves as men “who knew their rights, and, knowing, dared maintain them;” but they set a glorious example to the country of what *may be* achieved by *freemen*. In this election there was no drunkenness—no debauchery—no false swearing—no rioting—no murders—no prostituted Duchesses kissing chimney-sweepers—no Fox’s tails—no hired ruffians of any kind—no bludgeon-men—no sailors—no Irish chairmen—none of the base and vile, demoralizing, butchering tricks of the WHIGS or TORIES—no cowardly undermining of character—no assassin-like attempt to destroy reputation—no hired voters—no obstruction at the place of polling—no puffing and lying in the newspapers—no attempt to mislead: to the *people* the business was left; and nobly and effectually did they perform it.

So astounding were the circumstances of this election, that men could not be brought to believe in them. So little had they been accustomed to see the people acting for themselves, that the re-

turn of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT produced more surprise than conviction. The people of Westminster had, however, satisfied themselves of their own importance, and henceforth they let no opportunity escape of laying before the country the necessity of a radical reform in the Commons' House. Neither was their example useless, nor their efforts to induce others to imitate them unavailing. To their good example, to their public meetings for reform, may be traced the reviving desire for that object. Westminster indeed has demonstrated, not theoretically, but practically, the advantages of reform. Westminster has replied, by its act, to the *calumny* of the enemies of reform, that "*the HOUSE OF COMMONS was corrupt, because THE PEOPLE were corrupt.*" Where among them is the corruption? In Westminster are the Courts of Law—the Houses of Parliament—the Palaces—the Admiralty—the Pay office—the War and Ordnance offices—the Treasury—the India board—the great Army agents—the Barrack office—the Navy office—the Victualing office—the Tax office—the Theatres—the Opera-House—and many other offices and public establishments, ALL of them from their very nature *opposed to free election*; yet in *this* place—abounding beyond all others in the means and the love of corruption—in *this* place, power was impotent against the people. Those who dare again say, the corrupt *people* make the *Honourable House* corrupt, should have this example held up to them. In answer to the libellous assertion they should be reminded, that the election of 1807 was no momentary essay, was not the impulse of a moment, finishing for ever with the achievement. They should be reminded, that it is now nearly ten years ago; and from that time to this the Electors of Westminster have kept their steady course, while corruption has been obliged to hide its head, and to draw in its claws.

The Electors of Westminster have, since that time, re-elected Sir FRANCIS BURDETT once, and Lord COCHRANE

twice, on the same excellent plan; they have had to contend *three* times in Courts of law; they have held upwards of *thirty* public meetings, all at their own expence, all too at an expence scarcely exceeding £4000.

Talk of *reformation* and *economy* indeed! Here are examples of *both*, worthy the contemplation of every man. Here is no petty retrenchment from unlimited extravagance; here is a radical reform in management and in morals, at once demonstrating that *the people*, and the people *alone*, are willing and able to do their own business in the best and the least expensive manner.

While WESTMINSTER was divided between the factions, the *people* were debased in all manner of ways. It was the interest of BOTH PARTIES to debauch both their minds and bodies. *Their* interests were separate and distinct from those of the people, whom they looked upon as *tools*, to be used or to be laid aside, as suited their purposes; and yet these detestable WHIGS and TORIES never failed to represent them both as depraved and corrupt. "*Honourable,*" and "*Right Honourable,*" and "*Learned*" Gentlemen, and "*Noble Lords,*" as soon as they have obtained a seat, no matter by what means, presume to abuse the people. No matter what their course of life is, what their education has been, what their knowledge, what their lack of it—the moment they are seated, they become inspired. One assumes the air of a Solon—Lycurgus this—Socrates that—"Solomon, wiser than all the rest," sits on the right hand of the exalted venerable figure, whose face is too sacred to be seen, but whose voice is heard in accents of "*Order, order!*" In this mysterious chamber, where uprightness and wisdom abounds, he who would across a dinner-table, appear a wretched, ignorant, indecisive creature, here becomes at once transformed into a wise, and virtuous, and manly person. In this wonderful assemblage of various knowledge, all subjects are equally known to him; but

in none does he excel so much as in his *calumnies against the people*. Here it is he feels peculiarly at his ease; to this point all his wit and all his knowledge is brought; and a beardless boy can dissect the mind of the most experienced man. This is the point on which he may be said to pass his examination: on this he must prove his capability for preferment, just as a midshipman does at the admiralty, or a surgeon at the college. This it is which produces cheering on both sides, and cries of "*Hear, hear!*" Has he strayed from the right path, an increased anxiety "to seize every opportunity" to shew his *hatred of the people* shall again restore him to favour, to his rank in THE REGIMENT. Who have been so much or so vilely abused as *the people of Westminster?*—and for what, but for having done their duty as Englishmen? For a moment, however, *the petitioners for reform* have shared with them the abuse bestowed by both parties, but pre-eminently by the OUTS. They have been called "*wild—visionary—disgusting—malicious—disloyal—seditious—rebellious—rash experimentalists—mad enthusiasts—demagogues—malcontents—liars—enemies of social order—incendiaries, meditating civil war and bloodshed.*"

What a nation must this be if *its people* deserve these epithets; and what must they be who use them, if they are false! It will not do to say these epithets are applied to a few; for even those who use them—those who declare, as Mr. BROUGHAM did, that no opportunity of reprobation should be allowed to pass by—they, and he, tell the House, that the petitions which deserve this reprobation, were signed by *half a million* of men—by half a million of productive hands, and sturdy hearts—by half a million of men whom Mr. BROUGHAM admits do very well understand the meaning of the petitions to which their hands have been set. Yet, with this testimony, extorted from an unwilling witness, their petitions are called a "*farrago—vague—dangerous—*

impracticable—pernicious—mischievous—blundering—intended to produce incalculable mischief—inciting the people to revolt and rebellion."—And yet these gentlemen, the OUTS, not only call upon the people, but they actually persuade themselves that the people hear the call, and will assist them to turn out the ministers.

All is fair against the *people*, all is foul against their calumniators. Any one may abuse the people with the utmost impunity, may, as we have seen, describe them as wretches fit only for the axe and the gibbet; and then, with unparalleled effrontery, call upon them to oust their opponents. But WESTMINSTER is a practical answer to all their calumnies. Westminster has shewn no "*ignorant impatience*;" no tumult has disgraced any of its proceedings; all its elections have been peaceable, and orderly, and wisely conducted; its numerous public meetings, although attended by vast multitudes, have all of them been perfectly decorous, strictly confined to the object for which they were called—completely meetings for *business*.

Westminster, at this moment, exhibits a fair sample of what the whole people would be, if the plan of reform proposed by Sir FRANCIS BURDETT were adopted. Corruption and profligacy would speedily disappear from among them; and the profligate and the corrupt would no longer dare to offer themselves as candidates to misrepresent and abuse them. *Then* must a man have a character for wisdom and integrity, who aspired to the high honour of representing a virtuous, a free, an intelligent, and a brave people; and then would the wise and the virtuous, whose more correct notions of honour keep them out of sight, come forward, proud to receive real honours from their countrymen. And what is there, after all, in the conduct of Westminster which would not instantly be put in practice by the whole people, *if they possessed even the right of voting enjoyed by the people of Westminster.*

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT has seldom

interfered in the paltry disputes between the two parties. His efforts have been directed to more important objects. He knew of how little consequence to the nation were their vain disputes, their petty cavils; he reserved himself for higher purposes, and was always at his post when there appeared any the least chance of promoting the true interests of the people. This brought upon him the hatred of both battalions of the "Regiment;" both were equally ready to oppose him, or to defeat his purpose in any way.

On the 12th of June, 1809, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT gave notice of a motion he intended to make on REFORM OF PARLIAMENT. In giving this notice, he said—

"The time is now arrived when I feel it necessary no longer to leave room for those insinuations which have been so frequently and so generally expressed under the definition of *public demagogues* and *popular agitators*, and of which I know I was the butt. On my part there shall be no ambiguity. I wish the people, upon this vital question of Reform, to know the nature and extent of my opinion; and I am determined that this House shall not separate—that its members shall not return amongst their constituents—in fact, that this House shall not continue longer in the contaminated state in which it has exhibited itself, without giving some pledge to the country of its future intention upon the vital question of Reform, and thereby giving peace and confidence to the public mind. With that object, it is my intention to come down to this House, and propose a short Resolution, calculated to inform both this House and the *People* of the length I am inclined to go. I have only to add, that my views on the subject are neither hastily considered, nor suddenly put into a practical system. Whatever opinion may be ultimately pronounced upon them, I feel the consolation of having weighed them with attention. I have therefore only to take the present

opportunity of giving notice, that *to-morrow* I will submit to this House a Resolution, binding it early in the next session to take into its consideration the propriety of a Parliamentary Reform."

When the *morrow* came, and before Sir FRANCIS could make his motion, the House was counted out; and on the next day, notwithstanding the momentous subject of which Sir Francis had given notice, enough of the pretended reformers could not be found to constitute a house. It is usual in such cases to renew the notice; which custom had the Honourable Baronet complied with, it is probable, as the session was to close in a few days, he might have been ultimately baffled. On the 15th inst. therefore he stood up in his place, and said—

"Sir, I rise to offer to the attention of the House a Plan of Reform, not for its immediate adoption, but for its future consideration; to state my opinion to the House and the Public upon this subject; and to propose to the House to come to a Resolution (according to frequent custom at the close of a session), the object of which is, to hold out an assurance to the country, that the House will, at an early period in the next session, take into its consideration the necessity of a Reform in the state of the Representation.

"I feel it a duty to myself and the public to relieve this subject from all misrepresentation, ambiguity, and misconception: and in now proposing for discussion, but not for immediate adoption, the outline of a SPECIFIC PLAN, I am answering those repeated calls which have been made upon me in this House, to state to this House, AND TO THE PUBLIC, definitely and precisely, what my views are upon the subject of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; that henceforward it may be fully and clearly understood, HOW FAR I DO REALLY MEAN TO GO, and at what point I mean to STOP.

"I shall hold fast by that plain and substantial Constitution, adapted to the contemplation of common understandings,

to be found in the Statute Book, and recognised by the Common Law of the Land.

—If it can be shown that the principles on which I proceed are erroneous, unconstitutional, and inconsistent with the ANCIENT, FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF ENGLAND, I shall stand corrected, and willingly abandon my proposition; but if, on the contrary, I shall be able to demonstrate, that the present system is the *creature of INNOVATION, and a departure from the old, established, unrepealed laws of the country*, and that a recurrence to the practice of these laws is an easy and adequate remedy for the evil; though I may not indulge a hope of the concurrence of this House, yet I may hope for the *approbation of the Public*; and, at all events, I shall enjoy the satisfaction of knowing that I have performed an essential duty, both to the people and myself, in bringing forward the present inquiry.

“A charge has been made by the abettors of corruption against those who wish for reform, as *innovators* and subverters of the Constitution of the country; whereas, the sole object of us reformers is, *to rescue the country from the effects of the innovation that has been introduced*. Those who speak so much of innovation seem to forget what the great Lord Bacon has said, ‘that of all innovators, time is the greatest.’ Will you then, while all things are changing around you, determine to stand still? Will you still cling to a rotten-borough system, the creature of innovation, nursed by usurpation, and matured by corruption? for such shall I shew it to be. Is it reasonable that sovereignty should be attached to particular spots and places, to convert into *Private Property* that which the Constitution has declared to be a *Public Trust*—to permit an usurped local sovereignty, independent of the King, independent of the People, and destructive to both?

“‘The wisdom of our laws,’ says Sir Edward Coke, ‘is most apparent in this, that any departure from their established principles, although at the time wearing

the specious appearance of advantage, never fails to bring along with it such a train of unforeseen inconveniences, as to demonstrate their excellence, and the necessity of again having recurrence to them.’ And how strikingly that observation is exemplified in the consequences which have followed the departure from the principles of the Constitution, which has led to the establishment of this grievous Borough-monger system, the inconsistency of which with the principles of our laws and institutions, so glaring in the terms of the writs of elections, and in every other point of view, no one can dispute. The simple principle upon which, as upon a pivot, the whole of this subject of Representation turns, is this—*That the free subjects of this kingdom have a Right of Property in their own goods; in other words, that the People of England cannot be legally and constitutionally taxed without their own consent.*—I suppose this will not be denied; and yet it is equally indisputable, that this principle is absolutely annihilated by the present frame of the Representation of this House, to which a Petition on your table offers to prove that one hundred and fifty-seven individuals have the power of returning a majority; so that the whole property of the free subjects of this kingdom is, in violation of this first and plain principle, at the disposal of 157 Borough-mongers; or in other words 157 Borough-mongers have usurped, and hold as private property, the SOVEREIGNTY OF ENGLAND:—and can we be satisfied with this miserable, pitiful *substitution* for the King and Constitution?—Can the People remain contented with the legislation of such a power?—Impossible. Believe me, Sir, the discontent that exists in this country arises principally from *the certain knowledge the People now have of the corrupt state of this House, and their exclusion from that share in the Constitution to which they are by law entitled; that they are not fairly, nor indeed at all represented,—in fact, that the interests of this House are not identified with, but opposite*

to their's.—Is it consistent with reason, with common sense, putting justice out of the question, any longer to tolerate such a system? By the adoption of Reform, the government will have the fairest opportunity of removing the principal grounds of dissatisfaction in Ireland: now will be the time to do every thing without yielding any thing; to legislate upon enlarged principles, knowing nothing of particular parties, sects, or factions; keeping alive no distinctions of Catholic, Protestant, and Presbyterian, Tory, Whig, or Jacobin; alarming no prejudice, insulting no party, they may now include the whole within one bond of union of the Constitution, embracing and insuring the safety and tranquillity of the empire at large. We shall then, and not till then, have an United Kingdom—ONE KING—ONE PEOPLE.—We shall, by this recurrence to the Constitution, not only seat the Chief Magistrate upon his throne, and fix the crown upon his head, but we shall place within his hand the sceptre and legitimate power of the King, in despite of those *one hundred and fifty-seven* Borough-mongers, who have TRAITOROUSLY usurped all but the pageantry and outward show and forms of Royalty.

“ THE REMEDY I shall propose is:—

“ That Freeholders, Householders, and others, subject to direct Taxation in support of the Poor, the Church, and the State, be required to elect Members to serve in Parliament.

“ That each County be subdivided according to its taxed male Population, and each subdivision required to elect one Representative.

“ That the Votes be taken in each Parish by the Parish-Officers; and all the Elections finished in one and the same day.

“ That the Parish-Officers make the Returns to the Sheriff's Court; to be held for that purpose at stated periods.

“ And, That Parliaments be brought back to a Constitutional Duration.

“ The simplicity of this plan appears from its being the true Constitution of England, which has already prepared all the means of carrying it into immediate effect ready to our hands; and I make no hesitation in delivering it as my well-digested opinion, that, under the operation of this Reform, it would be attended with much less difficulty to return a whole Parliament, than to settle a dispute at a vestry about a parish pauper. By the adoption of this plan of Reform, those disgraceful practices, which now attend even county elections, would be put a stop to. No bribery, perjury, drunkenness, nor riot; no ‘Wealthy Brewer,’ as was humourously described, who, disappointed of a job, takes, in consequence, ‘the independent line, and bawls out against corruption:’ no opportunity would remain for such mock patriotism:—no leading attorneys galloping about the country, lying, cheating, and stirring up the worst passions amongst the worst people:—no ill blood engendered between friends and relations—setting families at variance, and making each county a perpetual depository of election feuds and quarrels:—no demagogueing.—If I *am* a demagogue, I am as complete a *felo de se* as can well be imagined,—this puts an end to the occupation.—There would be an end to all odious and fanciful distinctions of persons and property—all would be simple and uniform; their weight and influence proportioned to their *intrinsic* value; no qualifications, nor disqualifications;—no invidious exclusions by reason of any office, from the highest to the lowest, either in the elector or the elected—no variable, fantastical, litigious rights of voting—no possibility of false votes—no treating—no carrying out-voters—no charges of any kind—no expence, legal or illegal—no contested elections.—The people would have a choice without a contest, instead of a contest without a choice;—no sham remedies, worse than

the disease pretended to be cured—no Grenville Act. Here I speak feelingly; I have undergone this *remedy*.—It is the remedy of a toad under a harrow.—“*Haud ignora malis, miseris succurrere disco.*” That Act, which has been so highly extolled, was itself called a *Reform*; as all the Acts aggravating the mischief, which have been substituted for the Constitution, are called in this House.”

Nothing can be more simple than the plan here proposed; and the only question which could arise on any part of it, even for the sole purpose of cavilling, would be the meaning of the words “*constitutional duration.*”

Sir FRANCIS says, I am no innovator; my plan is TO RESTORE THE ANCIENT LAWS, and the ancient practice. And what were these laws and this practice?

1. That representation should be as extensive as taxation.

2. That Parliaments should be ANNUALLY elected.

On the first head there is no dispute: the right of the people to tax themselves is fully admitted. It is, indeed, the fundamental principle of the House of Commons. The King has the power to declare war; and those who represent the tax-payers in the House of Commons are to give, or withhold, the supplies from the King, as to them shall seem proper. All taxing bills must originate in the House of Commons; and why? because it represents the tax-payers, who, as the money is to come from their pockets, are made the judges of the necessity of taxing themselves.

That, anciently, parliament did not exceed the period of a year, is admitted. From the earliest times of which we have any account respecting the assemblies of the people, to the time of EDWARD III. it was the practice for all such assemblies to DISOLVE the moment the business on which they met was ended. In the fourth year of that King an Act was passed, directing that “a parliament should be holden once a year, or of-

tener, if need be;” and there are instances of TWO parliaments being SUMMONED in one year. The modern practice of PROROGUING Parliament was THEN UNKNOWN; and no attempt was made to give to Parliament a LEGAL duration for more than a year, until the WHIGS, who have all along been the greatest enemies, *in practice*, to the liberties of the people, brought in a bill, in the year 1692, to give a legal duration of *three years* to the same Parliament. But the NOVELTY was so alarming to the King, that he refused his assent; and the *legal duration of parliament still continued* “ANNUAL.” In 1694 the triennial bill passed; and just twenty-one years afterwards the duration of parliament was extended to seven years.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT says, I want “NO NOVELTIES:” this he has *always* said—THIS HE SAYS NOW. But the triennial act was a novelty—it was not the old law—it was not what Sir FRANCIS calls the constitution. The act of the fourth of Edward III. was a mere declaration of the old practice, an acknowledgement of the right—a guarantee for its continuance, but the triennial act was a taking away of right—an act of usurpation—and an act of treason in those who made it. What then is it that our modern Whigs, and their silly abettors, mean by talking to us of their triennial parliaments? what but this—that if you, the people, compel us to make a reform, it shall be the least possible; we will still endeavour to have so much of power, and so much of the means of corruption, in our hands, that you shall receive no benefit; we will still hold so much of both as may, we hope, some day enable us to restore septennial parliaments.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT has never denied the RIGHT of *Universal Suffrage*; he says, it would be an innovation, a NOVELTY, since it never was practised in this country, at least not in actually electing members to the House of Commons. He says, all I

want to do, is to restore the OLD CONSTITUTION, which would procure us the full enjoyment of liberty. If, says Sir FRANCIS, every person paying a direct tax had a vote, in what would a Parliament elected by them be deficient? in what respect would it differ from one chosen by Universal Suffrage? He does not abuse those who think Universal Suffrage a practicable measure; but he says, I think it impracticable, and that all the advantages you expect would be obtained, if every payer of direct taxes had a vote. ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS, the old custom of ANNUAL ELECTION, he says, "IS INDISPENSABLE:" the number of voters would secure them from any *undue influence*; and the frequency of election would make it *impossible to bribe them*.

An attempt has been made to persuade the people, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT is opposed to ANNUAL Parliaments; and the Devil, as usual, shews his paw from under the cloak of a WHIG. The shameless, and no less wretched than shameless, man of the *Morning Chronicle*, in giving an account of the Meeting in Spa-Fields on Monday last, says—

"The Chairman then stated his having written to Lord COCHRANE on the subject of Reform, and requesting his Lordship to present the Petition of the Meeting to the House of Commons, and to attend them this day, should he find it convenient. To this the noble Lord had said, nothing would give him more pleasure than to present their Petition, but that he could not attend the Meeting, as he was going to attend one at Hampshire. [*Hear!*]

"A letter of a similar nature was sent to Sir FRANCIS BURDETT; but he had not returned any written answer. He had, however, told a Gentleman who waited on him, that *he had no objection to support that part of the Petition which supported Parliamentary Reform, but he never would consent to support the proposition for granting Universal Suffrage, or for voting by ballot, as these were mere visionary the-*

ories. No man felt more than he did the necessity of Reform; but impracticable schemes were the most likely to ruin it, and the he never should support'.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT here says most distinctly, "I will support your request for ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS, but I will not support your request for Universal Suffrage." Words cannot be more explicit; yet the miserable tool, in the leading article of this paper of the same day, writes with his own hand—that "The Honourable Baronet was invited to attend the Meeting; which he not only declined, but declared his resolution never to support the *absurd theory of Universal Suffrage, or ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS*." What ought to be said—what thought—of any man who can thus deliberately commit so gross a fraud? and who but Mr. JAMES PERRY could look any man in the face after having done it?

In the same man's newspaper, on the same day, is an article headed in very large letters—"The Imposture of the day." In this article he accuses the *ministerialists* of frauds and falsehood. All within the "Regiment" this. But have they—could they—by any contrivance, do a more dishonest act than Mr. PERRY has himself committed? could they commit a fraud more vile in its nature, and more deserving of execration.

On one occasion, when a Petition for Universal Suffrage was presented, Mr. BROUGHAM condescended to repeat the lesson the *Reformists' Register* had taught him.—But Mr. LAMBTON must, it seems, have his flourish—his peck at the people. The *Morning Chronicle* reports him as saying—"He was as little disposed as any individual to sanction those wild, foolish, and disgusting principles of Reform which were promulgated by certain persons out of doors—principles (if they could be called so) which were founded upon the subversion of our Constitution, upon the destruction of social order,

and upon the destruction of all that was wise, permanent and useful in our invaluable system of law and government. [*Hear, Hear!*] The disturbances occasioned by those men had at least been attended with one good consequence—they had developed the character of the instigators, and shewn how few they were in numbers; and hence, from their absolute insignificance, it became more imperiously the duty of that House to interfere for the rest of the country.” [*Hear, Hear!*]

The OUTS, it seems, had made up their minds to turn out the Minister; and they were fully persuaded they should succeed. Hence, to keep any terms with *the people* was quite unnecessary; and, in their fit of delusion, they went on striving who should abuse them the most, who should use the most vulgar epithets, and who should the oftenest repeat them. It may be observed, that by far the greatest portion of vulgar abuse has come from the OUTS, and from by far the greatest number of persons on *their* side of the House. NOW, when they begin to find their hopes defeated, and their conduct reprobated, their tone is lowered; and presently it will be changed into soft and harmonious notes in *the people's praise*—because they may be useful at the approaching election!

Some curious circumstances have transpired, tending to prove the high sense of virtue, and the respectability of the individuals composing the House, and also of the House itself as a body.

Lord COCHRANE said, “He remembered very well the time he was first returned as a Member to the House, which was for the Borough of Honiton, and on which occasion the town bellman was sent through the town to order the voters to come to Mr. Townsend's, the head man in that place and a banker. to receive 10l. 10s. [*Hear, and a laugh.*] This was the truth, and he would ask, how could *he* in that situation be called a representative of the people in the legitimate *constitutional* sense of that word. He knew very

well, that had *universal suffrage* been then the law, he must have had to pay 20,000 persons; and though he was now conscious that he had done wrong, he assured the House that that was the very way by which he had been returned [*Hear, hear!*] If any Member disputed it, he could only say *he was willing to shew the bills and vouchers which he had for the money* [*a general laugh*]. He had no doubt but there were very many in that House who had been returned by similar means [*hear, hear!*]. His motive, he was now fully convinced, was wrong, decidedly wrong, but as he came home pretty well flushed with Spanish money, he had found *this Borough open, and he took it*; and he was sure *he would have been returned had he been Lord Camelford's black servant, or his great dog* (*a laugh.*)—See fol. 20.

Mr. CALVERT, adverting to this, upon a subsequent occasion, said, “He also could state a fact, which shewed the defects of the present mode of representation. He was one of six persons who had sent two Members to Parliament, and for which each Member paid £4500.” [*Hear, Hear!*] Such a system ought not to exist.”

“Proof as positive as that of holy writ!”

On a petition for Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage being presented, Sir J. SEBRIGHT said, “that so long as he had a vote to give, or a voice to raise, in that House, he would use them both against receiving any Petition, the language of which was evidently to convey an insult. He knew there was a set of men in the country, who studiously endeavoured to induce the people to word their Petitions in such a way as would occasion their rejection, in order to promote their own views. [*Hear, hear!*] If the House wished to be respected out of doors, it must continue to RESPECT itself.”

Who, after the Petition was rejected in order to prove the respectability of the House, can for a moment doubt of its respectability?—who will dare to

insinuate that any thing improper could be sanctioned by it? No one, certainly, and, least of all, Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT.

Well, hear him. LORD CASTLEREAGH had named him for the Committee of Finance, upon which *the same* Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT said, "that he had been named by the present Ministers a member of the Civil List Committee, but they refused the powers necessary to render it effective, and it was, in fact, a gross delusion upon the public. That he considered the present Committee to be also a gross imposition, and that he would not put his foot into a Committee so constituted, as by so doing he should be lending his aid to mislead and delude the public. That he was as hostile as any man to the factious and misguided part of the community; but that now was the time, when it became the imperative duty of all independent Members and country-gentlemen to come forward, and to support such measures as would conciliate and give satisfaction to the rational and moderate part of the community. He therefore declined to be a Member."

LORD CASTLEREAGH said, "that the present Committee had the powers which had been refused to the Civil List Committee."

Sir J. SEBRIGHT.—"I am aware of that; but I owe it to my country not to contribute to practise a gross and scandalous delusion upon the public."

Sir John is no *jacobin*—no revolutionist, no lover of the people *he*:—but NO COMMENT is NECESSARY.

In pursuance of their excellent steady course, we find the People of Westminster meeting in Palace Yard yesterday, and passing the following manly Address to the Prince Regent, on the insults offered to his person:—

"TO THE PRINCE REGENT.

"*The dutiful Address of the Inhabitant Householders of the City and Liberties of Westminster.*

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS—We, his Majesty's loyal subjects,

the Citizens of Westminster, beg to be permitted humbly to approach your Royal Highness, with an expression of our unfeigned sorrow, that our City should have been the scene of gross and outrageous insults against your Royal Highness, and in your royal person against the Kingly office and authority; and also with an expression of our indignation at the conduct of the persons who were guilty of such brutal and criminal excesses: and we feel confident that your Royal Highness will not be disposed to receive less graciously these assurances of our attachment, if we humbly endeavour to evince our sincerity by frankly declaring to your Royal Highness our opinion of the character, and of the real causes, of acts so disgraceful and criminal.

"We presume not to penetrate the hearts and minds of those who appeared to wish to see established the fact, that a design existed against the life of your Royal Highness, to be perpetrated by means of deadly weapons, or arms, as the result of a treasonable conspiracy; but we hesitate not to avow our great satisfaction, that such fact has proved not to be well-founded: on which we are well assured that your Royal Highness will approve of our cordial congratulations, seeing that even the wish to preserve your own life cannot be more near to your heart than the wish to see every part of the people of England stand before the world clear of the imputation or suspicion of premeditated or cold-blooded assassination:—and we humbly beg leave to add our confident hope, that your Royal Highness, in turning your recollection to the shot which was really fired from the bank of the Thames, and which wounded one of the seamen in a barge, in which was your Royal predecessor Queen ELIZABETH, you will also remember, and will feel ready to utter from your own lips, her Majesty's gracious and memorable words on that occasion—'That she would lend credit to nothing against her people, which parents would not believe of their own children.'

"Such as Englishmen were in those days, we humbly presume to assure your Royal Highness, we, their children, now are, faithful to our Sovereign, and worthy of his confidence. But we cannot refrain from observing to your Royal Highness, that wise and virtuous Counsellors, like a CECIL and a WALSINGHAM, enabled that illustrious Queen to call her people 'her guards,' and to declare that 'money was better in her subjects' pockets than in her own exchequer;' while Counsellors such as a CASTLEREAGH and a CANNING, after

having drained your people to the very dregs of misery and starvation, have advised your Royal Highness to ascribe their just complaints to disloyal and seditious designs—have drawn about the metropolis a line of circumvallation of barracks, depots, and of arsenals—have filled your palace-courts with troops and artillery—have surrounded your royal person with menacing dragoons—and have thus, by making your people miserable, and at the same time exhibiting your Royal Highness as deaf to their cries, as suspecting their fidelity, and setting them at defiance—driven some of the unhappy sufferers to that state of desperation, which alone could produce the perpetration of those outrages, which we so strongly reprobate, and which we hope they have already sincerely repented.

“Open, we humbly beseech your Royal Highness, the faithful page of history; and when your Royal Highness has there read the invariable consequence of Princes being induced to make common cause with corrupt courtiers against an injured people, we presume humbly to hope, that your Royal Highness will receive with your natural kindness and indulgence this our dutiful and loyal Address.”

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT proposed, and Mr. COBBETT, Junior, seconded the Address.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said, “that the unanimity which had been displayed on the present occasion by the Meeting (to which he had to return thanks for the honour conferred on him), was, he trusted, only an earnest of that unanimity which would pervade the whole country in the endeavour to recover its common rights—rights now too well understood and too manfully asserted for the mean Borough-mongering corrupt faction long to withhold from the people their full enjoyment. The worthy Major, who had spent his life in promoting to the utmost that cause, would receive the greatest reward—in his estimation—the success of the principles which he had ably, consistently and honourably supported, and would enter into the enjoyment of the Constitution which was to be participated by all. [Applause.] He was happy to hear that the Address contained not a particle of adulation, as a Gentleman had

erroneously represented it. It contained the loyal sentiments of the people on the late insult, combined with an honest and humble representation of their feeling with respect to their grievances, presented in proper language to their Sovereign.

“The worthy Major had properly described the Borough Proprietors, who formed now the only obstacles to the accomplishment of the wishes of the People. Their wives were, however, now discovered—they must take their hands out of the national purse, or their base and deceitful cry would no longer delude any but the knaves or tools in their own House. They would find no co-operation from those who loved the Constitution, from the Sovereign to the meanest of the people. The Major had well compared them to pick-pockets, who cried ‘Stop thief!’ to avoid detection. They also reminded him of a dishonest steward, who, when any person discovered his tricks to the Gentleman whom he served, immediately cried out ‘You are the man who stole my master’s faggots.’ The People demanded their rights, their fair constitutional rights, which formed the security of the people against the exactions of the Crown and its Ministers, and the answer was, “Treason! Disloyalty!”—as if loyalty to the Constitution must always be accompanied with disloyalty to the Crown. These men who raised this cry would persuade the Prince of that which it would be most dangerous to him to believe—that no one could be attached at the same time to the liberty of the People and the security of the Throne.

“The sinecurists had at last begun to follow the example of the beaver; which, when its pursuers were close upon it, tore off that part for which it was hunted down. The sinecurists, in obedience to common opinion—for which obedience he should give them all due praise—had set the example of reduction, which would, he hoped, be followed in all parts of our expenditure, and especially those military establish-

ments, which were quite inconsistent with the liberty and happiness of the country. The sinecures were not a large part, it was true; but it was like the money pocketed by a dishonest servant, who would let his master be robbed of a guinea, to get a shilling for himself. [*Applause.*] The sinecures were small only in proportion to the enormous burdens of the country; but they were the main cause of a great part of those burdens. When a pump was dry they knew what was to be done—a small quantity of water was thrown on the sucker. It might be said, what difference could it make giving or withholding this small quantity? The truth was, it made the pump work so as to draw up all the rest. Thus these sinecures, useless offices and pensions, under whatever denomination, whether great or small, were enough, by their corrupt influence, to draw the last shilling from the pockets of the people. [*Applause.*]

“As to loyalty, it was now talked of as an attachment to one part of the constitution only; that attachment might be more properly called *royalty*. Loyalty was an attachment to the whole constitution, and especially to the rights of the people, as its main foundation and principal end. As to the flatterers, who assumed exclusive loyalty to cover their servility, they could not be too much reprobated. This servility it was the duty of every individual to avoid. It was by avoiding flattery, as well to the people collectively as to the sovereign, if he had the honour of being admitted to his presence, that an individual could perform his duty both to the Prince and the People; and if he lost the favour of either, would still be safe in his own esteem.

“As to the Green Bag, which he had now the misfortune to have seen for the second time, what it contained it was impossible for him to guess. [*A laugh.*] What had followed the production of the former bag was fresh in his memory. [*Applause.*] That the Ministers would not again take the

same steps he hoped and was persuaded. But if Gagging Bills were passed, he hoped the people would meet to protest against them, till they obtained their repeal: besides, he was of opinion that such bills were not of validity to repeal the Bill of Rights and Magna Charta. [*Applause.*]

“Respecting the grand object of constitutional exertions, there was, he believed, little difference. The whole country desired a real representation of its sentiments and interests. Though there was a difference of opinion among honest men as to the manner in which it could be effected, yet no difference could exist on this head—that it was better that it should be immediately and effectually done, than that this or the other line should be pursued in doing it. [*Applause.*] A real representation of the people of England was required.

“Some spoke of the people as if one class was divided from another—of higher classes and lower classes. He knew of no such distinctions. There were the Members of the House of Peers, which indeed formed a separate class; but all the rest were the People, or Commonalty of England;—to create any division in this body was most mischievous and insulting. Some were rich, some were poor; but the law beheld all with an equal eye: all had the same rights, and all were entitled to the same protection for their property and freedom. [*Applause.*]

“In presenting to the Prince Regent the Address with which he had been entrusted, he should follow their wishes with great satisfaction to himself. He hoped that his Royal Highness would read and ponder it. By referring to the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, to which the Address directed him, he might be led to follow the dictates of his own mind, in opposition to other heads, and hearts inferior to his own, and might prefer the example of that bright period of our history, to the advice of sycophants and flatterers, interested to deceive him. [*Applause.*] Remote as it was from the present age, the name of ELIZABETH yet

vibrated to the heart of every Englishman. She was surrounded by no soldiers—by no guards; she wanted none:—she declared that money was safer in her subjects' pockets than in her exchequer, well knowing that the swords and purses of her subjects were at her command, as she had never abused their confidence. This was a great example for princes to follow in governing a people, whom it was easy to lead, but hard, and always impossible, to drive. [*Applause.*] A monarch, who would follow the spirit of this noble example, would restore the confidence of the people in institutions which had been brought into disgrace by a long course of mis-rule, not on the part of the King, but of the Borough Proprietors—of that corrupt body mis-called the House of Commons, whence the Commons were excluded—which felt every interest but that of the Commons. A reform in that body would conduce to the security of the throne, and the happiness of the people, by a recurrence to the principles of the constitution which had been always claimed, but never practised. This the People demanded with one voice; and that assembly would be compelled to lend an ear to the Petitions of the People, and to be the instrument, peaceably, legally, and speedily, of the RESTORATION of the CONSTITUTION of the country." [*Loud applause.*]

This article has extended to an unexpected length, I am, therefore, obliged to defer the subjects alluded to in my last, with some others on which I had intended to remark. The Reader's attention, is requested, however, to the admirable address of Mr. GODFREY HIGGINS, a respectable magistrate in Yorkshire, and an excellent man.

TO THE GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNTY OF YORK,

Who think a Change in the State of the Representation of the House of Commons necessary.

"GENTLEMEN—A firm conviction that it is my duty, impels me to address you at

this moment. I have viewed with much anxiety, for some time past, the unprecedented state of the country. Several *Meetings to petition Parliament for a REFORM*, as you well know, have been called by the people.

"I beseech you, Gentlemen, to consider what is *your* duty on this occasion. Is not REFORM that object for which you have been long struggling? Is it not the object, which you firmly believe, can only save the country? Is it not that object, without the attainment of which, you believe, *either ANARCHY or DESPOTISM must ensue*? Could it ever be obtained *without the people*? Without that awful physical strength, in union with a general enlightened sentiment, that cannot be despised? Did you ever suppose, that the corrupt perverters of the Constitution would, on their own suggestion, *reform themselves*? Have you not been long complaining, that *the people* were deaf to your call, to assist in the cause of REFORM? Has it not always been your firm conviction, that sufferings, the consequences of those wretched measures you deprecated, would alone open the eyes of the public? That it was through *feeling* that the great and saving truth of REFORM must be taught? God knows the lesson for the purpose has been severe and effectual.

"*Peaceably — manfully — honourably*, are THE PEOPLE in your county coming forward to do that, for which you have long called upon them. And now that *they* answer your call, where are *you*? Can *you* honestly—can *you* honourably—can *you* conscientiously say you are at your post? Are you where God, your country, your constitution, and, I may add, your SAFETY, tell you, you ought to be? Admitting, in order to avoid all discussion, that *the people* are asking *more* than, in your opinion, can be granted with propriety—that they seem to be going *farther* than what is consonant to *your* ideas of safe and practicable PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—are not such the strongest reasons for your coming forwards to *guide and lead them*? Will you sacrifice all your consistency to a *cowardly pride*? Are you so ruined by the wretched system, which has been long prevailing and undermining the best principles of the Constitution, that you cannot act with *the people*, because they are degraded and rendered wretched by the very measures against which you yourselves have been so long struggling in vain? Then, indeed, *YOUR sun is set. Then are YOU gone for ever.*

"What is more, you will *deserve*, for you will have prepared your own fate. After

this pusillanimity never more presume to breathe a wish for independence. As you cast your eye over Spain, Italy, Poland, and South America, dare not to heave a sigh for fallen liberty. As you look at home, utter no complaints at the venality which shall have laid your MAGNA CHARTA, and your BILL OF RIGHTS, prostrate at the feet of corruption. Oh! that I could rouse you from your fatal lethargy! If I cannot, there are EVENTS COMING that soon will. And, when THE BLOOD OF CIVIL STRIFE flows down your streets, and the best parts of your Constitution are all expiring either in anarchy or despotism, what will be your reproaches should you be alive to make them?

"Let me tell you *your own belief*. It is, I know it is, that you may prevent all this, if you will only peaceably and constitutionally HEAD THE PEOPLE in that cause, in which you have been evidently instructing them. Be with them in the cause, and all must be well. Leave them, and how can you calculate the result? In that conduct, which will be your honour, I see, and you equally see, nothing but safety. In that conduct which will be your eternal reproach, you as well as I can behold nothing but the most appalling horrors.

If, contrary to every reasonable expectation, and after a glorious constitutional struggle, *the people* be finally successful WITHOUT YOU, will you have the assurance to offer them your *congratulations*? Will you be able to encounter the look of reproach they cannot but make you? Let me then persuade you, Countrymen! to come forward, to place yourselves in the post of honour—in the gap 'twixt military despotism and popular anarchy. Let me persuade you to lead the people, willing, nay, *desirous to be led*.

"I make no apology for obtruding myself upon your notice, I feel it to be the duty of every man, whatever his situation in life may be, to endeavour to rouse you from the CRIMINAL APATHY with which you appear to regard the feelings of the people, and the progressive state of the national distress.

"You view, with a just pride, the naval and military trophies of your country abroad; but bitter and unavailing will be your regret, if, from your own mismanagement at home, your heroes shall have bled, only that their children may inherit

A COUNTRY IN SLAVERY, its agriculture ruined, and its commerce gone.

At this moment *one-fourth of all the inhabitants of England are paupers or insolvent*. How far do you expect this system to go? How long do you expect it to last?

"Gentlemen, the people have been basely *slundered*. They are firm friends to a limited monarchy, and to the family on the throne. But they know their RIGHTS, and I sincerely believe they know their *duties too*.

"It is said that they are irritated, and their passions inflamed. Distress and *excessive misery* may well plead their excuse—may well excuse a little animation and warmth; and where beyond this, in your country, have they gone? It is *your duty* to sooth and comfort them, to shew them that *you* are a part of *themselves*; not to *absent* yourselves from their legal public Meetings; but to *attend* them, and to *lead* them in the paths of reason and moderation.

"In calling upon you to *lead*, rather than *be led* by the people, I hope I shall convince *them*, that the MAGISTRATES are not the servile venal tribe they have been erroneously represented, and that they will believe my assurance that they are many of them the firm friends of their rights, and much as their well-wishers, as, Gentlemen, your obedient humble servant,

"G. HIGGINS,
"Skellow Grange, Ferrybridge,
Jan. 22, 1817.

This is the plain dealing of an honest independent country gentleman, who loves his country, and therefore hates its corruptions and the corruptionists. What he says is calculated to rouse the most supine. Truth should be told to those out of the House, as well as to those in it; but there should be no *crouching* to the Honourable House itself. It must not only be told the truth, but must *hear* it. If the INS and the OUTS continue to LAUGH at Petitions for Reform, as the reporters say they do, perchance they may have REMONSTRANCES, and then—let those laugh that *win*.

WILLIAM HONE.

February 14, 1817.

Price Two - Pence.

HONE'S
REFORMISTS' REGISTER
Extraordinary.

No. 4.] MONDAY, FEB. 17, 1817. [VOL. I.

MR. BROUGHAM'S
ATTACK ON
THE REFORMISTS,
AND
HIS DECLARATION
IN FAVOUR OF
ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS,
WITH
SUFFRAGE AS EXTENSIVE AS TAXATION.

IN the second Number of the *Reformists' Register*, published February 8th, a hasty sketch was taken of the conduct of the *would-be Ministers* of the country; and as Mr. BROUGHAM had thrust himself forward in the bad work; as *he* had evinced an unceasing desire to *outdo* every other person in the use of coarse and vulgar epithets, indiscriminately applied to those among the People who had taken an active part in the great duty of petitioning for Reform of Parliament, he was rebuked and cautioned.

It was hoped, and circumstances seemed to imply that the hope was not a vain one, that he had profited by the lesson which had been

read to him; but an irritable temper, not corrected by judgment, could not long remain inactive: the errors of a bad education could not be corrected; and, as judgment was wanting, no faculty remained capable of restraining the evil propensity which had become predominant—repose was consequently of short duration.

It is both disagreeable and painful to be called upon to comment on the conduct of public men, in the way in which Mr. BROUGHAM compels us; but he leaves us no choice between an unprincipled betraying of our trust, so very opposite to the conduct of our forefathers, to whom we owe the opportunity of doing our duty to ourselves, as they in their day did to themselves; to our posterity, as they did for us. All the difference between the highest freedom, the highest cultivation of intellect—all the difference between the most abject, ignorant, and debased condition of mankind, and the highest attainment of knowledge, of philosophy, and of virtue, has been achieved by opposition to those whose narrow views, or selfish interests, would have prevented innovation—opposition to

those who denied innovation, who proscribed speculation, who opposed all amendment, who stigmatised reform and improvement, on the ground, the mistaken and ill-taken ground, that *no PRECEDENT* could be produced for the practice recommended.

Many, it is true, have in all times opposed improvement, who had no evil *intention*, who were actuated by no bad motive, but whom fortune had placed in a situation to decide for others better and wiser than themselves; for others whose enlarged minds could not be accurately judged of by them; for those whose penetration enabled them to see far into the condition of society, to judge of it accurately—to foresee changes, long before they could happen; but of which, they who filled the seat of power and influence, in the common acceptance of those words, were unable to form a judgment. Thus has the world been going on—wisdom suggesting changes and improvements continually; and brute force, guided by ignorance, continually impeding its progress. But, in our day, and in our country, this ought to be no longer the case. Improvements are not now proposed, in the turbulent manner in which alone they could ages ago, be made manifest. This should be the age of *discussion*. Improvements are now proposed invariably by means of *the press*; and thanks to that mighty engine of life and energy; they are proposed *to the whole community at once*. Formerly, indeed, and long after the invention of printing, reading was so little known among the people that a very

small part of them could ever know the real views or intentions of those by whom any change was suggested; now, happily, from the general diffusion of some book-learning, and from the rapid, the unparalleled advance of knowledge, and the means of communicating it, and the eager desire for attaining it, among the middle ranks particularly, the nation is in a far better situation to judge of the proposals of any and every one who pretends to serve them. If any one now puts himself forward to *teach*, his doctrine must be propagated by means of *the press*; he has no hope of success, but by its assistance. This both invites and provokes discussion; and if it were left perfectly *at liberty* on both sides, no harm could ensue. *It is the OPPOSITION OF POWER*, the desire to prevent some petty evil, which might or might not be the consequence of hasty adoption by some few enthusiasts *that does the most evil*. Many projects would expire as soon as promulgated, if left to themselves, which cause mischief from an *ill-advised opposition of authority*. Many are the measures, *eminently good in themselves*, which are either rendered abortive, or made to produce mischievous consequences, by an ill-timed and mis-directed exercise of *power*. The true weapon, and indeed the only weapon, which a wise man would use on such occasions is reason: the most despicable, and the most unjustifiable which any man can use are ABUSE and FALSE IMPUTATIONS—always dishonourable to those who use them, and always deserving of severe castigation.

When a man avails himself of his situation to deal in personal calumnies against individuals, for professing principles, or proposing plans, which he does not comprehend; when, *instead of taking the means to make himself acquainted with the measures*, of putting himself in a situation to judge of the performance, he does all he can to call down vengeance upon the head of the proposer—it then becomes a duty too sacred to be for a moment neglected, to expose the evil of his conduct, and thus as far as possible to correct its evil tendency. This duty shall be performed with regard to Mr. BROUGHAM, in the best manner which the shortness of the time to render it useful will allow.

Short as the period is since the present Session of Parliament commenced, it has been highly important. By the INS, an eager desire for COERCIVE MEASURES has been manifested; by the OUTS, as determined a disposition to assist in producing those measures has been constantly shown; *not indeed always in direct terms*; not by saying do you propose this, and we will assist you; no—but by an equally certain mode of attaining the end, infinitely more mischievous, than a direct concurrence—by DEGRADING THE PEOPLE—by a CONSTANT SUPPORT OF THE MINISTER, in *vilifying the People*—by an alacrity in seizing and using every opportunity of creating and fostering feelings more injurious—by encouraging bad men in their evil course, than any direct co-operation could have been. An open direct approval and support would have alarmed many—would have made the ti-

mid hesitate; but an artful conduct, under the guise of opposition, operating by sympathy on weak minds, shuts out all reflection, and carries them along to the commission of acts from which a direct proposal would deter them. This must be more or less the case in every popular assembly, and pre-eminently so in the House of Commons, as it is now constituted. If its Members were chosen by the People, for the soundness of their understandings, for their knowledge of the history of former times, and for their acquaintance with the circumstances of present times, there would be less to regret in this respect; but when wealth, or family connexion, without regard to any other qualification, send, as we know they do, a vast portion of the Members to that House, the conduct here complained of is highly and singularly pernicious.

If it be asked, why has Mr. BROUGHAM been selected? the answer is, he has *not* been selected; he has *forced* us to notice him; he was determined not to remain in a *mediocre* situation; he must take the *lead*, if not in doing good, in doing evil; he has stepped out and *challenged animadversion*. The session commenced the 28th of January, and the tumult on that day confined the business to the speech of the REGENT; but on the next day, on one of the *Petitions for Reform* being presented, Mr. Brougham at once commenced his “ANXIOUS” attack on the People, and gave the *cue* to the House, by declaring their propositions “wild—vague—impracticable—pernicious—calculated to overthrow the Constitution, to

to shake the universal security of property." The propositions thus reprobated, were **UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE** and **ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS**. The *cue* being given, it was eagerly caught at, and the **OUTS** vied with one another in their abuse of the propositions, and of those who had, as they then said, misled the People. Mr. **BROUGHAM**, in particular, said—"he abhorred the theories recommended by the madness of the enthusiasts, who misguided the People." Day by day were *the People* stigmatized in the grossest language; no time or opportunity was lost of reprobating the "mischievous, absurd, blundering theories of leaders, who from ignorance, or **WORSE MOTIVES**, were misleading the People;"—and with admirable consistency, he told us, as it were in the same breath, "that the plea of ignorance did not apply to the **HALF MILLION** of **MEN**, who had signed the Petitions, as they all knew what they had signed, and none intended offence."

But Lord **COCHRANE** having on Thursday last, made a declaration in favour of Annual Parliaments, this was not to be borne, and he was to be silenced. It was hoped that if he could be *put down*, and Sir **FRANCIS BURDETT** *cajoled*—*to accomplish which, no small pains have lately been taken*—that **NO** person would be found in the House to advocate the cause of *the People*; and the silence thus to be produced, was to answer all the arguments out of doors. Mr. **BROUGHAM**, according to the report in the *Morning Chronicle* of Saturday, spoke as follows:—

"There existed but one opinion through the country, in attributing the great pressure of taxation to the long and ruinous war in which it had been engaged. At the proper time, when the subject of Reform shall be fully before the House, he would take the opportunity of giving his sentiments with that deliberation and coolness, which that most important question demanded. Many incidental conversations had already taken place in that House, arising out of the petitions for Reform, but he may truly say, that *there was but one opinion within these walls upon the absurd and impracticable doctrine of Universal Suffrage*. What was felt here was equally expressed by all the enlightened, rational, and *even moderately informed* persons in the kingdom [Hear, hear!]

Again and again he would ask, in what period of British history has this right been ever exercised?

Where existed the authority either constitutional or legal, that has even represented such a claim as a matter of right [Hear, hear.] How far the elective right might be extended, what the duration of Parliament ought to be, will become more properly the subject of discussion, when the specific proposition shall be submitted to that House. But he must repeat, that *if there was one man in that House inclined to sanction by his support, the wild, delusive, and he must believe, NOT HONEST, propositions, circulated with such per-*

verse industry out of doors, it was his duty to come forward and **AVOW HIMSELF**. If there was any such opinion in the House, the Member who held it, owed it to the cause of Reform, to the best interests of the people, to have the proposition canvassed, *its absurdity exposed, and THE DELUSION FOR EVER DISPELLED* from the public mind" [Hear, hear.]

Lord COCHRANE, in answer to those who maintained that **UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE** was an *impracticable* proposition, observed, that in many of the Petitions the means were pointed out, namely, by taking the lists already prepared for the calling out of the militia whenever it might be required. Whenever the subject came to be discussed, he should take as his guide the **WISDOM OF THE PEOPLE**, who would not be influenced in *their* judgment as Members of that House were. **THE PEOPLE JUDGED COOLLY** [a laugh, and hear, hear ']. He repeated it—the people judged **COOLLY**; and he sincerely believed that *their opinions on every point were the best criterion of justice*. He was very sorry that that House in its decisions too frequently differed from the opinions of the people. Whether it would be proper to confine the suffrage to householders, or to extend it to all males twenty-one years of age, was a fair subject of discussion; but no Member had a right to

impute delusion to so large a body of the people, as that by which the latter proposition was maintained. He apprehended that the *delusion* proceeded from a different quarter, and was generated by *different views*. With respect to a change in the duration of Parliaments, he was of opinion that the *only effect of making Parliaments TRIENNIAL* would be to diminish the price at which seats were sold. In his opinion, Parliaments ought to be **ANNUAL**, and all householders ought to have the elective franchise. Without these two things there would be no safety for the people. The Members of that House would again be thrown into the hands of Ministers, and be again made the objects of that *shameful traffic*, of the existence of which but too full proof had been afforded. He would not delay the House any longer, but as an honourable and learned gentleman had cast imputations so serious on so large a mass of individuals, stating, that they were deluded and misled, he had felt it his duty to say thus much. He confessed, that he felt it difficult to conceive the **FRAME OF MIND** which could enable a Member of that House to stand up, and, on his single opinion, or on that of a small circle of his friends, dare to throw out such imputations on so large a body of the people, of whom he could not by possibility have any knowledge."

Mr. BROUGHAM spoke to the following effect :---“ Sir, after the very pointed manner in which my conduct has been alluded to, by the Noble Lord, who has, in a very peculiar way, held up to public reprobation any Honourable Gentlemen here who “dares” (for that was the word) put his opinion on any subject of great national interest in competition with the opinion of fifteen thousand, or of fifteen hundred thousand people out of doors, and who not only does that, but who *slanders the People of England* by intimating that they labour under a gross delusion, and by accusing their leaders of dishonest practices ; I think the House will pardon me, if I trouble it with a few words in my own JUSTIFICATION [hear, hear!] I will say nothing of the *possible consequences* to the person so pointed out by the Noble Lord. Nor will I impute any motives to the Noble Lord ; for it would not be Parliamentary so to do. Sir, I speak in the hearing of many Gentlemen who have done me the honour to attend to my conduct in Parliament, both recently, and when I had a seat in this House four or five years ago ; and I think they will agree in allowing that there are few, if any, individuals here, who have ever shown on all occasions a more determined resistance to any attempts, even of the faintest description, to oppress the People of this country. [hear, hear!] I

have in all cases gone as far as it was possible for me to go, to assist in opening the door of this House to their complaints ; and I have done all that I could---and not less than the Noble Lord---to discountenance, as far as my little influence would allow me, any proposition which appeared to me to be calculated to *impede, cramp, and hamper the exercise of* POPULAR RIGHTS [hear, hear, hear!] I therefore PUT MYSELF on my country, IN COMPETITION WITH the NOBLE LORD, as to which of us has shown himself to be the *greater friend* of the People of England [hear, hear, hear!] But, Sir, I will not show my friendship for the People, by telling them FALSEHOODS [hear, hear!] I will not be a party in practising DELUSION on the People [hear, hear, hear!] I will not take advantage of the warmth of popular meetings, a great proportion of the individuals constituting which are necessarily ignorant of the nicer points of history and antiquity, to induce the People to sign such Petitions as those which have lately been presented to this House. [hear, hear, hear!] Sir, I do not blame the large body of the People, who have appeared before us as Petitioners for the language in which they have expressed themselves ; but I blame them, or rather I blame the FABRICATORS of the Petitions, by whom they have been palmed upon the People, for having the

assurance to declare, that Universal Suffrage was a right for which our ancestors shed their blood. [hear, hear, hear!] Sir, I would not be a party in telling the People (monstrous assertion!) that twelve hundred years ago, this country enjoyed a free and perfect Constitution [hear, hear, hear!] Gracious God! Twelve hundred years ago! Sir, we have heard of Histories of England by various individuals, and of various descriptions; but in what History of England is to be found, not only a trace of this country's having a free and perfect Constitution 1200 years ago, but a trace of its having enjoyed *any Constitution at all* at that period! [hear, hear, hear!] What do we know of the state of this Country, in that respect, in the year 618! Why, Sir, we know little or nothing of the Constitution of England half as many centuries back; and what can we possibly know of its Constitution two hundred years before the different kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy were united under one monarch? [hear, hear, hear!] This, Sir, is a specimen of the historical knowledge, of the antiquarian research, of the acquaintance with Constitutional law, of these WISEACRES OUT OF DOORS, *who, after poring for days and nights, and brooding over their wild and MISCHIEVOUS SCHEMES*, rise up with their *little nostrums and big blunders* to amend the British Constitu-

tion [laughter, and loud cheers!] And then, Sir, we are pronounced ignorant and daring, who refuse to subscribe to the creed of these *true* Reformers, who know accurately what happened in this Country 500 years before authenticated history begins! [hear!] and we are told that he who will not believe the self-evident propositions of these gentlemen, which it is said are so reasonable as not to admit of the least controversy, are dishonest as well as ignorant and daring. Sir, the Noble Lord says I accused the People of England. I did not accuse the People of England. I accused *those persons who deluded*, or rather attempted to delude (for I am persuaded the experiment will fail in the main), the People of England, and in making that allusion, I referred to the monstrous absurdities contained in most of the Petitions for Reform, which have recently been presented to this House. I beg, however, to be distinctly understood. I do not think these delusions will spread far. The People of England have not, in my opinion, exhibited any symptom of participating in them. It is true, they have presented HUNDREDS OF PETITIONS to this House. I believe ABOVE A MILLION OF PEOPLE have declared to this House some opinion or other on the question of Reform. These persons have been collected together at meetings, to which they flocked sim-

ply *because they felt severe distress*. They knew not from the false prophets and bad teachers who got among them, but from their own experience, and from the nature of their sufferings, that they in a great measure originated in the mal-administration of public affairs. So knowing, and so feeling, they naturally vented their complaints in the Petitions with which the table of this House *groans*; into which Petitions many statements and propositions have evidently been thrust, to which the actual Petitioners themselves were no parties whatever. [hear, hear, hear!] There is one conclusion, Sir, which we ought to draw from all these considerations; namely, that severe distress is the real cause of this popular agitation; and that as far as the people call upon us for *great Retrenchments and some Reform, the call is well founded and MUST BE HEARD*. I heartily hope that it may be heard before it is too late, and that the people may by that means be taken and kept out of the hands of those who would betray them into misery a hundred fold greater than that which they at present endure" [hear, hear!]

Lord COCHRANE adverting to the comments made by the Honourable and Learned Gentleman on the Petitions which had been sent down from the Metropolis for the adoption of the people, said, that "knowing, as he

did, the honourable character of the individual in whom these Petitions originated, he was sure that no attempt would ever be made on that individual's part to deceive the People. There was not a worthier man existing than the Gentleman to whom he alluded, MAJOR CARTWRIGHT; and he was perfectly certain that the sentiments which that Gentleman expressed were sincere, and came from the bottom of his soul. With respect to himself, he should never resent personal allusions of any kind made to him in THAT HOUSE. They would fall as a blunt arrow, or *as the stone which was thrown the other day, but never found*. But this, in justice to himself, he would say, that he was not in habits of intimacy with any man base enough to entertain a desire to overthrow any part of our Establishments. As to the Petitions which he had presented, he felt it his duty to receive any person who might choose to call upon him on Parliamentary business; and if a Petition, couched in proper terms, were put into his hands, he felt it his duty to present it to that House, without, however, considering that he was in any way responsible for the opinions which the Petition might contain. The universal voice of the people cried for Reform. *He trusted that the House would not set up THEIR opinion AGAINST that of the WHOLE COUNTRY* besides. He should

most sincerely deplore the day, should it ever arrive, on which, by the vote of that House, the Reform which the people so loudly and unanimously required, should be refused to them."

Who, after having read those speeches, could for a moment suppose, that Mr. BROUGHAM had ever been the THE PROPOSER OF ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS HIMSELF, the decided ADVOCATE for that measure; yet such is the fact.

In the month of *June*, 1814, a dinner was given at the *City of London Tavern*, by certain *Liverymen* in favour of Parliamentary Reform, on which occasion, Mr. BROUGHAM made a speech, as follows:—

"Mr. BROUGHAM returned thanks, and said, that the last time he had met the Livery, he had declined making professions or promises, because he saw them so often broken; but had desired the Livery, if it were worth their attention, TO MARK HIS CONDUCT, and if it *betrayed his declaration*, to punish him next time they met by drinking to his DEPARTED PRINCIPLES:—that time was now come, and he met them without any consciousness of having forfeited their favour. These two years had been pregnant with important events; and infinitely various as these were, they all agreed in this, that they had mightily redounded to the honour of THE CAUSE, and

the confirmation of OUR PRINCIPLES. The fundamental maxim of liberty had been solemnly recognized in the face of the world, that ALL POWER IS FROM THE PEOPLE; and that *they have a right to choose their government, and dismiss their rulers for misconduct*. They had done so in France, and it was a *lesson* that could not be forgotten in the rest of Europe. The saying, that 'laws are silent in the midst of arms,' had failed for once; and this fundamental principle had triumphed over the triumphs of the allied armies. So much for the honour of THE CAUSE. But the principles of Reform had been assisted also in their progress. Where is now the GAG with which our mouths had for five-and-twenty years been stopped, as often as WE have required that PARLIAMENTS SHOULD BE CHOSEN YEARLY, AND THAT THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO ALL WHO PAY TAXES? We have been desired to wait; for the enemy was at the gate, and ready to avail himself of the discords attending our political contests, in order to undermine our national independence. *This argument is gone, and our adversaries must now look for another.*

"He had mentioned THE TWO

RADICAL doctrines of **YEARLY ELECTION**, and **THE FRANCHISE** enjoyed **BY ALL PAYING TAXES**; but it would be superfluous to reason in favour of them here, where **ALL WERE AGREED** upon the subject.

“However, as elsewhere they may speedily be discussed, he should take leave to suggest a fact, for the use of such as might have occasion to defend their principles. It was one for the truth of which he might appeal to his honourable friend the Member for Middlesex (Mr. BYNG) who *knew as well as he did*, that there was a *great improvement always observable* in the conduct of the House of Commons, towards the **LAST YEAR** of a Parliament; insomuch, that he had heard it observed, that *more good was done in that year*, than in all the other five or six. The reason of this he should not presume to state; but some persons were of so suspicious a nature, as to insinuate, that it might be the knowledge of Members, that at the end of that session they must meet their constituents, **SUCH OF THEM AS HAD ANY!!!** and give an account of *their trust*. He avowed that *this fact had been one of the chief grounds of HIS conviction of the expediency of YEARLY ELECTIONS; and*

if any one thought this unsafe, HE should answer, that SUCH FREQUENT RECURRENCE, and such extension of the franchise as should accompany it, were the best checks upon profligate expense. IF any other check was wanting, it might be provided also. He had talked of such Members as HAD constituents, being reminded of it by the manner in which the toast had been given out by a mistake—he hoped not an ominous one. It had been said, ‘a full, fair, and free representation in Parliament’—leaving out ‘THE PEOPLE.’ Now this is just what is done ELSEWHERE. There IS ‘a full, fair, and free representation in Parliament’—we need not drink to that. There is a full representation of the Aristocracy—a fair representation of the Landed Interest—a free representation, a free ingress of the Court,—but not much representation of the People—THEY ARE LEFT OUT, as they were to-day. It MUST, however, be otherwise SOON. While they bear the burdens of the state, THEY MUST, as of RIGHT, share in its government; and to EFFECT THIS REFORM, ALL GOOD MEN MUST NOW UNITE!!!

“He lamented the absence of his

friends now detained elsewhere; but he knew they would come, the moment their duty permitted. Messrs. Whitbread, Brand, Creevey, Bennett, Grattan, Lord Osulston, Lord A. Hamilton, he knew were most anxious to join the meeting: What they were now about he could not precisely say; but he guessed they were not supporting the Court at that particular moment."

The history of the transaction is this—Lord COCHRANE having been convicted of a fraud on the Stock Exchange—although his constituents, the Electors of WESTMINSTER, thought him innocent, yet, it was probable that he might be expelled the House of Commons, and be also declared ineligible,—at this moment, Mr. BROUGHAM was brought under the particular notice of the persons who were the most likely to interfere in an election, as a man whose talents might be highly useful to the People, and whose desire it was to assist the electors of WESTMINSTER in obtaining for their country, the right of suffrage as extensive as taxation, and the shortening of Parliaments to the period of one year. The electors of Westminster had been taught *caution*, and they objected to Mr. Brougham, that his *tergiversations* had apparently disqualified him for the office HE SOUGHT; but that errors and mistakes, if corrected by subsequent good conduct, would be overlooked; that they would not condemn any man for what he had *been*, but would applaud him

for what he *was*, if deserving of applause; but as the only reason for their interference was, to promote *ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS, and SUFFRAGE as extensive as taxation*; they could neither *vote* themselves, nor recommend to the notice of the electors any man who did not explicitly avow his determination to procure for them in Parliament these two vital objects. Mr. BROUGHAM'S friends represented him to be *decidedly with the people of WESTMINSTER ON THOSE TWO POINTS, and desirous of an opportunity PUBLICLY to DECLARE HIMSELF*. That opportunity soon offered. A dinner, intended to spread the desire for *Parliamentary Reform*, and to promote the return to Parliament of those otherwise properly qualified persons who maintained the same principles, had, for two or three years, been annually held. To one of these, in 1814, Mr. BROUGHAM and several other Members of the House of Commons, as had been the practice, were invited; and *it was on this occasion, and under these circumstances, that Mr. BROUGHAM made the speech inserted above*.

Had the report of this speech been copied from a newspaper, had it been taken from the shorthand notes of a reporter, it might have been objected that it was incorrect—that it was erroneous—that words had been misapplied—that phrases had been misunderstood, or distorted, and a wrong bias given to them. But no:—the *inhabitants of WESTMINSTER*, who had proceeded thus far, who knew what the *conduct of PUBLIC MEN* had been, would

be satisfied with no security short of the very best—they knew that whoever they should at any time recommend to the notice of the Electors, would not only himself be rigorously scrutinized, but that *they* also would be called upon to account for their own conduct in having proposed him. A deputation was therefore sent to Mr. BROUGHAM on the morning following the day on which the dinner took place, to request he would correct the report of his speech; but Mr. BROUGHAM, instead of correcting the report, thought it less trouble to write out the whole of it; and he accordingly *WROTE WITH HIS OWN HAND* the copy from which the foregoing is printed!

Mr. BROUGHAM divides THE PEOPLE into two classes, the *deluders*, and the *deluded*—that is, into fools and rogues. In which of these classes would he choose to be placed—in which of these characters did he appear at the Livery Dinner? This man of many tergiversations, why does he presume to tell us that the applause he there received was the result of *delusion* *PRACTISED BY HIMSELF*; or that he himself was *deluded* by the applause? Who told him that the persons who composed the intelligent, respectable, honourable, and numerous company whom he addressed, were *too ignorant* to understand the *DELUSION* he put upon them? And with what claim to *forbearance* does HE come, “*what has HE to say in mitigation of sentence,*” who tells us plainly that he *DELUDED, misled, abused*, so respectable an assemblage; and through them THE PEOPLE of

England? for to *this* it must come—to this point he must be held—from this there is no escape. Would he say he was *deluded*—deluded by the gentlemen who composed that meeting? Then mark the consequence. All that is necessary to furnish a complete, a perfect, a triumphant reply, immediately follows:—*THE PEOPLE* are wiser, and understand the subject better, than their *QUONDAM LEADERS*: and if so, why not a *submission* at once on the part of those leaders?—Why *ABUSE* for argument, and *FOUL CALUMNIES* against the most venerable, the wisest, the best, the most public-spirited of *THE PEOPLE*? But there was no delusion in the way spoken of: there was, to be sure, a delusion; but it was of a very different kind—the company was deluded into a belief of Mr. BROUGHAM'S *SINCERITY*! Scandalously as the People had been *abused* in words, infamously as they had been *betrayed*, still they could not suppose it possible that a man whose whole conduct was to be before the Public, who *COURTED* the People's favour, and told them, if he “varied from his professions, to drink to his *DEPARTED PRINCIPLES*”—that he, who thus *invoked vengeance upon his own head*, could be *insincere*. Of Mr. BROUGHAM'S former conduct as a public man, they were not ignorant; but they had seen him, with great pertinacity, and singular success, oppose some of the evil acts of the Minister; and they hailed his return to good principles with great joy. But Mr. BROUGHAM *has for ever taken away all expectation,*

all hope of his usefulness. He was cautioned, cautioned too IN MORE WAYS THAN ONE; but, heedless as unprincipled, he plunged on still deeper and deeper in the mire, until all chance of being extricated, has totally failed.

It is impossible, in the compass of a single *Register*, to compare Mr. BROUGHAM'S several speeches, and to draw the inferences which would naturally result from the comparison; the reader must do this for himself.

A few words must however be said, by way of contrast between those who *deal in calumnies*, and those who are the objects of those calumnies—and first of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT. Not only are the words of Lord COCHRANE true, of this venerable and highly respectable gentleman, “that a worthier man was not in existence, and that the sentiments expressed by him were sincere, and came from the bottom of his soul;” but it is also true, that a great part of his long life has been employed in endeavours to promote, and by all the honest means he could at any time use to convince the People of the advantages of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, and in endeavouring to obtain it for them. He indeed may be said to have lived for no other purpose. To this he has sacrificed his repose, his health, his fortune. Well indeed may his CALUMNIATOR say, that he “*pored for days and nights.*” Day and night has been constantly employed by him to the utmost of his strength, in endeavours TO BENEFIT HIS COUNTRY. There has been no variation in *his* conduct, no deviation from the course he origi-

nally marked out. He took the OLD LAWS AND CUSTOMS for his guide, and comparing them with the increase of knowledge, and the moral fitness of the People, he said thus and thus it *was*,—and thus it ought *now* to be. Many are the discussions he has promoted—truth was his object in promoting them—reason was the weapon he fought with—and to this test was he constantly endeavouring to bring his, and the People's opponents. Much has he done—much may he still live to accomplish, in spite of those, who can so far forget what is due to his character, as to reward him with ABUSE, to decry his MOTIVE, and to treat him with language that would scarcely be applied to a scoundrel. Does Mr. BROUGHAM know no one who entertains opinions coinciding with MAJOR CARTWRIGHT. Mr. BROUGHAM does indeed know several; not *inactive* men, not ignorant, unlearned men, but men of great and singular industry, of great talent, of vast learning—men, with whom to be acquainted, is, as it ought to be esteemed, matter of continued gratulation; but ALL are included under the *vulgar terms* made use of by Mr. BROUGHAM. Yet after all, how very small a part of the intellectual wealth of the country do these excellent persons possess; and how vast is the amount of this wealth enjoyed by others, who fall under the indiscriminate lash of the orator.

Of the Petitioners themselves, it may be affirmed, that they intended offence to none—Mr. BROUGHAM admits this—as little offence did the framers of the Petition intend, unless indeed it is

to be understood, that a statement of truths is intentionally offensive, and therefore to be rejected. If so, how *few* even are the truths the Petitions contain. Were an attempt indeed made, to state *all* the facts on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, as they relate to the conduct of the House of Commons, every Petition would consist of volumes.

No one who has seen much of mankind will expect that any conduct, however guarded, however correct, would meet the approval of those *whose object it is to obtain, or to keep their places*—an EXCUSE will never be wanting: formerly the CRY in the mouth of every enemy of the People was, you are not agreed in any one point; you do not know what you want; why are you not more specific? and this was at that time to silence all complaining. Now another course is pursued; the form of a petition is prepared, and copies are sent to various places; the People are requested to peruse them, to discuss them, and if they accord with them, to sign them; instantly a CLAMOUR is raised, and “*dishonesty*,” and all kinds of evil intentions, are imputed to the framers of Petitions, “to be sent cut and dried to all parts of the country:” *not to agree* was a folly,—to agree is it seems a crime.

But gentlemen are fond of *precedent*. ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS are bad things, because you cannot show that the practice existed “1200 years ago!”

The gentlemen shall have PRECEDENT for the practice they so vehemently condemn, *their own* practice too;—in the case of the Slave Trade, when an open committee sat at a Tavern for the purpose of issuing out Petitions, and receiving them back again, when signed, and causing them to be presented. How long is the period since Mr. BROUGHAM'S coadjutors in that business did these things, and when, but for their praiseworthy exertions, that diabolical traffic would still have existed in France? How will Mr. BROUGHAM reconcile this with his denunciations so illiberally poured upon the head of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT? Mr. BROUGHAM will be at no loss to supply *other* precedents.

Why then should a set form of a Petition for Reform be alone condemned? Why should that which is allowable and praiseworthy in other cases of less importance, be called “dishonest” in this, of much greater consequence? Why should that which even Mr. BROUGHAM himself assisted *the excellent* THOMAS CLARKSON to perform, be so unmercifully, and so unjustly, persecuted in the person of *the excellent* MAJOR CARTWRIGHT? And why, when all the good men who assisted Mr. CLARKSON in his good work, are praised and held up to the admiration of their grateful countrymen, why should other good men be held up to abhorrence for assisting MAJOR CARTWRIGHT in his? There

is much to reprobate in the inconsistency of Mr. BROUGHAM, but the whole of his public life has been inconsistent, perfectly at variance with the steady course pursued by MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, and infinitely low must it sink in the comparison. Mr. BROUGHAM commenced by being a WHIG; next he became an AUTHOR—when, speaking of Mr. PITT, in the year 1802, he said, “He sincerely hoped once more to behold the same *splendid talents* marshalled in the cause of humanity and sound policy, which formerly almost rendered it triumphant; and he expected to find that GREAT STATESMAN, who so eminently distinguished himself on all the former discussions of the question [the Slave Trade], in opposition to his own personal interest, now dedicate a part of his leisure to a contest in every way so worthy of his powers. If to this object he should devote so much of his time as the Catholic Emancipation does not occupy, his country will have *less reason* to regret his retirement from office; and if his disinterested efforts in these two great causes shall be crowned with success, *we may ALMOST be consoled for his failure in subduing the enemies of Monarchical government, and maintaining the ancient balance of Europe.*”

Of his regard for the property and lives of the People, at this time, the following quotation may serve for proof;

“The operations of war are rendered very harmless, and a foundation is laid for their gradual disuse. A few USELESS MILLIONS, and a few *still more useless LIVES*, are sacrificed; the arts of peace continue to flourish, sometimes with increased prosperity; and the policy of preferring to purchase defeat at a distance, rather than victory at home—of paying allies for being vanquished, rather than gain the most splendid triumphs on their own ground—has been amply rewarded, by the *safety, increased resources, and real addition of power*, which results from an enjoyment of all the substantial blessings of peace, with *the only REAL ADVANTAGES of necessary warfare!*” (BROUGHAM’S *Colonial Policy*, vol. II. p. 217.)

After this he became A WHIG—again. At *Liverpool* he abused the Reformers. At the *London Tavern* he became a REFORMER, a promoter of ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS—and NOW he has turned WHIG AGAIN; how long he may continue a WHIG, it is impossible to say, as that may perhaps depend upon Messrs. PONSONBY and Co.; for should they turn him off, no resource remains for him, but that of a *third rate Tory*. Mr. BROUGHAM’S real importance and usefulness depended wholly upon his POPULARITY—that is gone; and, it is of no consequence to the People, what becomes of him.

WILLIAM HONE.

Monday Morning, Feb. 17, 1817.

TO READERS.

The REFORMISTS REGISTER, will, every *half-year*, have a TITLE-PAGE, with a COMPLETE INDEX of reference to its contents, and bind up into a Volume, as large in size as a Volume of the best edition of Hume's History of England, or Gibbon's Rome. But a volume of the REGISTER will contain more than double the quantity contained in a volume of these works, and be at *one half* the price; so that the Reader will have, at the end of every year, Two VOLUMES abounding with sound political Information, on subjects in which he himself, and his children, and his country, are deeply interested; and the contents of these Two VOLUMES, which he obtains by an easy purchase of *Two-Pence a week*, and which do not cost him NINE SHILLINGS, will be equal to the contents of *Four* volumes of Hume's History of England, which will cost *One Pound Twelve Shillings*.

No. 1, was published on Saturday Feb. 1, 1817. The leading Article of No. II. for Feb. 8, is "UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE and ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS against Mr. BROUGHAM and the WHIGS." No. III. consists of Sir

FRANCIS BURDETT'S PLAN OF REFORM.

* * * COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed (post paid) to W. HONE, 67, OLD BAILEY, three doors from Ludgate Hill, where the REFORMISTS' REGISTER is published.—REPORTS of Meetings held in the Country, or NEWSPAPERS containing them, and authentic Information, with useful Hints and Suggestions, will be thankfully received.

The excellent letter of the late DUKE of RICHMOND to Col. SHARMAN, on *Universal Suffrage* and *Annual Parliaments*, and the *Bill* for Reform in Parliament on those principles, having been long out of print, and being at this time much wanted, I have re-printed both in octavo. The LETTER to COL. SHARMAN is Price *Two-pence*. The Duke's important BILL, which had become very scarce, is prefaced by his Grace's "DECLARATION of the Rights of the Commonalty of Great Britain, without which they cannot be free." I have also added Titles to each of the Clauses of the Bill, to facilitate reference, which is now peculiarly necessary, as the Bill itself is the basis of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT'S *Plan of Reform*, as well as most others. The BILL, with these additions, is Price *Four-pence*.

W. H.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMIST'S REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 5.]

SATURDAY, FEB. 22, 1817.

[VOL. I.

APOSTACY AND CORRUPTION.

Mr. Brougham's shirking of Lord Cochrane's Charges—Mr. Ward and his Rotten Borough—The Cruelty of Corruption—One Hundred Houses pulled down, and One Hundred Families sent to the Workhouse, by a Boroughmonger, for Electioneering Purposes—Earl Grey in 1794 and 1817—St. Leonard, Shoreditch, Resolution—Lord Holland's Twattle—Bobby Southey and Wat Tyler, and Mr. Waithman's Black Street Sweeper—Wat Tyler's SONG, 'When Adam delv'd and Eve span,' &c.—Dr. Slop's Green Bag, and Falstaff—The Reports, and the Butcher's flatulent Horse—Kew Wall concerned in treasonable practices.

OUR "LITTLE NOSTRUM," has been very potent. It has been said, "that mighty events may be traced to very small causes;" let us hope that this maxim, and the experience of the present moment, may serve as a caution to those who sit in high places, not to affect too much contempt for those who may happen to be seated a little lower. On Monday, as the *Morning Chronicle* informs us, a debate took place in the House of Commons, of which the following is an abstract:—

Lord COCHRANE rose for the purpose of presenting a Petition from the Inhabitants of Harborough, in Leicestershire, praying for Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage; doctrines which, he had no doubt, would excite the indignation of an Honourable and Learned Gentleman, who on a recent occasion had condemned them as chimerical and absurd. That they were chimerical and absurd, as had been stated, was mere matter of opinion; but when he heard an Honourable Member of that House designate those who supported these doctrines as included in two classes, the misleading and misled, the designing and dupes, he felt himself bound to say a few words. Among the many authorities he might now mention, he should merely take one. Judge BLACKSTONE had observed, that the law, in order to be binding on all, must be made by all; and that every man was supposed to be present at the making of a law, in consequence of his being represented. Now if such was the case, if the law became only binding on those who were present at its being enacted, what was to be said of the great body of people who were not represented? What, he would ask, was to be said of Scotland, the country in which he was born, where, out of a population of two millions, there were only 2700 electors? He maintained that the inhabitants of that country were not bound by the laws enacted here, as---[loud cries of order! from all sides of the House.]

The SPEAKER apprehended such language was not Parliamentary, and could not by any means be permitted in the House [hear, hear, hear!]

Lord COCHRANE said, had the House heard his sentence finished, they might have thought otherwise.

The SPEAKER---I am sorry to say the Noble Lord's sentence is already too complete [hear, hear, hear!]

Lord COCHRANE proceeded. Such had been the opinion of the Learned Judge which he had thought proper to quote. That such opinions as those of the Petitioners might be entertained without their having any intention to subvert the Constitution or established forms of the country, certainly required no demonstration; and it was equally clear they might be entertained without any imputation being thrown on individuals. He had risen the other night in consequence of a pointed requisition made by an Honourable and Learned Gentleman now before him, that if any Member thought the visionary theories of universal suffrage and annual Parliaments could be maintained; he would show that that requisition he felt himself bound to comply with, and had complied with, although he was then conscious to himself, and still was so, that he could not compete with the Honourable and Learned Gentleman in words. He had then felt it necessary to state, that to the wisdom of the people he was more disposed to trust than to the wisdom of the House, persuaded that the people on every occasion decided *coolly* [a laugh]; that they decided wisely and brightly [hear, hear! and a laugh]. He had also no hesitation in saying, that he was decidedly of opinion any system of representation was better than the present. But he would have expected that the Honourable and Learned Gentleman would have felt for the Petitioners, when he considered *he himself was not long ago of the same opinions, and had made an open declaration of them in a speech, on a day which he (Lord C.) could name, and would name, when that Learned Gentleman had not the good fortune to represent a rotten Borough, as he did*

now. The day was the 23rd of June, 1814, when there were strong expectations, he would not say by that Honourable Gentleman himself, but by others, that he would be returned for the City of Westminster. This speech then delivered, was certainly a sure criterion of his political opinions *at that crisis*, whatever they may be *now*; and of the genuineness of that speech he had sufficient proofs in his hand. The Learned Gentleman had declared his opinions were firmly in support of *Annual Parliaments, and suffrage co-extensive with taxation* [hear!] He (Lord COCHRANE) had seen that Honourable Gentleman's words on paper, not taken from him by a reporter, who might afterwards be charged with having mistaken them; but written coolly and deliberately---by whom? Why, by himself; although indeed no name or signature was attached to the declaration.---Soon after (a day or two) he was waited upon for the purpose of correcting his speech, when he, instead of correcting it, thought it less trouble, and much better for him, *to write it afresh, which he accordingly did.* He at the present moment represented a *rotten Borough*; but still he (Lord Cochrane) had sufficient evidence to prove these to have been the opinions of the Learned Gentleman, and he would now read them from the speech *written by his (Mr. BROUGHAM'S) own hand.* But first, to put an end to all doubts on the subject, he wished to know, whether the paper he now held in his hand was the writing of the Learned Gentleman [loud and repeated cries of order, order!] He hoped the House would hear with attention the then sentiments of the Honourable Gentleman, which he should now read from a manuscript he held in his hand.

The Noble Lord here read from the manuscript *Declaration*, made by Mr. BROUGHAM, the whole of which was published in the "REFORMISTS' REGISTER EXTRAORDINARY," on Monday afternoon.

“As often as we have required that Parliaments should be chosen yearly, and that the *elective franchise should be extended to all that pay Taxes*, we have been desired to wait, for the enemy was at the gate, and ready to avail himself of the discords attending our political contests, in order to undermine our national independence. *This argument is gone, and our adversaries must now look for another.* It would be superfluous to reason in favour of them *here*, where *all* were agreed upon the subject.” Now such were some of the words made use of on that occasion by the Honourable Gentleman, and certainly he (Lord C.) knew no man who wore shoes or eat bread, who did not pay Taxes; because, though he perhaps did not pay them directly, they were laid on the articles he consumed, by the person from whom he purchased them. But he would proceed in these extracts from the speech of the Learned Gentleman, aware they must be very amusing to the House. “He suggested a fact *for the use of such as might have occasion to defend their principles.* It was one, for the truth of which he might appeal to his Honourable Friend (Mr. G. BYNG), the Member for Middlesex, who *knew as well as he did*, that there was a *great improvement always observable* in the conduct of the House of Commons towards the *last* year of a Parliament, insomuch that he had heard it observed, that *more good* was done in that year, than in all the other five or six. The reason of this he should not presume to state, but some persons were of so suspicious a nature, as to insinuate, that it might be the knowledge of Members, that at the end of that Session, they must meet their constituents, *such of them as had any*, and give an account of their *trust.*” He says again, in another part of the same speech, after complaining of a toast given by mistake, and which had said, “a full, fair, and free representation in Parliament,” leaving out the

People, “this is just what is done elsewhere. There is a full, fair, and free representation in Parliament---we need not drink that. There is a *full* representation of the aristocracy, a *fair* representation of the landed interest, a *free* representation, and a free ingress of the Court; but not so much representation of the People. They are left out, as they were to-day. It must, however, be otherwise soon. While they bear the burdens of the State, they must, as of right, share in its government, and *to effect this Reform, all good men must now unite.*” Such were the sentiments of the Learned Gentleman, who was *now* falling so unmercifully foul on the friends of Reform, charging *them* as deluding and misleading. While such were the sentiments of the Honourable Gentleman *then*, but they were different from those which at one time had influenced him. There had then been *three periods in the history of the Honourable Gentleman, when his opinions had differed.* The *first* was, the time before he changed his opinions to that of *Annual Parliaments*, when he was neither among the *misleading* nor their *dupes*, but was an advocate for moderate and temperate Reform. The *second* period was, the time he had made this *memorable* speech. And here he could not help alluding to the time when this speech had been delivered. It was when he (Lord C.) had been expelled from the House, and when, consequently, a vacancy was expected for Westminster. He did not impute *motives* to the Honourable Gentleman, but *it was singular that this very period should have been selected as the most proper for making the speech* [hear!] One, however, who knew that such a speech had at such a time been made by the Honourable Gentleman, would now have expected he would of course have been *less severe* on the Reformers, instead of now *pronouncing anathemas on their motives and characters*; and it would therefore

have perhaps, been more *prudent* for the Honourable Gentleman (Honourable he would still call him, in all his proceedings) to have said *less*. With respect to an individual who had been noticed formerly as the source whence all these Petitions, or the most of them, emanated (he meant MAJOR CARTWRIGHT), he begged leave to say, that he did not know a more disinterested, or upright individual. Attached to the principles of no party, [a laugh] advocating neither the claims of one class or another, that venerable man had devoted his whole life to the cause of the People, and in defence of their best and most sacred privileges. He was proud to bear this testimony, having had the most satisfactory evidence from personal knowledge that this was the case.

“He should not now further trespass on their attention, unless he was compelled to say more, when he should produce more facts. He concluded, by moving for leave to bring up the Petition.”

Mr. BROUGHAM said, a more groundless aspersion had, he believed, never been brought forward against any individual. He did not accuse the Noble Lord, however, or those out of doors, who had put the brief into his hands, of uttering any falsehood in the statement which had just been submitted to the House; but he decidedly accused them of rashness and imprudence, and of not waiting for only a few days longer, when they would have had a full and fair opportunity of hearing his opinions on this most momentous and important subject; and when they could then have found whether he was, or was not, inconsistent [hear, hear, hear!] Had those out of doors, whose tool the Noble Lord was, but waited those few days, they would then have known what his real sentiments on the question were; having, as the House well knew, reserved to himself the right of then speaking what he felt on the subject [hear, hear!] How then

could the Noble Lord, how could they in whose hands he is, presume to know what were the opinions he (Mr. B.) had formed on this most interesting question? How do they know that he would not have stated his opinion then in the very terms which had just been read? That they should have ascertained his sentiments, was a moral impossibility [hear, hear!] But the Noble Lord had given a misstatement of what took place; and he should now endeavour to give the House the particulars of the case. A dinner was given at the London Tavern, to the Friends of Parliamentary Reform, at which he (Mr. B.) attended, with his friend, the Member for Middlesex, with the late truly respected, and much lamented Member for the town of Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), with the Member for Hertfordshire (Mr. Brand), and the Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Bennet). In the course of what passed there, some observations fell from him, similar to what had been read by the Noble Lord. The chief motive he had in correcting what he had there stated, was to prevent the possibility of his words, on this dangerous, and yet important question, being misrepresented. He then said, or at least meant to be understood as saying, what he still maintained, that it was consonant to the genius and spirit of the Constitution, and expedient in every sense of the word, that *the power of election should be LIMITED to those who paid direct taxes*. He corrected what he had said on the subject, as he was aware of the mistakes of reporters. He again repeated, and wished it to be understood, that what he then said, the same he now maintained; viz. that the payment of direct taxes ought to be the *limit* of the elective franchise. He did not wish to compete with the Noble Lord; but this was his meaning when he so spoke. He should wish to say one word upon what had been said, respecting his advocating the cause of a moderate and

gradual Reform. Six years ago, it would be remembered, he had repeatedly said, both within and without the House, that it would be proper for those who wished for Annual Parliaments, to unite with those who were more moderate, and thus secure a footing. There was no reason for their stopping short, and he did not hold it to be inconsistent in the friends of Annual Parliaments to unite with the more moderate Reformers, and to obtain, in the first instance, a beginning. This was the opinion he then held, and he had never deviated from it. *The Noble Lord was much mistaken, when he supposed that the mere production of a speech delivered by him (Mr. B.) at a Tavern, would make him swerve from the line of duty, merely from the foolish and childish desire of keeping up*

AN APPEARANCE OF CONSISTENCY. If he supposed him (Mr. B.) to do so, he was much mistaken. The House had heard him declare his intention to reserve his right of being heard, when the question was brought fully under the consideration of the House, and he could only add, that he would still reserve to himself that right, uninfluenced by any thing the Noble Lord had said. He again repeated, that when he spoke of the extension of suffrage, it should be to those who paid direct taxes only; for he never dreamt of it going further. As to the miserable motives alleged to have actuated him, as if he could prostitute himself at one time to deliver opinions which were not the sentiments of his heart, *for the purpose of being carried into the House, on the shoulders of a RABBLE* [hear, hear!]; and at another time to bend to prejudices he might have to contend with in the House; all he should say, was, that he treated such charges with the contempt they deserved. The only pain he felt, was when he contemplated the *folly* and the *madness* of some wild theorists, and the *base expedients* and *false practices* they made use of to divide the People from the

Constitution, merely to gratify party purposes, and to compass objects, in which the good of the country was neglected, while the interest of one or two individuals was the all in all [hear, hear, hear!] This gave him more pain, than all the Noble Lord had said, or could say [hear!]

Sir F. BURDETT lamented that gentlemen who agreed in the general principle of the necessity of some Reform, instead of keeping their own eyes, and directing the eyes of the public, to the notorious fact, that the Members of that House were nominated by a very small body, and that *less than two hundred persons actually nominated the majority of the House*, acted towards each other with the hostility of the professors of different sects of religion, instead of uniting to obtain the abolition of at least that enormous grievance. It was much to be regretted, that those who were all anxious to obtain a salutary Reform, should thus waste their strength in acrimonious contention, instead of combining to obtain the great object in view.

Lord COCHRANE, in moving that it should lie on the table, said, the Honourable and Learned Gentleman's censures had been bestowed on the most honourable characters, and on almost the unanimous voice of the country, which the Honourable and Learned Gentleman had maintained was divided into only two classes---the *deceivers* and the *deceived*. It was on that account that he had quoted the Honourable and Learned Gentleman's former opinions, in order to show that he ought to have been less severe; and *he was happy to observe the good effect of the step which he had taken, in the altered tone of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman*. He was in the recollection of the House, that nothing personal had originated with him. He had merely stated, that Triennial Parliaments would only reduce, and not remove, the existing corruption; and he had that evening

quoted, in support of that statement, the Honourable and Learned Gentleman's observation, that in the last year of every Parliament, more benefit accrued to the public than during all the preceding years of its existence. It was his firm conviction, that unless the House discussed the subject with the deliberation which its importance demanded---unless every part of it should be fully and fairly investigated---unless the doors of the gallery should remain open during the whole of the proceedings, that the public might, in the usual manner, become acquainted with---[a loud cry of Order!] unless a full, and free, and open discussion should be entered into, on the question which the Right Honourable Gentleman, and the Honourable Gentleman behind him, declared ought not to be at all entertained, the country would consider that it had a most serious cause of complaint.

Mr. BROUGHAM denied that he had at all altered his tone on the subject. The Noble Lord had alluded to a certain influence to be exercised over that House---not the influence of well-disposed persons---not the influence of the wishes expressed by the People in their Petitions; but another description of influence, which appeared to him to be of the nature of intimidation. Warm friend as he was to the cause of Parliamentary Reform, he held that that cause must be supported by other means than this. If there should appear any symptom of such a proceeding on the subject, he should not have the slightest hesitation in resorting to one of two expedients, in order to counteract it---either to move the adjournment of the discussion sine die, or to prevent all possibility of that influence being used in the way to which the Noble Lord had alluded.

Lord COCHRANE, in explanation, denied any intention of intimidation. He was only anxious that the House might fully consider the important subject that would be brought before it.

The Petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

The reader will not fail to observe, that the words "ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS" are not to be found in the speech of Mr. BROUGHAM, delivered on Monday last: he will find it distinctly laid down by him as a principle not to be departed from in the speech at the *London Tavern*, and the reasons why it was used; and they remain uncontradicted.

Mr. BROUGHAM has completely shirked "ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS."

In the speech of Monday, Mr. BROUGHAM says, his object at the *London Tavern* was, "that the power of election should be limited to those who paid direct taxes." A reference to the speech at that *Tavern* will show, that so far as a man's object is to be understood from his words, they decidedly imply not a limitation of suffrage "to those who paid direct taxes;" but an extension of suffrage, "WE have required," says Mr. BROUGHAM, "WE have required that Parliaments should be chosen EVERY YEAR; and that the elective franchise should be EXTENDED TO ALL WHO PAY TAXES."

Mr. BROUGHAM now says, he meant to limit the suffrage "to those who paid direct taxes." What must be inferred from this, but that the company which he addressed were advocates for "UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE," or there was nothing for him to limit? Mr. BROUGHAM may be fairly left on the horns of this dilemma.

Mr. BROUGHAM says, in his Monday's speech, "As to the miserable motives alleged to have actuated him, as if he could prostitute himself at one time to de-

liver opinions which were not the sentiments of his heart, *for the purpose of being carried into the House on the shoulders of a RABBLE* [hear, hear!], and at another time to bend to prejudices he might have to contend with in the House, all he should say was, that he treated such charges with the contempt they deserved."

As to the RABBLE—the "rabble" at the London Tavern, whom he "limited"—and the "rabble" in Westminster, whom he courted—Mr. BROUGHAM knows that *half the story has not yet been told*; but his bad example shall not be followed: he concludes by calling the *Electors of WESTMINSTER* a "rabble"—the "rabble" there do, however, understand their duty, and will do it; they understand Mr. BROUGHAM, too, very well; and they will be better pleased to see Mr. BROUGHAM left just where his own conduct has placed him, than they would be to see him trampled upon, *now that he has fallen*.

Every body must agree with Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, in regretting the differences among the Reformers; but every body must also have perceived, that it was neither with the Reformers out of the House, nor with the Ministerial party within the House, that the contest commenced. The supporters of all the corruptions were not the persons who kept up the ball of discord when it had been thrown. They sat snug, and laughed at *those who, with pretended claims to the support of the People, poured out upon them the foulest epithets—abused them for their acts—and imputed*

to them the foulest motives. A singular coincidence, in point of expression, may be found between the words used by the OUTS, against the 600,000 or 700,000 men who, Mr. Canning admits, have signed petitions for Annual Parliaments and universal suffrage—or Annual Parliaments with a less extended suffrage—and the words used by the COMMITTEE of SECRECY, in their Report, against a *small* number of persons therein represented to have committed or contemplated acts of treason; and yet we are told "we were to have waited only a few days longer, and we would then have known what Mr. BROUGHAM's *real* sentiments were; having, as *THE HOUSE well knew*, reserved to himself the right of THEN speaking what he *felt* on the subject." That is, give me a bludgeon, and let me use it to knock out the brains of the Reformers; or let me point them out, and call down persecution upon them; and when this has been done, I will tell you what *my opinion really is*. The attack made by the Outs against the People, the "acrimony," was theirs—the defence was left to the People; or rather it was presumed they had neither the sense nor the courage to defend themselves. In this presumptuous spirit their submission was anticipated, as a matter of course; but give the People a clear stage, and fair play, and they will always, as they have now done, beat down their opponents.

The *Chronicle* tells us that the Hon. Mr. WARD said, "when the question of *Parliamentary Reform* should come to be regularly

discussed, and when the House should be told, as no doubt it would be told by the advocates of what was called *moderate* Reform, that the alterations which they proposed were *trifling*, and could do *no harm*, he would remind them of his Hon. and Learned Friend's suggestion, that a '*beginning*' was at any rate advisable; and on the ground that the *beginning of an inroad on the CONSTITUTION, was dangerous, he would firmly RESIST EVERY PROPOSITION that might be made on the subject.*"

The Hon. Mr. WARD, son of Lord Viscount DUDLEY AND WARD, is the "representative" *nominally* for ILCHESTER, but *really* of Sir WILLIAM MANNERS. Of this Sir WILLIAM MANNERS enough might be said, were we disposed to lay open the private character of individuals; but Sir WILLIAM may be allowed to enjoy his own comforts, and the unalloyed happiness which results from his correct and amiable conduct. Not so, however, his public conduct; *that* must, when circumstances call for it, be exposed.

Mr. OLDFIELD, a person who has for many years carried on the trade of a *Borough-Broker*—that is, of a *go-between* for those who have SEATS in the *honourable* House TO SELL, and those who have a desire to PURCHASE them—a man who, from his intimate acquaintance with all the practices respecting the *trafficking* in seats, and from his reading and research into the history of the House of Commons, is better qualified than any one else to describe the manner in which it is composed, gives the following account of the ROTTEN borough

of ILCHESTER, the place for which Mr. WARD sits:—

"This borough has been so *IMPRUDENT* in the exercise of its *CORRUPTION*, as to have had the whole system several times exposed before Committees of the House of COMMONS."

"The houses in this place were purchased up about the year 1784, by the late JOHN HARCOURT, Esq., who sold them to RICHARD TROWARD, Esq., attorney at law, of Norfolk street. Mr. TROWARD sold them again to his partner, the late Mr. ALBANY WALLIS, who bequeathed them to Colonel BAYLEY, from whom they were purchased by Sir WILLIAM MANNERS, the present proprietor, who has since possessed himself of nearly the whole borough."

"At the general election in 1802, a great majority of the voters were BRIBED, at £30. a man, to vote against the proprietor. This caused the trial and conviction of ALEXANDER DAVISON, Esq., and his agents, at the assizes for the county of Somerset, in 1804; for which they afterwards received sentence in the Court of King's Bench, to suffer one year's imprisonment."

"TO PREVENT A SIMILAR OCCURRENCE AT A FUTURE ELECTION, SIR WILLIAM MANNERS CAUSED ALL THE HOUSES TO BE PULLED DOWN, EXCEPT ABOUT SIXTY, IN ORDER TO LIMIT THE NUMBER OF VOTERS; AND ERECTED

" A LARGE WORKHOUSE, TO
 " ACCOMMODATE THOSE
 " WHOSE DISOBEDIENCE
 " HAD OFFENDED HIM!!!

" THE NUMBER OF HOUSES
 " DESTROYED UPON THIS
 " OCCASION WAS ABOUT
 " ONE HUNDRED, AND THE
 " ELECTORS WHO OCCU-
 " PIED THEM, WITH THEIR
 " FAMILIES, HAVE MOSTLY
 " RESIDED IN THE WORK-
 " HOUSE EVER SINCE; THE
 " NOMINATION OF THE MEM-
 " BERS IS THEREBY TRANS-
 " FERRED FROM ABOUT ONE
 " HUNDRED AND SIXTY
 " HOUSEHOLDERS TO AN
 " INDIVIDUAL."

Mr. Ward says *THIS IS the Constitution*, or his words have no meaning. If so—not to allow *ONE MAN* to make *PAUPERS* of 100 families at his will and pleasure—not to permit one man to turn 100 families into a *WORKHOUSE* at once—not to suffer a man to debase, and injure, and ruin, 100 families on one spot—not to suffer this man to put 100 Englishmen and their families into the most deplorable condition this country knows—not to permit, aye, and even not to encourage these things, would be, in the words of the Honourable Mr. WARD, the worthy representative of this borough, "the beginning of a dangerous inroad in the constitution, which he would firmly resist!"

PEOPLE of ENGLAND, *hear this!*
 How many of you have in various

parts of the country been treated *thus*, it is impossible for me to say—how many of you have felt your heart's blood flow to your heads, at *observing* such things—how many of you will feel this sensation at *reading* the account, I cannot tell; but this I can tell, that he who does *not* feel an ardent glow of indignation, is unworthy of the country in which he lives, of those who have preceded him, and even of the very name of man. *One hundred families; 500 men, women, and children, TURNED OUT OF HOUSE and HOME—*their tenements pulled about their ears—every comfort, every enjoyment which they had been able to procure for themselves, taken from them—all hope for the future destroyed—*500 persons perpetually degraded, and punished by no law—*punished beyond the letter or spirit of any law, for even the most atrocious crime not incurring the penalty of death—punished, too, to satiate the malignant, unrelenting, inexorable temper of an individual—"will corruption defend *this*?" The question has been asked in a *much less atrocious case*—and, without waiting for a reply, it has been concluded, that corruption would *not* defend, would shrink from the defence—and the conclusion was natural. In common life, atrocities meet with execration; and *well constituted minds cannot conceive the shamelessness of the PUBLIC CORRUPTIONISTS*. But *CORRUPTION can and will defend ANY THING*—will not only defend any thing, but it will propagate any thing, however *base and infamous*.

Yet corruption has its *regrets*—*regret* that any thing stands in the way of its diabolical wishes and intentions. Corruption *regrets* that the People of England should consist of more than two classes, such as Sir WILLIAM MANNERS and HIS PAUPERS; and to the condition of this latter class it would bring us all. To this, *if it be not itself destroyed*, to this it will bring us all: and richly indeed shall we deserve such treatment, if we do not continue our exertions TO PUT AN END TO CORRUPTION.

Whatever *dangers* or *evils* are likely to arise to the Constitution from the present appeals to the People, and the PETITIONS of the People to PARLIAMENT—they are all to be traced to the immortal and heaven-born WILLIAM PITT, and the present EARL GREY. This is not mere assertion. A Petition prepared and presented by Earl, then Mr. GREY, to the House of Commons in 1793, states:—

“The Majority of your honourable House is elected by less than 15,000 electors, which, even if the male adults in the kingdom be estimated at so few a number as 3 millions, is not more than the 200th part of the People to be represented; 70 of your honourable Members are returned by 35 places, where the right of voting is vested in burgage, and other tenures of a similar description, and in which it would be to trifle with the patience of your honourable House, to mention any number of voters whatever, the elections at the places alluded to being notoriously a mere matter of form; and this your petitioners are ready to prove.

“In addition to the 70 honourable Members so chosen, 90 more of your honourable Members are elected

by 46 places, in none of which the number of voters exceed 50.

“In addition to the 160 so elected, 37 more of your honourable Members are elected by 19 places, in none of which the number of voters exceed 50.

“In addition to the 197 honourable Members so chosen, 52 more are returned to serve in Parliament by 26 places, in none of which the number of voters exceed 200.

“In addition to the 249 so elected, 20 more are returned to serve in Parliament for counties in Scotland, by less than 100 electors each; and 10 for counties in Scotland, by less than 250 each.

“In addition to the 279 so elected, 13 districts of burghs of Scotland, not containing 100 voters each, and 2 districts of burghs, not containing 125 each, return 15 more honourable Members; and in this manner, according to the present state of the representation, 294 of your honourable Members are chosen; and, being a MAJORITY of the entire House of Commons, are enabled to decide ALL questions in THE NAME OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE of England and Scotland. Eighty-four individuals do, by their own immediate authority, send 157 of your honourable Members to Parliament. And 150 more, making in the whole 307, are returned to your honourable House, not by the collected voice of those whom they appear to represent, but by the recommendation of 70 powerful individuals, added to the 84 before-mentioned; and making the total number of PATRONS altogether only 154, who return a decided majority of your honourable House.

“Your petitioners inform your honourable House, and are ready to prove it at your bar, that they have the most reasonable grounds to suspect that no less than 150 of your honourable Members owe their elections entirely to the interference of PEERS; and your petitioners are prepared to show by legal evidence, that 40 Peers,

in defiance of your resolutions, have possessed themselves of so many burgage tenures, and obtained such an absolute and uncontrolled command in very many small Boroughs, as to be enabled by their own positive authority to return 81 of your honourable Members.

“Your petitioners complain, that **PROPERTY**, whether well or ill employed, has *equal power*; that the present system of representation gives to it a degree of weight which renders it *independent of character*, enables it to *excite fear as well as procure respect*, and confines the choice of electors within the ranks of opulence; because, though it cannot make riches the sole object of their affection and confidence, it can and does throw obstacles, almost insurmountable, in the way of every man who is not rich; and thereby secures to a select few the capability of becoming candidates themselves, or supporting the pretensions of others. Your honourable House knows, that the complicated rights of voting, and the shameful practices which disgrace election proceedings, have so loaded your table with petitions for judgment and redress, that one half of the usual duration of a Parliament has scarcely been sufficient to settle who is entitled to sit for the other half; and it was not till within the last 2 months that your honourable House had an opportunity of discovering, that the 2 gentlemen who sat and voted near 3 years as the representatives of the Borough of STOCKBRIDGE, had procured themselves to be elected by the most scandalous bribery; and that the 2 gentlemen who sat and voted during as long a period for the borough of GREAT GRIMSBY, had **NOT BEEN ELECTED AT ALL.**

“The expense to each of the parties, who have been either plaintiff or defendant, in petitions tried before your honourable House, in the present session, has upon an average amounted to above 100*l.* per day; and that the attornies’ bills in one

cause, the trial of which in point of form only lasted 2 days, and in point of fact only 6 hours, amounted to very near 1200*l.*”

The Petition so prepared and presented by *Earl GREY*, contained the above amongst other statements in behalf of Reform, all capable of proof; and in 1794, his Lordship, then in the House of Commons, strenuously opposed the *suspension* of the *Habeas Corpus Act*.

“On this occasion (said Mr. GREY), it is held improper to appeal to the public for their sentiments, though on former ones, the *minister* himself had affected to appeal to the public voice. When Mr. PITT was defeated on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, he had recourse to resolutions at the *Thatched House Tavern*, in concert with Mr. HORNE TOOKE, who was now under conviction, only for persevering in those sentiments, which others had abandoned. Mr. PITT had then resolved, “That considering it was *vain to look to Parliament* for a regeneration, originating *within itself*, it be recommended **TO THE PEOPLE** throughout the kingdom, to assemble during the ensuing summer, in districts, for the purpose of an application to Parliament on the subject;” but WILLIAM PITT, the Reformer of that day, was WILLIAM PITT the prosecutor, and the persecutor too, of Reformers now. He who thought fit to *inflame the passions of the People*, and to instigate them to a *contempt for the House of Commons* then, would not at present allow the People to judge of their own rights, and dearest interests; but persecuted with the real bitterness of an apostate, his

own partner in the question of Parliamentary Reform. This same WILLIAM PITT, who had *taught the People to believe that nothing honest was to be expected from the House of Commons*; now asserted, that the People should do nothing for themselves, but should submit implicitly to the House the right of personal freedom. Mr. GREY asserted, that if any evil had arisen from the doctrine of applying to the People, *instead of to Parliament*, Mr. PITT was to be considered the cause. *If the language of applying to the People for a Reform was criminal*, Mr. GREY said he had **HIMSELF** been guilty, since he did not scruple to assert, that from the House of Commons he had no hopes of Parliamentary Reform; **THAT HOUSE NEVER WOULD REFORM ITSELF**, or destroy the Corruption by which it was upheld, by any other means than those of the **RESOLUTIONS OF THE PEOPLE ACTING UPON THE PRUDENCE OF THE HOUSE**. That point they could only accomplish, but by **MEETING IN BODIES**, and this, in 1782, had been the opinion of the Minister. An Honourable Gentleman (Mr. WINDHAM) had asserted, that UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE was a doctrine only fitted for the *refuse* of the People. If this were so, of that description were the DUKE of RICHMOND and Mr. PITT; and this he proved from the *Duke's Letter to Col. SHARMAN*. Mr. GREY, in the course of the debate, declared, that *however impugned*, PARLIAMENTARY REFORM was a cause **HE WOULD NEVER DESERT**, nor would he, to preserve power, or gratify am-

bition, become **AN APOSTATE.**" (Annual Reg.)

Hence it appears, that if precedent be wanting for the strenuous efforts of the People at this time, in meeting and petitioning for Reform, the late Mr. PITT and EARL GREY are notable authorities. Mr. PITT is in his grave, with the brand of apostacy upon his memory for ever. EARL GREY, after taking office under the present system, still lives; and on Monday evening presented to the House of Lords, a Petition from the Common Council of the City of London, praying for Economy and Retrenchment in every branch of the Public Expenditure, and a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament. The Times reports Earl GREY to have then said, that ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS never had been, and he trusted never would be, the Constitution of the legislature of this country!

"But (said EARL GREY), were it proved that such had been the Constitution of Parliament; I should still ask, what Government, what Parliament, what race of men in this country, were so infallible, as to entitle them to bind posterity by their decision, and to impose upon the country for ever any system of representation which they might choose to sanction. No particular system of Parliamentary representation constituted any of the rights of the People. These rights are liberty and security: the particular Laws and Constitution of Parliament, are modes whereby those rights are obtained.---He was a friend to a moderate Reform of Parliament; at the same time he was prepared to state that he did not carry his opinion on that subject so far as he had done; and no fear of unpopularity would ever deter him from any CHANGE of OPINION, which experience might induce him to adopt on a question of such great importance. The PLAN prayed for by the Petitioners, was precisely

“ that which he had himself proposed
 “ in the other House of Parliament,
 “ at a period of life, when the hope of
 “ benefit from change was usually
 “ more sanguine, and the opinion of
 “ its necessity less tempered by prudence,
 “ than at the age in which he
 “ was now addressing their Lordships.
 “ EXPERIENCE had taught him to doubt the
 “ advantage of a Reform to such an extent,
 “ but he was still strongly of opinion, that
 “ no time should be lost in removing
 “ from the system of our representation
 “ those obvious STAINS” [Is the essence of
 “ lemon at hand?] “ which were the fruitful
 “ excitements to discontent. The Petition
 “ stated that all attempts to remove the
 “ difficulties into which the country was
 “ plunged, would be of no avail without
 “ a Reform of Parliament. This was an
 “ opinion in which HE could not concur.
 “ WITH ALL ITS DEFECTS, THE PARLIAMENT
 “ of this Country was the best legislative
 “ assembly in the world, and WAS CAPABLE
 “ OF REDRESSING EVERY EVIL EXPERIENCED
 “ BY THE COUNTRY, without resorting to
 “ any alteration in its constitution. It was
 “ certain, however, that the correction of
 “ some of the more obvious DEFECTS [gentle
 “ word] of the representation of the House
 “ of Commons, and in particular a diminution
 “ of the patronage of THE CROWN [and none
 “ of the aristocracy?] would go far to allay
 “ much of that discontent, which at present
 “ existed, and to reconcile all men sincerely
 “ to the PRACTICAL ADMINISTRATION of the
 “ constitution!”

This, then, is Earl GREY'S opinion now; now, when the People, “deserted in their
 “ utmost need” by their leaders, are doing without
 “ them, and struggling through good report and
 “ evil report to obtain Reform, in as constitutional
 “ a manner as Earl GREY was attempting in 1794.
 “ His lord-

ship then did so much for Reform, by his
 “ personal exertions both in and out of the
 “ House;---he then attended so many meetings
 “ for Reform, and made so many excellent
 “ speeches--he laboured on so many committees
 “ for Reform then---he assisted in preparing
 “ so many addresses, resolutions, and petitions,
 “ in behalf of Reform then---he, by his purse
 “ and influence, caused so many hundreds of
 “ thousands of invaluable publications, showing
 “ the necessity of Reform, to be printed at
 “ low prices, and circulated throughout the
 “ kingdom then---Earl GREY was, to all intents
 “ and purpose, SO EFFICIENT A REFORMER
 “ then, that any change in his conduct now
 “ will have no effect on the conduct of the
 “ persons whom he awakened to the necessity
 “ of Reform then. They still continue their
 “ steady course. Only four days before his
 “ lordship's speech on Monday, which is a
 “ death-blow to hope of Reforming aid from
 “ him now, some of the worthiest and most
 “ excellent of his disciples in St. Leonard,
 “ Shoreditch, resolved on a Petition, now
 “ in course of signature, reminding the
 “ honourable House, in the true spirit of his
 “ lordship's “DEPARTED PRINCIPLES” (I
 “ ask Mr. BROUGHAM's pardon, for quoting
 “ his phrase), that---

“ It is notorious, repeated Petitions
 “ have been presented, read, and ordered
 “ to be laid on the table of your honourable
 “ House, in which, amongst other numerous
 “ horrible facts, offered to be proved at the
 “ bar of your honourable House, the following
 “ are stated: That 487 members out of the
 “ 658, composing the whole number of your
 “ honourable House, are placed therein by
 “ the nomination of individuals members
 “ of the House of Peers, of members of your
 “ honourable House, and of his majesty's
 “ Ministers. That bribery, corruption, and
 “ profligacy, are so open and avowed, that
 “ seats in your honourable House are bought
 “ and sold with the same

"facility as stands for cattle, in a fair!"

In the minds of these persons, Earl GREY, four-and-twenty years ago, indelibly implanted the principles of Reform. Those principles they still cherish and inculcate. The defection of *his Lordship* effects no change in *them*; the principles of Reform are unchangeable truths, wholly independent of the conduct or views of public men; and were Earl GREY buried with his ancestors to-morrow--though I should be most sincerely sorry to hear of his Lordship's death--it would excite no other feeling for him, as a public character, than a deep regret, that such a man should, as a Reformer, have outlived his consistency and usefulness, and gone to his long home, leaving to his countrymen the recollection, that he was *only a few degrees less AN APOSTATE* than WILLIAM PITT.

Lord HOLLAND, on presenting the Petition of the Livery of London to the Lords, on the same day, said, "When he considered the variety of opinions among those who CALLED for Parliamentary Reform, he was under some apprehension that the object was *not attainable at this moment*, and that the subject was not in a state to enable EVEN PARLIAMENT to decide SATISFACTORILY upon it. He was far from agreeing that no good could be done without Parliamentary Reform, though he admitted that *some* alteration in the system of representation might be beneficial, especially in the northern part of the British Island. But REFORM would not pay the National Debt, feed the hungry, nor prevent improvident wars."

Well then, now we have Lord HOLLAND'S opinion; or rather his "consideration," "apprehension," and "disagreement"---why what STUFF is all this---does Lord HOLLAND imagine that there is any thing in such verbiage as this to satisfy

THE PEOPLE? If he does, then he may as well employ himself in nothing else than writing lives of LOPEZ DE VEGA, and scanning Spanish Sonnets. He, then, is not among those who call for Parliamentary Reform, he,---he, Lord HOLLAND, the nephew of Mr. Fox--he, the great Whig Peer,---has some apprehension that Parliamentary Reform is not attainable at this moment. I would ask Lord HOLLAND, why he has this apprehension? why the subject is not in a state to be decided on? He says, it is not in a state to enable "even Parliament to decide satisfactorily upon it." Mark the words, "even Parliament."---What! does he mean that Parliament, WITH ALL ITS WISDOM, cannot decide upon it? Does he suppose more wisdom to be necessary to decide upon it, than Parliament possesses? And does he imagine that Parliament will get wiser? Lord HOLLAND has too much intellect to believe this; but he would palsy the arm that would assist in renovating the constitution of that honourable House. He affirms that REFORM will neither pay the National Debt, feed the hungry, nor prevent improvident wars. Indeed, my Lord! Will not REFORM do these things? Will your Lordship say what will? Will the present, or any other House of Commons, got together in the same way? What has this House of Commons done? By this very House of Commons, the Debt has been increased, the People left unfed, and the late improvident wars prosecuted? Will your Lordship point to any security the country has, that the same career of Ministerial profligacy will not be again protected and encouraged by the honourable House; or rather, will your Lordship deny that there are at this moment stronger reasons than common to believe that the honourable House is, and will be, more under the thumb of Ministers than ever? Surely your Lordship will not deny either this, or the affirmation

in the Petition on the table of the honourable House, that seats in that House have been bought and sold, with the same facility as stands for cattle in a fair. Can it be expected that the honourable House, by being left to fester in its impurity, will acquire constitutional aid and vigour, and quietly "slough off" ITS OWN CORRUPTION?

Inconsistency is not confined to the Houses of Parliament. A curious little Dramatic Poem is just printed, entitled "WAT TYLER." A quotation will shew its tendency.

SONG.

" ' When Adam delv'd, and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman? "

Wretched is the infant's lot,
Born within the straw-roof'd cot!
Be he generous, wise, or brave,
He must only be a slave.

Long, long labour, little rest,
Still to toil to be oppress'd;
Drain'd by taxes of his store,
Punish'd next for being poor:
This is the poor wretch's lot,
Born within the straw-roof'd cot.

While the peasant works—to sleep;
What the peasant sows to—reap;
On the couch of ease to lie,
Rioting in revelry;
Be he villain, be he fool,
Still to hold despotic rule,
Trampling on his slaves with scorn;
This is to be nobly born.

' When Adam delv'd, and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman? ' "

WAT TYLER is attributed by the Morning Chronicle, to no less a person than the Poet Laureate, one Mr. ROBERT SOUTHEY, a gentleman of credit and renown, and, until he became Poet Laureate, a Poet. The present poem appears to have been written many years ago, when Mr. Southey had not merely reforming opinions, but very wild notions indeed. In consideration of a Court pension, he now regularly inflames his muse, in praise of official persons and business, at certain periods throughout the year, as precisely stated and rehearsed in verse, as the days whereon his pension is made payable and receivable. His present muse, however, is no more

like to that which he formerly courted, than the black doll at an old rag shop is like Petrarch's Laura. Poor Southey! a pensioned Laureate! compelled to sing like a blind linnet by a sly pinch, with every now and then a volume of his old verses flying into his face, and putting him out! I have no doubt, he would at this moment exchange his situation, fleshpots and all, for that of the Negro, who earns his "daily," by sweeping the crossing at Mr. Waithman's corner!

As to the "Green Bag," it reminds me of Dr. Slop's, in *Tristram Shandy*; which, to secure the instruments, was tied so tight ABOVE, that the Doctor cut his own fingers, in undoing the knots. And as to the contents, who forgets what Falstaff enumerates to have lost out of his pocket behind the arras! a seal-ring of his grandfather's, worth forty pounds, and three or four bonds of forty pounds a-piece:---the seal-ring turned out to be copper, and his bonds "Tavern reckonings, memorandums of bawdy houses, and one penny-worth of sugar candy to make him long winded." Really, my Lord CASTLEREAGH, this sugar candy is confoundedly suspicious!

Then as to "the Reports," why to be sure they are very loud, and seem to have alarmed the personages who emitted them. They remind me wonderfully of a butcher's horse in Kent, whose only use, being old and past labour, was to collect Orders; for which purpose, a bridle was put on him every day, and a boy mounted on his back to scour the country. This horse had a habit of running home alone, under the influence of great and unaccountable fright. It was when the boy was dismounted, taking instructions from the servants, that, not feeling the curb, the old hack, who had no mettle in him, so strangely set off. At length it was discovered, that the poor creature having an inward complaint, whenever he broke wind loudly, became dreadfully alarmed at the sound of his own "reports," and galloped away

at full speed, shorting, and kicking, and terrifying himself, and all the old people and children in his flight;--- never stopping till he reached his master's door, where he staid till a second "report" frightened him off to the stable!

Gentle Reader, farewell!

WILLIAM HONE.

Friday, 21st February, 1817.

P. S. As to PLOTS, here is a specimen of the miserable shifts to which the poor creatures are reduced. The SUN, a Treasury paper, actually made a Second Edition last night solely of the following *stuff*:---

"We should deem ourselves in some degree guilty of " MISPRISION OF TREASON," if we suffered a day to pass, without contributing to the utmost of our power, to the Detection and Exposure, we will not say of the Designs of the DISAFFECTED, but of those who aim at nothing short of TREASON, REBELLION, and the Destruction of the Sacred Person of the HEAD OF THE STATE, in order to accomplish their diabolical purpose, in the entire Destruction of that Constitution, which has long been the GLORY OF LEGISLATION, and the Pride of Englishmen--THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION. The following daring, infamous, and flagitious PLACARD was posted upon a wall, between RICHMOND and KEW, and was indignantly torn down by a Gentleman who saw it. We pledge our Paper for the authenticity of this wicked attempt to excite Englishmen to the most daring Acts of REBELLION, MURDER, and ANARCHY. It was printed in large letters, in the most striking form, and posted in the most conspicuous place near the spot:--

**" ENGLISHMEN,
THE REGENT**

**MUST BE PUT ASIDE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF**

THE GENERAL GOOD :

" Had you rather *Cæsar* were living and die all Slaves, [Freemen."

" Than that *Cæsar* were dead to live all

Here's *cramming* for another Green Bag, and another Report!

* * Mr. CAPEL LOFFT's Communication in the next Number.

TO READERS.

THE REFORMISTS' REGISTER will, every *half-year*, have a TITLE-PAGE, with a COMPLETE INDEX of reference to its contents, and bind up into a Volume, as large in size as a Volume of the best edition of Hume's History of England, or Gibbon's Rome. But a volume of the REGISTER will contain more than double the quantity contained in a volume of these works, and be at *one half* the price; so that the Reader will have, at the end of every year, Two VOLUMES, abounding with sound political information, on subjects in which he himself, and his children, and his country, are deeply interested; and the contents of these Two VOLUMES, which he obtains by an easy purchase of *Two-pence a Week*, and which do not cost him NINE SHILLINGS, will be equal to the contents of Four volumes of Hume's History of England, which will cost *One Pound Twelve Shillings*.

No. I. was published on Saturday, Feb. 1, 1817. The leading Article of No. II. for Feb. 8, is " UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE and ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS, *against* Mr. BROUGHAM and the WHIGS. No. III. consists of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT'S PLAN OF REFORM.

No. IV. is a REGISTER Extraordinary, and was published on *Monday*, to repel the mischievous attacks of Mr. BROUGHAM on the Reformists: it contains his *Declaration* at the London Tavern, in 1814, entire, from the original manuscript, the whole of which is in Mr. BROUGHAM's hand-writing; and it also contains the *history* of that Declaration.

The excellent *Letter* of the late Duke of RICHMOND to Colonel SHARMAN, on *Universal Suffrage* and *Annual Parliaments*, and the *Bill* for Reform in Parliament on those principles, having been long out of print, and being at this time much wanted, I have reprinted both in octavo. The LETTER TO COLONEL SHARMAN is Price *Two-pence*. The Duke's important BILL, which had become very scarce, is prefaced by his Grace's " DECLARATION of the Rights of the Commonalty of Great Britain, without which they cannot be free." I have also added Titles to each of the clauses of the Bill, to facilitate reference, which is now peculiarly necessary, as the Bill itself is the basis of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT'S *Plan of Reform*, as well as most others. The BILL, with these additions, is Price *Four-pence*. W. H.

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Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER,

AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 6.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1817.

[Vol. I.

SUSPENSION

OF THE

HABEAS CORPUS ACT.

Lord Sidmouth's Employment, and mine—The Reports—Lord Castlereagh—Pikes—Societies—Mr. Cleary's Petition—Reform and Revolution—Westminster Meeting—Sir F. BURDETT'S SPEECH, at length—Mr. Fox on the Butchery of Sidney, &c.—Bribery by Sir William Manners—Bribe'em and the Black Candidate—New Shoreham and the Christian Club—Deficiency of the Green Bag—Parodies on the Litany, &c. published by me—Parodies on the Litany, Catechism, &c. published by Mr. John Reeves, Mr. John Bowles, and a Church Dignitary.

To my utter astonishment, last Saturday morning, it appears, that the night before, whilst I was at the printer's, correcting the proof of my *Register* for publication, his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, Lord SIDMOUTH, was actually causing a Bill to be read in the House of Lords, for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act; where it was read a first time, *without opposition*, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday; when the Noble Lord passed it through the two remaining stages.

That excellent paper, the *Examiner*, observed so well last Sunday on the Report whereon this measure is founded, that I shall, without apology, request the reader's attention to its remarks.

"The great object of the production (the *Report*) is evidently to confound the cause of Reform with sedition and confusion; to make out that reform indeed is a mere pretence, or an attempt to gain a footing for Rebellion; and that the uppermost thing in the minds of those who profess it, is not the purification of *Parliament*, and a return to the first principles of the Constitution, but an overthrow of the Constitution itself. The moral to be deduced is obvious: There must be no Reform at all;---Parliament must grant nothing, or every thing will be lost;---Corruption must stand its ground.---Now we, of the *Examiner*, happen to be Reformers ourselves, and pretty staunch ones. We are far from crying out, "No REGENT," or "off with his head!" We should be content with a little voluntary diminution of what adorns it. Neither do we cry out, "No CASTLEREAGH," or "off with his head!" His Lordship has quite as much right to existence as any other offender against the Constitution; and as to his head, we are hardly sure he has one, except upon the old proverbial principle of the pin. But we are not the less staunch Reformers on that account. We wish the PRINCE had had a better taste in things, had not married to pay his debts, or had left his wife alone when he separated

from her; and we wish also, that he had stuck faster to some of his old friends, and had been a little quicker with his sums of money, small and great. Furthermore, we think Lord CASTLEREAGH a very dull, as well as unconstitutional personage; and are quite sure that he ought neither to be Minister of such a country as this, nor to sit ten minutes longer in the Parliament, which he treated like a common Exchange. In short, we would have no corruption, no seat-selling, no state of things at the mercy of rich monopolizers of boroughs, and any stupid person who chuses to fawn upon them; no Septennial Parliaments, with all the other *noes*, small and great, that are included in these negations. We would have none of these; we have done something and suffered something against them; we hope to do still more; we are staunch, tried, well-known, and inflexible Reformers; and yet so little does this shallow attempt at identifying Reform with sedition hold good, that last week, in making our usual summary of the news, and speaking of the progress of Reform, we literally forgot to notice the late secret arrests, and every thing concerning them; so utterly unconnected in our minds were the two subjects.

"There are two distinct features in the Report, but the expression in both is the same. The first regards an actual conspiracy, which is alleged to have existed; and the second takes cognizance (which it has no right to take) of the mere Societies for Reform;---but Reform,---Reform is the galling thing throughout; and the more galling, inasmuch as the Reporters, with all their pains-taking to confound them, are really obliged to separate the two questions. This situation gives them a strange succession of aspects;---they are at first very satisfied and authoritative; then they look alarmed; then they look awkward, from a sense that they have carried the alarm too far; then they

are bungling, inconsistent, and to the last degree, lack-a-daysical.

"That some sort of conspiracy has existed, seems likely: but of what sort, and above all, of what extent and importance, is yet to be told. It is easy to talk of things in the gross---to run riot in plural numbers, like Sir HUGH EVANS, when he is "very melancholies;" and to tell us that *Societies* exist, that *Plans* have been formed, and *Arms* been prepared: but of whom, and how many, have the Societies been composed; were the plans feasible or absurd, and what was the mighty quantity of arms? We must know the nature and situation of the men, the feelings by which they were possibly impelled, and the resources by which they proposed to act, before we can judge whether the alleged conspiracy was any thing formidable, or only a petty effort of ignorant desperation. Let us not forget the former times of terrors and suspensions, and the fate of poor frenzied DESPARD; who was a conspirator no doubt, but a conspirator rendered mad by that very abuse of power, which we have been threatened to be called upon to submit to, for the prevention of treason.

"What are the facts brought, in the present instance, to prove the existence of a treasonable conspiracy? The alleged discourses at the meetings, the inspections, the plans, &c. &c. may be true or false, according to the truth or falsehood of the witnesses. The only facts which the reader can take for granted, are, the inflammatory placard, the 250 pike-heads, and the French revolutionary symbols, used at the meeting in Spa-fields. The last is certainly a symptom in conjunction with the others; the second is of more importance; and the first would go a considerable way, if we had ever before heard of this dreadful placard, which is stated in the Report to have been circulated, and in a postscript of its own, to have been multiplied to the amount of

5000. Who can tell any thing of the circulation of such a paper? As to ourselves, we have not only never seen it, but as we have just said, never even heard of it; and yet we deal in news and reports, and are among those terrible fellows ycleped Reformers.---Yes; now we recollect, we *did* hear of some such placard, which was said in the newspapers, two or three months ago, to have been thrust under the door of an alehouse! This is the solitary instance in our recollection. Perhaps the person who gave that information to the newspapers, can tell us about the other 4,999; and by what subtle means we can procure an authentic specimen of that very public document!

"The reader is to observe, that no evidence has been suffered to transpire on the occasion; but it is quite impossible to pronounce on the truth or falsehood of the most broadly-asserted facts, such as the 250 pike-heads, without knowing the nature of the witnesses. How are we to be sure that the Committee has not been imposed upon, especially after what occurred in the House of Lords on Friday? The occurrence is very remarkable. The Committee, in their Report, speaking of the Hampden, Spencean, and other Societies, all of which are in a manner mixed up together, at least in the imputed objects, spoke of a London Union Society, that had branch Unions *corresponding* (mark these terms) and affiliated with it, and said that others of *these* Societies adopted the name of Spencean Philanthropists, and that Members of a Club of this description discussed and prepared for execution the plans of the conspirators in London. In answer to this charge, comes forward the Secretary to the London Union Society (Mr. CLEARY), with a Petition, in which he undertakes to prove, indisputably, not only that the London Union Society has no connexion with the Spencean, but that its main objects were different; that it never did any act except the

publishing of one address to the nation on the subject of Reform; that it never had any one "*Branch*;" that it never held any *Correspondence* either written or verbal with any Society of any sort; that it never was *affiliated* to any Society, or branch, or any body of men whatsoever; finally, that it has not even *met* for nearly *three years and a half* last past; and, of course, that it is not now in existence.

"This Petition was got rid of by a form of the House! and that too, in opposition to the wish and recommendation of one of the Members of the Lord's Committee (Lord FITZWILLIAM).---It is worth while to attend to the names of the founders of this Union Society:---they are stated in the Petition to be, 'Mr. Edward Bolton Clive, Mr. Walter Fawkes, the late Colonel Bosville, Mr. Montague Burgoyne, *the present Lord Mayor*, Mr. Alderman Goodbehere, Mr. Francis Canning, Mr. William Hallet, *Sir Francis Burdett*, *Major Cartwright*, Mr. Robert Slade, Mr. Timothy Brown, Mr. J. J. Clarke, and several other individuals equally respectable.' Does not the reader see!

"We shall here state very explicitly what appears to us to be the real state of the case immediately before us. It is this; that the late general enlightenment of Europe through the medium of wit and philosophy, has set an infinitely greater number of persons speculating than was supposed; that this has been the case in England, as well as in France and Germany; and even the English lower orders; that the distress of those lower orders have quickened their perceptions in certain matters connected with truth and common justice; that where the distress was felt deepest, the perceptions took an angry, perhaps a morbid turn; lastly, that some actual revolutionary design has in consequence taken place, but confined to a few individuals made

desperate by suffering; and that with this design the Reformers, so called, and so really understood by all parties, have nothing whatsoever to do. The Committees have overshot their mark."

The PEOPLE OF WESTMINSTER, ever alive to infractions of the Constitution, had scarcely recovered from the shock of Lord SIDMOUTH'S proceedings in the House of Lords, on Friday night, when they determined to call a meeting, as soon as possible, to oppose the measures of the Ministry in a legal and constitutional way. A requisition was signed in the afternoon of Saturday, and was on Sunday transmitted to ARTHUR MORRIS, Esq. the High Bailiff, requesting him to call a Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, in Palace Yard, on Tuesday, to petition Parliament against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; and Mr. MORRIS, as soon as he obtained it that evening, with an alacrity highly to his credit, immediately appointed the meeting as desired. On Monday the advertisements appeared in the newspapers, and on the next day, Tuesday (Feb. 25), at one o'clock, the meeting took place. It consisted of at least *twenty thousand* persons, by whom a Petition against the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was passed unanimously. On this occasion, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT made an excellent *Speech*, which I have taken pains to give *at length*.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said, "that often as it had been his duty to meet his constituents to consider of the existing situation of public affairs, he had never before met them more sensible of the weight of the duty which was to be discharged, or upon a more painful occasion. They were now assembled, after a long course of calamities, after war carried on under different false pretexts, which he had the consolation of recollecting he had always held up to the People of England in its true light, as a war to subvert their own freedom, by employing

their blood and treasure to subvert the freedom of every other people in Europe [*applause*.] During the whole of that period, we had been encouraged by the hope, that at least when the struggle should be terminated, our sacrifices, and especially the restraints upon our liberties, should be at end. He had often heard Mr. Pitt state, and state so solemnly, that, to use a vulgar expression, he *swore to it till he was black in the face*, that the object of the war was not, as had been asserted by others, the restoration of the House of Bourbon. Believing, as he had always believed, that the object of the war was to destroy the rising liberties of foreign states, and now believing its effect to have been the destruction of our own prosperity and happiness, he had predicted that the first measure, after the conclusion of a foreign war, would be a war undertaken against the ancient laws and fundamental birth-rights of the people at home [*loud applause*.] It was melancholy, indeed, to reflect, that, after expending so much blood, and so much money, to crush the freedom of the rest of Europe, we had at last fallen under the yoke ourselves. It was not one measure only--- the suspension of the law that secures to every man his personal liberty--- which ought to excite alarm: a new set of measures had been proposed, *a little code of despotism*, enacting restraints upon writing, upon speaking, upon meeting, and upon the exercise of the most usual as well as of the highest faculties of our nature. One bill was brought in to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, another to punish seditious writings, and a third to prevent public meetings. The last was, perhaps, the most extraordinary, and to him appeared the most impracticable; for it went to interrupt all communion between man and man, to break off all settled intercourse, to prevent persons meeting together in societies and clubs for fair and open purposes, absurdly to prevent that sort

of correspondence without which no general object can be or ever was accomplished, and even to render society itself criminal. He had heard of many loyal associations, perhaps falsely so called; for he denied that any man could be loyal, whose views did not embrace the whole of the constitution: but he had never heard that there was any thing objectionable in the principle of these associations. There were the miscalled loyal associations of Mr. John Reeves, with branch and affiliated societies---there were the Associations for obtaining the abolition of the slave trade, who had been successful---there were the Pitt clubs, now much reduced, he supposed from the general detestation in which Pitt principles were held---and the Brunswick Knights, who held principles directly opposite to those which seated the Brunswick family on the throne, and which Knights Lord Sidmouth himself had patronized (at Norwich). The custom in this, and in every free country, had always been, to assemble in clubs and societies, and the measures now proposed were to put down these assemblies openly meeting for legal purposes, and to obstruct free discussion, which was as much the right of Englishmen without as of those within the walls of St. Stephen's [*applause.*] Free discussion and petition was a part of the contract at the Revolution by which the crown was transferred from the House of Stuart to King William [*applause.*] Who, then, were the friends of the Constitution, those who would break that contract, or those who would uphold it? [*applause.*] It had been noticed in the Parliamentary reports, that some societies had branches and affiliated members; in other words, societies which, being situated in distant parts, kept up an occasional correspondence for their mutual benefits; as if such a thing was in itself an evil, and never before heard of. How was it that the disgusting traffic in African slaves had been finally abolished? How many

meetings, and subordinate meetings, had they not heard of, with respect to the laws on the corn trade, the wool trade, and other branches of commerce, having for their professed object the carrying some measure by the legal and constitutional method of petition through Parliament. The Report stated the existence, among other societies, of Hampden clubs; as if their existence was a new discovery; or as if the public required a ghost from the dead to tell them that. In his opinion, if there had been a conspiracy entered into at the Spaffields meeting, the Noble Secretary of State (for all Lords were Noble) was a fellow conspirator with the gentleman who stood near him [Mr. HUNT]. He had not only permitted, but recognized the assemblage at that place. Another part of the new code was, for the more effectual suppression of seditious writings; as though the law were not already severe enough against every publication of the truth; and as if Ministers had it not, unfortunately, in their power already to corrupt the larger part of the press. Some of those who had opposed the measures which had been produced in Parliament, thought the Law Officers culpable, because they had not prosecuted some public writers. This was a narrow view of the question, and a bad manner of opposing these unconstitutional Bills. Nothing could be farther than this from the intention of the Meeting. If any libels or seditious writings had been published, he did not doubt the good will of the Law Officers to prosecute. No doubt they might conjecture from this, that what had been written had been lawful; but that the friends of corruption being unable to bear these lawful writings---being unable to bear sound sense and temperate reasoning [*applause.*]---proposed laws to infringe the liberty of the press and the constitution of the country, by allowing that to be punished which by law could not be

questioned at present. These were restraints not only on their peculiar or constitutional, but on their natural rights; and to make them complete, an act ought to be passed for tearing out the tongues and eyes of the People.

“He should feel happy, in conjunction with his noble colleague, in presenting and supporting their Petition; but they must be aware how humble and weak would be the efforts of a few, against the majority in the House as at present constituted. They (the People of Westminster) were taxed with wishing to subvert the Constitution of the country. They were taxed with objecting to the frame of the Constitution. This was not true. So far from objecting to the frame of the Constitution, they only objected to that which was out of frame. So long as that House should remain under the control of a set of borough proprietors, there was no more security for the wholesome use of the prerogative, than for the enjoyment of popular rights. The Crown was as much under their control as the country; and until that bond which they affected to call a bond between the governor and governed, but which he called a bond of infamy, and a bond of corruption, under which, if not dissolved, they must all become bondmen, should be destroyed---until such a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament should be effected, as would preserve the majority independent of the Treasury Bench, he could hold out to them but a very faint prospect of success. To that object, therefore, above all others, their endeavours ought to be incessantly directed. He knew of no right that any set of men could claim to be governors perpetually, unless it was that which had been formerly known by the name of divine right; and what had been said of that monstrous doctrine by a great man who lost his life in defence of English freedom---he meant Sidney---might be fairly applied to

the influence of the borough proprietors---‘he never could believe in the principle of divine right, until he could be persuaded that some men were born with the mark of a saddle on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them’ [*loud and continued applause*].

[MR. HENRY HUNT, who spoke at the Meeting, having stated that a Resolution proposed by Lord COCHRANE, on the second night of the meeting, fell to the ground *for want of a seconder*---that no ONE Member had been found in the Honourable House to second it---the assertion was taken to be in pointed allusion to Sir F. BURDETT, who noticed it as follows:---]

“A gentleman who had spoken before him (MR. HUNT), had called in question his conduct in Parliament. Now he did not think himself accountable to that gentleman for the motives of his proceedings there; but in the present instance, he had no hesitation in saying, that the motion of his noble colleague (Lord COCHRANE) had been submitted to him, and he advised him not to bring it forward at that time. That motion, which was not seconded, was brought forward at so late a time of the night, that he and the greater part of the Members had left the House. It would have been better, he imagined, if that amendment had been submitted by the Noble Lord (Lord COCHRANE) the next day, as a substantive proposition. While he sat in Parliament, which would be so long as he had the confidence of his constituents [*applause*], he should act according to the best of his discretion. His constituents might not at all times know all the circumstances, whether this or that line of conduct, in many cases, were most advisable [*applause*].---They might, however, judge from the whole tenor of his conduct, whether he was deserving of their confidence, and when they judged that he was no longer worthy

of it, whether they had yearly or weekly Parliaments, the seat which ne now filled should be at their disposal [*loud applause*]. But Mr. HUNT had gone much farther---he had prescribed not only what his (Sir FRANCIS BURDETT'S) conduct should be, but what he should say. Really this was outrageous. He had rather be the tool of a Court, than be moved as a puppet, and commanded when to speak, and when to hold his tongue [*applause*].

"There was one word more on the subject of that Gentleman, if he had not trespassed too long on their time [*cries of go on!*]. It had been asked, whether he (Mr. HUNT) was an Elector of Westminster. He did not think it of the slightest consequence as affecting his right to speak at a public Meeting of the Inhabitants. When it was a question of voting, the case was different; but every rational man would be glad to hear what could be said on any question from those who were capable of addressing the Meeting. The public, he thought, were indebted to any man who could instruct them; and it was a pity that more persons were not found disposed frequently to meet the people [*applause*]. He (Sir F. B.) should conclude, by thanking them for their notice of him. They might perhaps soon hear of another Report of another Secret Committee, on account of the treason they had that day committed [*laughing*]; for he thought the Assemblies chiefly referred to in the Report, were just as lawful and constitutional; for to fix unconstitutional objects upon them, they had not been able. Whatever should be the event of the bills now pending, he could assure them that they would not prevent his meeting them [*loud applauds*]; whether a gibbet should be erected in the lobby of the House of Commons, and the Members held responsible for their votes; or the subject was to perish in a dungeon, deprived of the trial by jury, he for one

should be indifferent; for when Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights should have expired, he should think he had lived long enough [*loud and continued applause*]. He hoped also that the measures adopted would have no influence on the minds of his countrymen [*applause*], especially those summoned to act as Jurymen [*loud applause*], but they would continue to act as if these measures had never been heard of, on the principle of the Laws and the Constitution. If in any other place any other body of men but a Committee of the House of Commons had attempted to influence the public mind as to the guilt or innocence of men to be brought to trial, they would have deservedly been held up to the punishment of the law, but still more to public reprobation. He should take his leave, hoping, that, in acknowledgment for the approbation of his Constituents, he should always be found, to the best of his abilities, a supporter of the Constitution, the Liberty, and the Rights of his Countrymen" [*loud and universal applause followed the Honourable Baronet's speech*].

In order to give Sir FRANCIS BURDETT'S SPEECH at length, I have been obliged to omit the other Speeches at this most numerous and orderly Meeting, and more especially for the purpose of introducing some admirable remarks of the late Mr. Fox, in his Historical Fragment, which are quite in point to present measures. After relating the butchery of SIDNEY and other great and good men, by the execrable Sovereign of that day, Mr. Fox thus proceeds:---

"The King, during the remainder of his reign, seems, with the exception of Armstrong's execution, which must be added to the catalogue of his murders, to have directed his attacks more against the civil rights, properties, and liberties, than against the lives of his subjects. Convictions against evidence, sentences against law, enormous fines, cruel

"imprisonments, were the principal
 "engines* employed for the-purpose
 "of breaking the spirit of individuals,
 "and fitting their necks for the yoke.
 "But it was not thought fit to trust
 "wholly to the effect which such ex-
 "amples would produce upon the
 "public. That the subjugation of
 "the people might be complete, and
 "despotism be established upon the
 "most solid foundation, measures of
 "a more general nature and effect
 "were adopted; and first, the charter
 "of London, and then those of almost
 "all the other corporations in Eng-
 "land, were either forfeited, or forced
 "to a surrender. By this act of vio-
 "lence two important points were
 "thought to be gained; one, that
 "in every regular assemblage of the
 "people, in any part of the kingdom,
 "the crown would have a command-
 "ing influence; the other, that in
 "case the King should find himself
 "compelled to break his engagement
 "to France, and to call a Parliament,
 "a great majority of Members
 "would be returned by electors of
 "his nomination, and subject to his
 "control. In the affair of the char-
 "ter of London, it was seen as in
 "the case of ship-money, how idle it
 "is to look to the integrity of judges
 "for a barrier against royal encroach-
 "ments, when the courts of justice
 "are not under the constant and
 "vigilant control of Parliament.
 "And it is not to be wondered at,
 "that, after such a warning, and
 "with no hope of seeing a Parlia-
 "ment assemble, even they who still
 "retained their attachment to the
 "true constitution of their country,
 "should rather give way to the tor-
 "rent, than make a fruitless and dan-
 "gerous resistance.

"Charles being thus completely

* "The expedient of transporting men
 "among common felons, for political of-
 "fences was not then invented, which is
 "the more extraordinary, as it had begun
 "in this reign to be in some degree made
 "use of in religious persecutions."

"master, was determined that the
 "relative situation of him and his
 "subjects should be clearly under-
 "stood, for which purpose he ordered
 "a declaration to be framed, wherein,
 "after having stated that he consi-
 "dered the degree of confidence they
 "had reposed in him as an honour
 "particular to his reign, which not
 "one of his predecessors had ever
 "dared even to hope for, he assured
 "them he would use it with all pos-
 "sible moderation, and convince
 "even the most violent republicans,
 "that as the Crown was the origin of
 "the rights and liberties of the Peo-
 "ple, so was it their most certain and
 "secure support. This gracious de-
 "claration was ready for the press at
 "the time of the King's death, and
 "if he had lived to issue it, there can
 "be little doubt how it would have
 "been received, at a time when

"numquam Libertas gratior exat

"Quam sub Rege pio,

"was the theme of every song, and,
 "by the help of some perversion of
 "Scripture, the text of every sermon.
 "But whatever might be the lan-
 "guage of flatterers, and how loud
 "soever the cry of a triumphant, but
 "deluded party, there were not want-
 "ing men of nobler sentiments, and
 "of more rational views. Minds
 "once thoroughly imbued with the
 "love of what SIDNEY, in his last
 "moments, so emphatically called
 "the good old cause, will not easily
 "relinquish their principles: nor was
 "the manner in which absolute power
 "was exercised, such as to reconcile
 "to it, in practice, those who had
 "always been averse to it in specula-
 "tion. The hatred of tyranny must
 "in such persons, have been exaspe-
 "rated by the experience of its
 "effects, and their attachment to li-
 "berty proportionably confirmed.
 "To them the state of their country
 "must have been intolerable: to re-
 "flect upon the efforts of their fathers,
 "once their pride and glory, and
 "whom they themselves had followed

“with no unequal steps, and to see the result of all in the scenes that now presented themselves, must have filled their minds with sensations of the deepest regret, and feelings bordering at least on despondency. To us, who have the opportunity of combining, in our view of this period, not only the preceding, but subsequent transactions, the consideration of it may suggest reflections far different, and speculations more consolatory. Indeed I know not that history can furnish a more forcible lesson against despondency, than by recording, that within a short time from those dismal days in which men of the greatest constancy despaired, and had reason to do so, within five years from the death of SIDNEY, arose the brightest æra of freedom known to the annals of our country.”

What heart does not beat high at the recollection that our rights, which are now about to be wrested away, were stipulated for, and insisted upon, by the virtue of our ancestors; and that they shed their blood to secure them to us?—who amongst us does not sorrow over the foreclosure of our liberty by its treacherous guardians? There is, however, one consolation remaining, that corruption will speedily work its own cure and our deliverance; not so much by exhausting its resources, as by the sure and certain co-operation of a “*little nostrum*,” called the National Debt. This will effect the whole business, without the nation exerting any other faculty than patience.

When relating in the last *Reformists' Register*, from Mr. OLD-FIELD'S *Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland*, that 100 houses had been pulled down by Sir WILLIAM MANNERS, in the

borough of ILCHESTER, and that the Electors who occupied them had, with their families, been sent to the Workhouse, and this to prevent their ever voting again as they had done in 1802, for ALEXANDER DAVISON, Esq. of coal-contracting memory, who had bought their “sweet voices” at £30. a head; I forgot to mention another little circumstance or two, as follows:—

On the 25th of November, 1803, JOHN MANNERS, Esq. petitioned against the election of CHARLES BROOKE, Esq.; and WILLIAM WEBB, Esq. petitioned against the election of Sir WILLIAM MANNERS, Bart. Mr. MANNERS alleged that Mr. BROOKE had been guilty of bribery and treating; and Mr. WEBB alleged that Sir WILLIAM MANNERS had been guilty of bribery and treating. A Committee being appointed to try these cross petitions, and Mr. MANNERS having declined producing evidence against Mr. BROOKE, it was decided that *neither* Sir WILLIAM MANNERS, nor Mr. MANNERS, nor Mr. WEBB, were duly elected; that the election was a void election, as far as related to Sir WILLIAM MANNERS; that it appeared to the Committee, that he (Sir WILLIAM MANNERS) had been guilty of *bribery and corruption*; and that HE was incapable of representing in Parliament the borough of ILCHESTER!! What did the 100 wretched Electors think of this?

One is forcibly reminded by such CORRUPTION as this, of the following excellent scene by FOOTE, the dramatist, in his *Nabob*.

Enter MAYOR and TOUCHIT.

Serv. Walk in, Gentlemen! his honour will be presently here.

Touchit. Do you see, Mr. Mayor, look about you! here are noble apartments!

Mayor. Very fine, very curious, indeed! But, after all, Master Touchit, I am not so over fond of these Nabobs; for my part, I had rather sell myself to somebody else.

Touchit. And why so, Mr. Mayor?

Mayor. I don't know---they do a mortal deal of harm in the country: Why, wherever any of them settles, it raises the price of provisions for thirty miles round. People rail at seasons and crops; in my opinion, it is all along with them there folks, that things are so scarce.

Touchit. Why, you talk like a fool! Suppose they have mounted the beef and mutton a trifle; a'n't we obliged to them too for raising the value of boroughs? You should always set one against t'other.

Mayor. That, indeed, is nothing but fair. But how comes it about? and where do these here people get all their wealth?

Touchit. From our settlements and possessions abroad.

Mayor. I've often been minded to ask you what sort of things them there settlements are; because why, as you know, I have been never beyond sea.

Touchit. I will explain that in a moment: Why, here are a body of merchants that beg to be admitted as friends, and take possession of a small spot in a country, and carry on a beneficial commerce with the inoffensive and innocent people, to which they kindly give their consent.

Mayor. Don't you think now that is very civil of them?

Touchit. Doubtless. Upon which, Mr. Mayor, we cunningly encroach, and fortify by little and by little, till at length, we growing too strong for the natives, we turn them out of their

lands, and take possession of their money and jewels.

Mayor. And don't you think, Master Touchit, that is a little uncivil in us?

Touchit. Oh, nothing at all: These people are but a little better than Tartars or Turks.

Mayor. No, no, Master Touchit; just the reverse; it is *they* have caught the Tartars in us.

Touchit. Ha, ha, ha! well said, Mr. Mayor. But, hush! here comes his honour. Fall back!

Enter SIR MATTHEW MITE, attended by a Black.

Mite. May I presume, Sir, to ask who you are, and what your business may be?

Touchit. My name, Sir, is Touchit, and this gentleman, a neighbour of mine. We are ordered by the CHRISTIAN CLUB, of the borough of Bribe'em, to wait upon your honour, with a tender of the nomination of our two members at the ensuing election.

Mite. Sir, I accept their offer with pleasure; and am happy to find, notwithstanding all that has been said, that the union still subsists between Bengal and the ancient corporation of Bribe'em.

Touchit. And if they ever are severed, I can assure your honour, the CHRISTIAN CLUB will not be to blame. Your honour *understands me*, I hope?

Mite. Perfectly. Nor shall it, I promise you, be my fault, good Mr. Touchit. But (you will forgive my curiosity, Sir!) the name your club has adopted, has at first a whimsical sound; but you had your reasons, no doubt.

Touchit. The very best in the world, please your honour: From our strict union and brotherly kindness, we hang together; like the primitive Christians, too, we have all things in common.

Mite. In common ? I don't apprehend you.

Touchit. Why, please your honour, when **THE BARGAIN** is struck, and the *deposit* is made, as a proof that we love our neighbours as well as ourselves, we submit to an equal partition ; no man has a larger share than another.

Mite. A most *Christian-like* dispensation !

Touchit. Yes ; in our borough all is *unanimity* now : Formerly, we had nothing but *discontents* : each man jealous and afraid that his neighbour got more, and did better than him.

Mite. Indeed ?

Touchit. So, upon the whole, we thought it best to *unite*.

Mite. Oh, much the best. Well, Sir, you may assure your principals that I shall take care properly to acknowledge the service they do me.

Touchit. No doubt, no doubt. But---will your honour step a little this way ?---Though no question can be made of your honour's keeping your word, yet it has always been the rule with our *club* to receive the proper acknowledgment before the service is done.

Mite. Ay, but, Mr. Touchit, suppose the service should never be done ?

Touchit. What then must become of our consciences ? We are **CHRISTIANS**, your honour.

Mite. True ; but, Mr. Touchit, you remember the proverb ?

Touchit. What proverb, your honour ?

Mite. There are two bad pay-masters ; those who pay *before*, and those who *never* pay.

Touchit. True, your honour ; but our *club* has always found, that those who don't pay before, are sure never to pay.

Mite. How ! impossible ! the man who breaks his word with *such faithful and honest adherents* deserves richly a halter. Gentlemen, in my opinion, he deserves to be *hanged* !

Touchit. Hush ! have a care what you say.

Mite. What is the matter ?

Touchit. You see that fat man that is behind : he will be the returning officer at the election.

Mite. What then ?

Touchit. On a gibbet at the end of our town, there hangs a smuggler, for robbing the custom-house.

Mite. Well ?

Touchit. The mayor's own brother, your honour : Now, perhaps, he may be jealous that you meant to throw some reflection on him, or his family.

Mite. Not unlikely.---I say, gentlemen, whoever violates his promise to such faithful friends as you are, in my poor opinion, deserves to be *damned* !

Touchit. That's right ! stick to that ! for though the **CHRISTIAN CLUB** may have some fears of the gallows, *they don't value DAMNATION of a farthing* !

Mite. Why should they, as it may be *so long* before any thing of that kind may happen, you know ?

Touchit. Good ! good again ! Your honour takes us *rightly*, I see : I make no doubt, it won't be long before we come to a *good understanding*.

Mite. The sooner the better, good Master Touchit ; and, therefore, in one word, pray what are your *terms* ?

Touchit. Do you mean for **ONE**, or would your honour bargain for **BOTH** ?

Mite. Both, both.

Touchit. Why, we could not have afforded you one under 3000*l.* at least ; but as your honour, as I may say, has a mind to deal in the gross, we shall charge you but five for *both*.

Mite. Oh fie ; above the market, good Mr. Touchit !

Touchit. Dog-cheap ; neck-beef ; a penny-loaf for a halfpenny ! Why, we had partly agreed to bring in Major Match'em for the very same money ; but the major has been a little unlucky at Almack's, and at present

can't deposit the needful; but he says, however, if he should be successful at the next Newmarket meeting, he will faithfully abide by the *bargain*: But the turf, your honour knows, is but an uncertain estate; and so we can't depend upon him.

Mite. True. Well, Sir, as I may soon have occasion for all the friends I can make, I shall haggle no longer; I accept your proposals: in the next room we will settle the *terms*.

Touchit. Your honour will always find the "CHRISTIAN" steady and firm---But, won't your honour introduce us to his Worship, whilst we are here?

Mite. To his Worship? To whom?

Touchit. To the gentleman *in black*.

Mite. Worship? you are mad, Mr. Touchit! That is a SLAVE I brought from the Indies.

Touchit. Good luck! may be so! I did not know but the gentleman might belong to the *tribe*, who, we are told by the papers, conferred those splendid titles upon your honour in India.

Mite. Well, Master Touchit, what then?

Touchit. I thought it not unlikely, but, in return to that compliment, your honour might choose to make one of the family member for the corporation of Bribe'em!

Mite. Why you would not submit to accept of a NEGRO?

Touchit. Our *present* members, for ought we know, *may be of the same complexion*, your honour! for we have never set eyes on them yet.

Mite. That's strange! But, after all, you could not think of electing a black.

Touchit. That makes no difference to us: The CHRISTIAN CLUB has ever been persuaded that a good candidate, like a good horse, can't be of a bad colour!!!

This Scene of FOOTE's is actually founded on FACT. Sir MATTHEW MITE is well known to

have been drawn for General SMITH, whose father was a *cheese-monger*; and the circumstances allude to a memorable disclosure relative to the borough of NEW SHOREHAM (*Bribe'em*), which I shall relate in the words of Mr. OLDFIELD, from his Representative History.

"This borough has rendered itself more conspicuous than most others, by a remarkable scene of corruption, which was brought to light before a committee in the House of Commons, in the year 1777. The returning officer had returned a candidate with only 37 votes, in prejudice to another who had 87; of which he had queried 76, and made his return without examining the validity of the votes he had so queried.

"It appeared from the defence made by the officer, that a majority of freemen of that borough had formed themselves into a society, under the name of the CHRISTIAN CLUB; the apparent ends of which institution were, to promote acts of charity and benevolence, and to answer such other purposes as were suitable to the import of its name. Under the sanction of piety and religion, and the cover of occasional acts of charity, they profaned that sacred name, by making it a stale for carrying on the worst of purposes; making a traffic of their oaths and consciences, and setting their borough to sale to the highest bidder; while the rest of the freemen were deprived of every legal benefit from their votes.

"The members of this society were bound to secrecy, and to each other, by oath, writings, bonds with large penalties, and all the ties that could strengthen their compact; and carried on this traffic by means of a SELECT COMMITTEE, who, under pretence of scruples of conscience!!! never appeared or voted at any elections themselves; but, having notwithstanding sold the borough, and re-

ceived the stipulated price, they gave directions to the rest how to vote; and by this complicated evasion, the employers and their agents, *having fully satisfied their conscience*, **SHARED THE MONEY** as soon as the election was over, *without any scruple!!!*

“The returning officer had belonged to this society; and having taken some disgust to his associates, he quitted the party. The majority of legal voters which he objected to, was, he said, in part owing to his *experimental* knowledge of their corruption, and partly founded upon several improper acts which had come within his knowledge as magistrate upon the late election; particularly an affidavit of a very considerable sum of money which had been distributed among them. Upon these grounds, though *they had the hardiness to take the oath against bribery and corruption*, he looked upon them as disqualified; and having besides taken the opinion of counsel, which, it seems, coincided with his own, he returned the candidate who had the smaller number of votes, as they were free from these objections.

“Upon these principles, and his not acting intentionally wrong, the officer rested his plea of *justification for the illegality* of his conduct. As the assumption of such an act of power by a returning officer, upon whatever principle it was founded, would, however, have been a precedent of the most dangerous tendency, he was accordingly taken into custody; but, in consideration of the circumstances in his favour, and of his bringing *so infamous a combination* to light, he was discharged, after receiving a reprimand upon his knees from the Speaker, in the presence of the House.

“As this combination was of too flagrant a nature to be overlooked, and the select committee had not power to proceed any further in it, they reported the whole matter to the House, and moved, that they would

make a further inquiry into it. Though this met with an opposition from some of those who, having no good wishes for the late act for regulating the trial of controverted elections, were glad of so early an opportunity to point out its inefficacy, and depreciate its merits; yet the general excellency of that law, notwithstanding any of its present deficiencies, which every day's experience would give new opportunities of supplying, carried with it such conviction as to be already well understood; and the motion for an inquiry was carried through without a division.

“The allegations made by the returning officer having been as fully proved, in the course of this inquiry, as the nature of the case would admit, and entirely to the satisfaction of the House, a bill was at length brought in, to incapacitate 81 freemen of Shoreham by name, from voting at elections of members to serve in Parliament, and for preventing bribery and corruption in that borough; and at the same time an address was ordered for the Attorney-General to prosecute the five members of the **CHRISTIAN CLUB** who composed the committee which transacted the bargain as to the sale of the borough at the last election.

“The different transactions, however, consequent of this subject, ran through the whole session; and it was not till the last day of it that the bill received the royal assent. The members of the club were heard by counsel against it. Many doubts also arose as to the mode of punishment. It was proposed to disfranchise the borough; this, however, was thought too dangerous a precedent: others thought that the culprits should be left to the punishment of the law; but, though there was a clear conviction of their guilt, it was a matter of such a nature, as made the establishment of legal evidence very difficult; and if they escaped without some signal mark of reprobation, it

would be an encouragement to the most barefaced corruption, when the whole kingdom saw that it could be done with impunity.

"The 11th Geo. III. cap. 55, recites, in the preamble, that, 'Whereas a wicked and corrupt society, calling itself the CHRISTIAN SOCIETY, hath for several years subsisted in the borough of New Shoreham, in the county of Sussex, and consisted of a great majority of persons having a right to vote at elections of members to serve in Parliament for the said borough; and whereas it appears that the chief end of the institution of the said society was for the purpose of selling, from time to time, the seat or seats in Parliament for the said borough; and whereas [naming them] were members of the said society: in order, therefore, to prevent such unlawful practices for the future, and that the said borough from henceforth be duly represented in Parliament, be it enacted that the said parties shall be, and by virtue of this act are, from henceforth, *incapacitated and disabled* from giving any vote at any election for choosing a member or members to serve in Parliament.'"

This was all the punishment inflicted on these good CHRISTIANS; but by the same act, the right of election being extended to about 1200 freeholders of the rape of Bramber, the arts of corruption have been defeated, the borough has since been represented by independent country gentlemen, and every election has been conducted with constitutional decorum. The *practical experiment* that has been tried here, and at Cricklade and Aylesbury, of the advantages which would attend a Parliamentary Reform, or even a *similar disfranchisement of the corrupt and decayed boroughs*, is a complete refutation of every objection that has been urged against that important measure.

I will ask whether any man in his senses, can wonder at indignation being excited in the Peo-

ple by such scenes as this; not a *solitary* instance, for there are plenty of others, to produce to any who are really ignorant of their existence, as some appear to be.

I will further ask, whether a man who has mixed much in society, with his eyes and ears in good order, would have come to the same conclusion on the contents of the GREEN BAG, as the two Committees of Secresy? I do not mean to deny, that those Committees have not proceeded upon the evidence before them, but this I do most solemnly declare and insist upon, that such evidence is a partial and unfair representation of the general state of feeling and disposition of THE PEOPLE of England. I affirm positively my own sincere belief to be, that the extent of disaffection, compared with the mass of quiet good sense in the country, is not so great as a little pimple, now on the back of my hand, is to the surface of my whole body; and I believe too, that with prompt application of the ordinary means, the existence of the disaffection would be of as short duration. Notwithstanding the eagerness with which it is attempted to hurry the Bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act through the House, I cannot persuade myself such measure will receive the Royal assent before this sheet is published. I implore Parliament therefore to consider whether the present laws are not fully competent to the arrest, imprisonment, trial, and punishment of all persons who are or may be guilty of treasonable practices;---to recollect that the Habeas Corpus

Act is the only security Englishmen have from arrest as often, and imprisonment as long, as Ministers may choose to inflict both upon objects of their dislike or suspicion. Those who ask the House of Commons to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act *without full evidence*, impudently attempt a gross delusion of that House, which is the Grand Inquest of the nation, and which ought to determine, *from evidence alone*, whether every man in the country is to be disgraced and degraded by being declared unfit to live under the present Laws.

I should notice the mention in the Reports of the PARODIES entitled the *Political Litany*, &c. at some length; but as I published some of these, I shall not say so much as I intended. I really believe that they would not have found their way into the *Green Bag*, had not certain gentlemen, from motives not necessary for me to talk of at this time, directed an unaccountable attention of His Majesty's Ministers to them. Certainly, prophaneness, as charged in the Report, was no more intended by me in publishing them, than it was intended by the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, in the Court of King's Bench, on Saturday last, when, according to the *Observer* Newspaper, in speaking of some paintings, he said, they were "collected God knows where, and painted by "God knows whom!" a phraseology not perhaps exactly conformable to the third Commandment. *Parodies* of the Church Service have been published as political *squibs* at different periods for nearly a century; and the reader will perhaps excuse

me if I tell him how my acquaintance with *parodies* arose. In the year 1793, being very young and inexperienced—little more than 12 years of age—I wrote and composed a small tract, in prose and verse, in praise of the British Constitution, which I caused to be printed, and enclosed a copy thereof to the Chairman of the "Society for preserving Liberty and Property against Republicanism and Levellers, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand." This tract furnished the design for a wood-cut or engraving in the said Loyal Association papers, and for the communication I received a letter from the Secretary of the Association, as follows:—

(COPY)

"CROWN AND ANCHOR,
April 27th, 1793.

"SIR,

"I received the favour of your letter, addressed to the Chairman, of the 25th instant; and am requested to make known to you the high opinion the Committee entertain of your abilities, and the good use you make of them. It is with peculiar pleasure they perceive a spirit of loyalty in a person so young as you represent yourself to be, and have no doubt but a continuance in the same sentiments will make you a valuable and useful member of the community.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your most obedient servant,

"J. A. M'DOWALL,
"Secretary.

"Mr. W. HONE,

"Old North St., Red Lion Square."

Being then a purchaser and reader of all the Loyal Association Papers, which contained much varied matter, in a lively style, I went on buying and ad-

miring, until I had the curiosity to read some of the articles which the Association Papers were answers to; when all on a sudden, in spite of my flattering letter from Mr. Secretary M'DOWALL, still in my possession, I began to perceive a rapid "discontinuance of the same sentiments" praised by that gentleman, which I could no more help, than the shining of the sun. But I very well recollect, that a Parody of the Church Catechism was actually published in a penny Political Tract, at the expense of this "Association for pre-serving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers;" on the Committee of which Association was the celebrated Mr. JOHN BOWLES, and JOHN REEVES, Esq. was the Chairman; which JOHN REEVES, Esq. is one of the Patentees of the Office of King's Printer, and, under and by virtue of his Patent, is the Proprietor of a great number of editions of the Common Prayer, edited by himself, in various forms and sizes, with Introductions written by him in praise of them, and Dedications to the Queen; and all of them containing the Catechism, which he, as Chairman of the said Loyal Association, caused a Political Parody of to be published as aforesaid. This was the first Parody I ever saw; but, about the year 1796, a Parody on the third chapter of Daniel appeared in a daily Newspaper; since

when I have seen many, published both before and afterwards, and I have the authority of Earl GREY, for saying that a Parody of the Litany was written even by a Dignitary of the Church! So much for the *Parodies*, and no more—except that, on Saturday last, finding Parliament inclined to adopt the Reports of the Committees, I instantly stopped the sale of them; and since then not a single copy has been parted with by me, either directly or indirectly. It will be seen, therefore, that, though *backed by precedent*, no pertinacity of mine has assisted in abridging the liberties of my country.

WILLIAM HONE.

Friday, 28th February, 1817.

TO READERS.

THE REFORMISTS' REGISTER will, every *half-year*, have a TITLE-PAGE, with a COMPLETE INDEX of reference to its contents, and bind up into a Volume, as large in size as a Volume of the best edition of Hume's History of England, or Gibbon's Rome. But a volume of the REGISTER will contain more than double the quantity contained in a volume of these works, and be at *one half* the price; so that the Reader will have, at the end of every year, TWO VOLUMES, abounding with sound political information, on subjects in which he himself, and his children, and his country, are deeply interested; and the contents of these TWO VOLUMES, which he obtains by an easy purchase of *Two-pence a Week*, and which do not cost him NINE SHILLINGS, will be equal to the contents of *Four* volumes of Hume's History of England, which will cost *One Pound Twelve Shillings*.

No. V. was published Saturday Feb. 22; the leading Article of which is on "APOSTACY and CORRUPTION," &c. &c.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 7.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1817.

[Vol. I.]

REFORM; THE PARODIES; AND DR. SLOP'S GHOST!

Mr. WALTER FAWKES on Reform—Final Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in the Lords—Mr. Grey Bennett's Attack on Lord Castlereagh—Presentation to the House of Commons, on Monday Night, of 600 Petitions for Reform, signed by a Million of People—Who objected to them, and why—Loyal Westminster Declarers, and who they are—Lord Bolingbroke's Forebodings on the Corruptions of the House of Commons—Account of Parodies on the Common Prayer—A Parody on the Te Deum, printed verbatim—The Appearance of Dr. SLOP'S GHOST every Morning, in Crane Court, Fleet Street.

WHEN I sat down to write this Number, I intended it as a Letter to WALTER FAWKES, Esq. of Farnley Hall, near Otley, Yorkshire. Interruptions prevented me from connecting my intended remarks, which I thus commenced:—

Monday, March 3, 1817.

SIR,

This morning I finished reading the excellent pamphlet you have just published, entitled, "*The Englishman's Manual, or a Dialogue between a Tory and*

a Reformer;" and I have completed the day by a visit to the two Houses of Parliament. That you, whose name is dear to every one to whom the British Constitution is dear—that you, on whom the lovers of our liberties have long kept a steady eye of admiration and hope—that you are one of the few faithful amongst the faithless, fulfilling more than we have expected, and all that we have wished—keeping steadily to the great cause of Reform, and openly asserting and proving the right of the People to the practical benefits of their Constitution—is to me matter of great exultation. In thus publicly expressing my humble thanks for the service the country will derive from your pamphlet, which I have no doubt will be widely circulated, I take the opportunity of recording certain facts and remarks, for the use of the general reader.

At the recollection of this day, every man, who deserves the name of Briton, will

—"raise the voice of sorrow,
"And bitterly complain."

The *Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act* was finally passed at seven o'clock in the House of Peers. I was present at their Lordships' bar, during the formality. Lords DARNLEY, GROSVENOR, ROSSLYN, HOLLAND, LAUDERDALE, and GREY,

protested against this precipitation in vain. Earl ROSSLYN having urged as a reason for further consideration, that Scotland would not have had equal justice under the Bill, but for the deliberate attention of the House of Commons, who to that end returned the Bill with an amendment,—

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he considered himself, as fully responsible for the measure. He had, he said, been a good deal concerned in the measures of 1795. He had at that time prosecuted for High Treason, because he disdained to bring the persons then under prosecution, before a Jury for any other crime than that of which he was conscientiously satisfied they were guilty. The Judges of the country, the Parliament of the country, had stated the crime to be High Treason. The Bill which was then introduced, was brought in by his advice, and of that Bill this was nearly a transcript. Lord LOUGHBOROUGH then thought the Bill right, and he thought it right; and he still thought that this Bill was right, as it originally stood, with reference both to the English law and the law of Scotland. As for the amendment, he considered the Bill as altered for the worse, with respect to the individual and the Magistrate, both in Scotland and England; and he voted for it only because he thought it necessary that the Bill should, though in a worse state than before, be passed without delay.

Lord HOLLAND observed, that the Noble Lord thought that the amendment made the Bill worse; but the Commons, let it be recollected, had thought that it made the Bill better: and yet the Noble Lord had never explained to their Lordships the grounds upon which he had proceeded, and on which his opinion rested. Good God, could it be expected, that they should be regarded with respect and reverence by the People, unless

they did their duty to that People? When a Petitioner applied to their Lordships, and stated that he was ready by viva voce evidence at their Bar, to contradict one of the most material parts of the Report of their Lordships' Committee, the Noble Lord had then insisted on the standing orders of the House, and declared that he would not sit in it, unless its standing orders were supported; and yet the Noble Lord was ready to surrender up the liberties of the People to the discretion of the Ministers of the Crown, without any explanation of the grounds of his opinion, or of that anxious attention which, as he said, he had applied to this measure. They who had talked loudest against any innovation in the constitution, were now the most eager to swallow down this bitter cup of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, because it was necessary that Ministers should be armed with certain powers; and now they voted for an amendment which deprived them of part of the powers which they had declared to be necessary. He felt that sufficient opportunity had not been given to express one half of the objections which existed to this measure.

The Earl of LAUDERDALE said, that the state of the country, as far as he could acquire a knowledge of it, from the most diligent inquiries he could make, was most incorrectly described in the Report, upon which the Bill, now before their Lordships, had been formed. Would any Noble Lord lay his hand on his heart, and say, he believed so general a conspiracy, as that represented in the Report, can exist, and yet, that it must be dangerous to submit to Parliament any evidence respecting it. Parliament was, however, called upon to do away the liberties of the People, upon the loose statements of a Report, which had been contradicted in material facts. If expressions, which might be the effect of distress, were to be taken as evidence of conspi-

racy, Ministers might find abundance of such proofs, daily, in the streets of London: but, as it has been said by a great political economist, that demand is of no value, without the means of supply; so it may be said, that a Plot is no Plot, without the means of executing it.

Earl GREY said, the very gist of the Report was, that a society existed in London, with affiliated branches in the country. This the secretary and members of the club, described as the parent society, offer to disprove. The Lord MAYOR and Mr. Alderman GOODBEHERE, were ready to be examined at the bar, in contradiction of the statement in the Report on this subject. But the Noble Lord says, this is not a matter of any moment, and therefore will not hear the evidence. In his opinion, however, it was one of the principal facts, or what somewhere else might be called a principal feature, from which the existence of danger had been inferred."

The Bill then passed, not Fifty Peers being present, and without even the poor ceremony of a division. I thought of Mr. W. SMITH's statement in the House of Commons, on Friday, that when recently in conversation with a Frenchman of talents, he was condemning the measures against personal liberty in France, the Foreigner had retorted, that Englishman had no greater security, when at any time a Minister might propose a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. He (Mr. SMITH) said, that without the feeling of the majority of the People in favour of the measure, it could never be proposed or listened to. "I am mortified to find," said the Honourable Member, "that I knew less of the Minister and of Parliament than that Frenchman." Indeed, the country was wholly unprepared for the proposition of this hateful measure, and the most independent men in Parliament wholly reprobated it. The two Houses have legislated upon the

mere Report of their Secret Committees, without further evidence, and, from what motive I will not attempt to guess, utterly refusing to hear evidence tendered to them upon Petition.

One circumstance connected with the *Suspension Bill* should never be forgotten. On its first reading in the House of Commons,—

The Hon. GREY BENNETT immediately rose, and made one of the most impressive speeches ever delivered in Parliament. He said, "he would oppose in every stage this arbitrary, impolitic, and uncalled-for measure. After what had passed in the House to-night---after statements of various Members, and from various parts of the country, he was surprised that the Noble Lord opposite should move the reading of this Bill as a matter of course. He was surprised that no defence was offered, that no explanation was given, that no facts were stated for the purpose of inducing the House to enact a measure which suspended all the benefits of the Constitution, which enslaved the country, and placed the liberty of every man in it at the disposal of Ministers. If it could be shown that nothing else would save us but the measures in contemplation---if it could be proved that the ultimate security of the nation demanded a temporary suspension of its rights---if a case of strong and paramount necessity could be made, he would be the last man in the House, or the country, to oppose a concession of increased power to the Government. But, he would ask, had any such case been made out? had any danger demanding the proposed remedy been clearly substantiated? He had a few observations to make on the Report, as laying the ground of the powers claimed by Ministers, in which he was anxious not to be misunderstood. He would not discredit that Report, nor the Mem-

bers who composed the Committee from which it originated, although he was surprised that his Right Hon. Friend [Mr. Ponsonby] should have disgraced himself by accepting of a place in it, and sitting in the same chamber with the Noble Lord opposite [*Shouts of hear.*] Could his Right Hon. Friend think himself in safety with the Noble Lord? [*Shouts of hear.*] He meant no reflection on the private character, but alluded to the public conduct of the Noble Lord. Did his Right Hon. Friend not remember the Noble Lord's conduct on a former occasion, when he induced his Right Hon. Friend to grant him his support? The Noble Lord came down to the House at the beginning of the last war against the People of France, and by professing to have no designs against the People of that country; by declaring that there was no intention in the Allies to force upon it a Government, by stating distinctly that there was no wish entertained to restore the old abuses and the Bourbons, he procured the support of his Right Hon. Friend. He made all these professions, and produced these effects by them, at the very time that he had a declaration in his pocket that belied them: he declared there was no engagement to interfere with the choice of the French People, at the very time that he had made this country a party to an alliance for the restoration of the family they had chased from the throne. [*Hear.*] His Right Honourable Friend should have remembered these things, when he was nominated a Member of a Committee in which the Noble Lord sat. He was free to say, that had he (Mr. B.) been nominated a Member of that Committee, no inducement on earth would have led him to risk his character by acting with the Noble Lord. [Mr. BENNETT then remarked on various parts of the Report.] The whole People were in this Report libelled and arraigned: they were traduced in their characters, and were to

surrender their freedom by such trash as this--- "trash", said the Hon. Gent. "which I only think fit for trampling under my feet." [Here Mr. BENNETT threw the Report on the floor of the House.] Yet upon vague and absurd allegations, the invasion of the Constitution was justified, and measures were to be passed, "by which I," said he, "may be apprehended and imprisoned to-morrow, by the command, and during the pleasure, of the Noble Lord; who declares, that I and my friends are responsible to God and man for the encouragement we give to any plan for reducing his power, or supporting the liberties of the People." Parliament, on such trash, was called upon to suspend the Constitution, and to surrender the rights of the People into the hands of Ministers. "Though those," said the Hon. Gentleman, "in whom I have the greatest confidence were to require such a sacrifice---though Ministers, whose conduct I was convinced had always tended to promote the public good---though my own friends made the demand, I would oppose them, till they showed, in the necessity of the case, a justification of their proposals. I will never consent, therefore, to surrender the rights of the People without such necessity into the hands of such Ministers as the Noble Lord, who would abuse the power intrusted to them, who had already embrued their hands in the blood of their country, who had already been guilty of the most criminal cruelties. [*Cries of order.*]

Lord CASTLEREAGH rose to order, and called upon the Hon. Gent. to retract his expressions, or to prove his charge.

Mr. BENNETT, after order was a little restored, proceeded. He charged the Ministers with criminal conduct in abusing their trust under the late suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and obtaining a bill of indemnity to cover their delinquencies.

Lord CASTLEREAGH spoke again to

order. The Honourable Gentleman had not explained or retracted the charge made against him of embruing his hands in the blood of his country. [*Cries of hear, hear.*]

LORD MILTON could not help recalling to the Noble Lord's recollection, that the Hon. Member [Mr. BENNETT] had charged him with criminal conduct only in the sense of illegally requiring a bill of indemnity to protect him from consequences. [*hear, hear.*]

LORD CASTLEREAGH said, that if the Honourable Gentleman meant to say that he had committed cruelties, had embrued his hands in blood, and been guilty of criminal actions, for which he required a bill of indemnity, he would reply, by using the phrase that the Honourable Gentleman employed in speaking of the Report, that he uttered a gross falsehood [*shouts of hear*].

MR. YORKE said, that the act might be illegal, and not criminal. A bill of indemnity could protect against the consequences of the former, but not of the latter. If the Hon. Member adhered to the word criminal, his expression should be taken down, and made the subject of future deliberation: if he meant illegal only, he ought to state so. If all that he intended to say was, that acts were done that were against law, and that were covered by a bill of indemnity, his words might be passed over as Parliamentary, and allowable. [*hear.*]

MR. C. WYNN regretted the charge, but as it was made generally amongst the Ministers [*hear, hear, and no, no*], and not personally against an individual, he thought the charge was allowable in debate, or at least not disorderly. On that ground he thought the debate might go on. He did not justify the expression, either as applied in one way or the other; but applied generally, he did not think it disorderly. [*hear, hear.*]

MR. BRAND was convinced from the use his Hon. Friend made of the ex-

pression, and from the scope of his argument, that he must have meant to convey the charge, that during the last suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, Ministers had ordered arrests for which they would have been actionable after the expiration of the suspension, had they not been protected by a bill of indemnity. This must have been the meaning of the word criminal; and while the occasion thus explained its import, it defined its extent.

The SPEAKER submitted to the House, that the question was, whether the Hon. Gent. meant to charge the whole of the Ministers of the Crown, or only one individual, with being guilty---first, of sanguinary proceedings; and secondly, of criminal acts. If the charge was directed against the whole administration, it was not disorderly to be made in the House; if it was a personal charge against an individual Member of the House, it was certainly disorderly. The Hon. Gentleman was called upon to explain. [*Hear.*]

MR. BENNETT resumed.---He was the last man in the House to retract an expression that he had used, whether orderly or disorderly; but he had no hesitation in declaring, upon the word of a gentleman and a man of honour, that he meant the charge to apply, not to one hand in the Ministry, but the whole Ministry who acted under the former suspension bill; during whose fatal reign, acts of such enormity took place in Ireland. [*hear.*] If there was any criminal act, he was aware it could not be screened by a bill of indemnity; the connexion of the words therefore proved that by criminal he meant illegal, and that not as directed against a member of the Government, but the whole Government.

LORD CASTLEREAGH declared, that he was satisfied that the Honourable Gentleman did not mean a personal charge. He could not, therefore, complain of what was said against the Government of which he was a

member, but as a member of the Government. In his own name, however, and that of his colleagues, and on public grounds, if a charge of cruelty was brought against them, and they were described as embruing their hands in the blood of the country, he would use the words that the Honourable Gentleman applied to the Report of a Committee, of which his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. PONSOMBY), was a Member, and say it was a direct falsehood. He could not deal out to the Honourable Gentleman any other measure of justice than he himself dealt to his Right Honourable Friend [*hear hear!*]

Mr. BENNETT resumed.---When he spoke of cruelties, they were impressed deeply on his mind; for they were cruelties perpetrated, not in remote regions, not beyond the bounds of our own country, not by a mandate to be executed at a distance, but at home, under the eye of Government, in the Castle-yard.

Lord CASTLEREAGH rose again to order. If the Honourable Member meant to bring a direct charge against the Government of Ireland, he [Lord C.] was prepared to answer him; but he did not think it orderly, and he was afraid it might be mischievous, to make such accusations in the course of a debate which had no connexion with them, and vilify the character of men who would commit an irregularity in entering on their defence [*hear!*]

Mr. BENNETT avowed, that he did not mean to pursue the subject; but as the Noble Lord had met his charge of cruelty with a negative, he thought himself called upon, to state some facts as justification of his conduct in making it [*hear*]. He might have been betrayed into too great a warmth of feeling, and might have used violent expressions, which he was sure the House would excuse [*shouts of hear*]. He meant to say, and he persisted in the declaration, that it would be fatal to public liberty to put the

powers which the Bills before the House would convey, if they passed into Acts, into the hands of men who had formerly possessed them, and who had outraged the rights of the People, and notoriously abused their trust [*hear, hear*]. He therefore should feel it his duty to oppose this Bill in every stage [*cries of hear*].

The Hon. Mr. BENNETT, is the eldest son of the Earl of TANKERVILLE, and a gentleman of right old English breeding. He does not hold the notion, that the Members of the Hon. House are to be walked over, like the door-mats in the lobby; which, when dirty enough on *one side*, are *turned*, and used on the *other*. I cannot help recollecting a great hulking school-boy, of the upper forms, who, by mere power of face, fierce looks, and swagger, and being backed by the other big boys, actually compelled the rest of the *school* to do what he pleased; until, in spite of his tricks, a game little fellow seriously turned to, and completely thrashed him; and then all the rest wondered, as it was so easily done, that he had not been served so before. He still remained on the upper forms, to be sure—that could not be helped, for he was the master's favourite—but he was never known to be impudent afterwards. This is as it should be: there would be no living on the earth, if there were no resistance to pretensions founded on the right divine of doing wrong.

After the passing of the Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, I went into the gallery of the House of Commons; where I witnessed a most novel scene. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was rising

to present Petitions for Reform, in conjunction with Lord COCHRANE, who sat to the left of the SPEAKER'S Chair, on the back seat, with several bundles of parchment rolls. Sir FRANCIS having moved that the Petitions be received, he was ordered to bring them up. He descended to the floor of the House, on which they lay in bundles; and first taking two or three singly, he afterwards took up several large bundles, each containing perhaps 30 or 40. *The floor of the House was literally covered with these Petitions for Reform, which formed a conical pile, as high as the table.* The Times, in its report of the proceedings, truly says, "there appeared to be nearly a waggon load of Petitions: they lay in a heap, and almost covered the floor of the House." When the SPEAKER said, "Bring them up," there was a laugh throughout the House. Sir FRANCIS stated that they were all to the same effect; but it appearing that many of them were printed, the SPEAKER informed Sir FRANCIS, he must take all such back; and one, which was an Address to the PRINCE REGENT, he said he presumed was designed to go elsewhere. Sir FRANCIS and the Clerks were employed upwards of a quarter of an hour unrolling these Petitions; the Clerks throwing under the table all that were not printed, and those that were printed being again thrown on the floor. During this time, the House was unemployed. The Members on the Treasury bench amused themselves with reading the contents of some of these Petitions. Lord COCHRANE added several bundles,

from a large heap beside himself, to the pile on the floor; which diminishing very slowly, though Sir FRANCIS and the Clerk unrolled as quickly as possible, at length—

Mr. MANNING rose from the Treasury Bench, and addressed the House. This Hon. Member is described in the Royal Kalendar as a Merchant of London, a Banker, a Bank Director, and as sitting for the borough of EVE-SHAM, in Worcestershire; which borough, Mr. OLDFIELD says, in his *Representative History*, appears by the Returns to have been under the influence of the RUSHOUT family, now barons of NORTHWICK, ever since the year 1722; and they have nominated one Member at every election from that period to the present; except in the year 1796, when Sir JOHN RUSHOUT lost his election, and was *created a Peer, to console him for the disappointment.* The other Member is generally returned by a combination of attornies. Mr. MANNING, who *represents* this place, rose to order; and said, when the Hon. Baronet knew that he had *six hundred Petitions* to present, he should have consulted the convenience of the House, in ascertaining whether they were printed or not.

The SPEAKER suggested the propriety of proceeding on the morrow, after the Worthy Baronet had rejected those which were not printed; to which Sir FRANCIS assented, intimating, however, that he should hereafter contend, that the House ought to receive printed Petitions.

Mr. Sergeant BEST then rose, to express his disapprobation of

the *language* used in the Petitions. This gentleman is a King's Sergeant at Law, Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales, the Recorder of Guildford, and the representative of BRIDPORT, in Dorsetshire; which borough (says Mr. OLDFIELD), like all others, has a *stated price*, which the voters call their *birth-right*; and several candidates left them at the last election, in consequence of their *demanding payment before-hand*—not choosing to let their representative go into the Honourable House *upon honour*; that is, *upon tick*. Well, then, their present worthy representative, the learned Serjeant, declared, that several of these Petitions actually stated, as others which were rejected had done before, *that the House did not represent the People!* and for this, which he related with great earnestness of tone, as a gross *insult* to the House, he contended that the Petitions ought not to be received.

The Hon. EDWARD LAW also objected to the Petitions. This gentleman is son-in-law of the Marquis of Londonderry, brother-in-law of Lord Castlereagh and Lord Stewart, and eldest son of Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, whose emoluments are unknown; and under whom he holds the office of Chief Clerk on the Pleas side of the Court, with an income which I have not now the means of ascertaining. Mr. LAW *represents* ST. MICHAELS, in Cornwall; which Mr. OLDFIELD calls a wretched borough, with *eighteen voters*, the joint property of Lord FALMOUTH and Sir CHRISTOPHER HAWKINS. He also objected to the Petitions.

Lord BINNING, who is a Commissioner for the Affairs of India, with a salary of £1500. per ann., and is the other *representative* for the "wretched borough" of ST. MICHAELS, objected to Sir FRANCIS BURDETT's course of proceeding, with respect to the Petitions.

Lord PALMERSTON, who is *Secretary at War*, with a salary of £2480. per annum, also opposed the Petitions.

Lord COCHRANE defended the Petitions, as to their language; of which he thought no rigid line should be drawn, when it was considered, that upwards of 200 Members of that House were returned by about 90 Peers.—

Lord PALMERSTON called the Noble Lord to order.

Lord COCHRANE said, he spoke in answer to observations (by Sergeant BEST) on the other side. He contended that the language of the Petitions should not be scrutinized too nicely. His Lordship then proceeded to state, that in the borough of ILCHESTER 100 houses had been pulled down by the proprietor, because the inhabitants voted against his wishes, and had been sent by him with their families to a work-house, which he built for their reception. (See these particulars related in the *Register*, No. 5, p. 144.)

The SPEAKER called the Noble Lord to order. In truth, neither Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, nor Lord COCHRANE, had the pleasurable ear of the House; and the debate on the question for receiving the Petitions was adjourned until the morrow.—The Petitions were left in the House all night, filling up the area from the bar up to

the table of the House, beside these which had actually been received. Many of them were very bulky—thicker round than my arm; each containing thousands of signatures, on several skins of parchment. The PETITIONS FOR REFORM, presented this night by Sir F. BURDETT and Lord COCHRANE, were signed by nearly A MILLION of persons!!! Whether accepted or not, they were all safely lodged in the House, and there I saw them left by Sir F. BURDETT and Lord COCHRANE, for the Hon. Members to dispose of as in their wisdom should seem meet.

It is now no longer a question whether THE PEOPLE want Reform or not; but, *whether the House is willing to reform itself*. I do not know how many Petitions for Reform have been presented during the present sessions; but if no other had been or will be sent up, than the six HUNDRED PETITIONS *for Reform*, with A MILLION OF SIGNATURES, which were presented to the Commons at the very moment the HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENSION BILL was passing quietly in the Lords, I think even Lord CASTLEREAGH himself, even *he*, will not deny, that *the sense of the country is against the House of Commons remaining AS IT IS*.

A MILLION of persons! Why this must be *nearly the whole adult male population* of England, Scotland, and Wales. It is nonsense to talk of this Petition not expressing the sense of this place, and that Petition of that place, and so on; no man of common sense will listen to such gabble! If a parish Petition, which nine tenths of the pa-

rishioners have subscribed, be not signed by the Minister, the Churchwardens, the Overseers, the select Vestrymen, the Vestry Clerk, &c., oh, forsooth, it is not *the sense* of the parish—it is not signed by the *respectable* inhabitants in the parish! And then a Counter-Petition or Address, or Declaration, or some such thing, is prepared, expressing the loyalty and attachment of the aforesaid privileged class; and if in addition to the Gentlemen of the *Leet*, the Tax Commissioners affix *their* names, why then it is the sense of the *most respectable* persons in the parish!

The WESTMINSTER PETITION, unanimously passed in Palace Yard, against the Habeas Corpus Suspension, has called forth a LOYAL Westminster and Western General Declaration, wherein the Declarers declare, that they notice, with the *greatest abhorrence*, the insidious attempts which have been practised to *mislead the People*, and to aggravate their sufferings, by *pretended remedies*. And who, they say, rather than derive from the present calamity, pressing on all classes, stronger motives to union and mutual good will, would teach others, meanly to set at nought their *birth-right*—the blessings of SOCIAL ORDER, and the PROPER PRIVILEGES of Britons!!

Fal de riddle la! Fal de riddle la! &c.

The great *abhorrence* will be easily accounted for, on looking at the *abhorrrers*. The reader is now presented with the three names first signed to these definite and delectable sentiments. I have taken the liberty of at-

taching to each, what the Noble Signers omitted to add themselves. Here they are:

RUTLAND (Duke of), Lord Lieutenant and custos rotulorum of Leicestershire, Recorder of Cambridge and Scarborough.--*Parliamentary Influence*, viz.—Joint-proprietor of the Borough of Bramber, Patron of Cambridge; Grantham, 1 Member, Cambridgeshire 1, and Scarborough 1.

ATHOL (Duke of), Lord Lieutenant of Perthshire, a Pension of 4050l. per annum; beside family Pensions for Catherine Louisa Emily, and Lady George Murray, amounting to 685l. per annum.

ANGLESEA (Marquis of), Lieutenant General in the Army, Colonel of the 7th Regiment of Dragoons, Lord Lieutenant custos rotulorum, and Vice-Admiral of the County of Anglesea, Ranger of Snowdon Forest.—*Parliamentary influence*, Anglesea and Carnarvon, and 1 Member at Milbourn Port. His brother, the Honourable Berkeley Paget, is a Lord of the Treasury, with 1600l. per annum. The Honourable Sir Edward E. Paget, another brother, is a Lieutenant-General, and Colonel of the 28th Regiment, and a Groom of the Bedchamber, with 500l. per annum; Sir A. Paget, with a Pension of 1700l. per annum; and Lady Louisa Paget, with a Pension of 600l. per annum, are also relations of the Noble Marquis.

These are the first three out of the first 24 names, published in the newspapers, signed to this *loyal* Westminster declaration;

the whole of which 24 persons, or their relations, either have Pensions, Places, or Parliamentary influence; and amongst the 24 are *two Bishops*. The Declaration is also signed by HAWKES, MOSELEY, and Co. the great contractors for military caps and trappings; by GREENWOOD, COX, and Co. of Craig's Court, Charing Cross, the Horse Guards' Army Agents; and in short, it is mostly signed by such kinds of lovers of SOCIAL ORDER and PROPER PRIVILEGES—by downright, thick and thin, back-bone, black in the face, lives and fortunes men—men, who it will be seen, have MUCH to be thankful for, and are thankful accordingly, as in duty bound and obliged.

I spare the reader from further occupation of his time on this topic, merely requesting him, however, to furnish me with the names of ALL these LOYAL WESTMINSTER DECLARERS, who attend the WESTMINSTER MEETING, called by the High Bailiff, on *Thursday*, the 13th instant, in Palace Yard, for the purpose of agreeing to an Address to the PRINCE REGENT, beseeching him to remove from his Councils those Ministers who appear resolved to adopt no effectual measures of economy and retrenchment, but on the contrary, to persevere in measures calculated to drive a suffering People to despair. I pledge myself, that on receiving a complete list of the LOYAL DECLARERS, who attend and support that Meeting, to publish their names at length in the next REGISTER, after I receive the list, with all the Places, Salaries, and Pensions, held or enjoyed by

them, attached to their respective names; there to remain as memorials of their *independence*, &c.

Wednesday, 5th March.

Nearly eighty years ago, the great Lord BOLINGBROKE ventured to foretel, that certain consequences would result from the measures pursued in his time, under the *influence* of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, who was then Minister. It will not be prudent for me to say more to the reader, than that I request he will make himself thoroughly acquainted with his Lordship's sentiments in the following columns.

“To suppose “he says” “a case within the bounds of possibility, let us suppose our PARLIAMENTS, in some *future* generation, to grow so CORRUPT, and the CROWN SO RICH, that a PECUNIARY INFLUENCE constantly prevailing over the MAJORITY, they should assemble for little else than to ESTABLISH GRIEVANCES, instead of redressing them; to approve the measures of the Court, without information; to engage their country in alliances, in treaties, in wars, without examination; and to give money without account, and almost without stint. The case would be deplorable. Our Constitution itself would become our grievances, whilst this Corruption prevailed; and if it prevailed long, our Constitution could not last long; because this slow progress would lead to the destruction of it as surely as the more concise method of giving it up at once. But, in this case, the CONSTITUTION would help itself, and effectually too, UNLESS THE WHOLE MASS OF THE PEOPLE WAS TAINTED, and the Electors were become no honestier than the Elected. Much time would be required to beggar and enslave the nation, in this manner, It could scarce be the work

of one Parliament, though Parliaments should continue to be *septennial*. It could not be the work of a *triennial* Parliament, most certainly; and the People of Great Britain would have none to blame but themselves; because, as the Constitution is a sure rule of action to those, whom they choose to act for them, so it is likewise a sure rule of judgment to them, in the choice of their trustees, and particularly of such as have represented them already. In short, nothing can destroy the Constitution of Britain, but the People of Britain; and whenever the People of Britain become so degenerate and base, as to be induced by CORRUPTION to choose persons to represent them in Parliament, whom they have found by experience to be under an influence, arising from private interest, dependants on a Court, and the creatures of a Minister; or others, who are unknown to the People, that elect them, and bring no recommendation but that which they carry in their purses; then may the enemies of our Constitution boast that they have got the better of it, and that it is no longer able to preserve itself, nor to defend liberty. Then will that trite, proverbial speech be verified in our case, that the corruptions of the best things are the worst; for then will that very change in the state of property and power, which improved our Constitution so much, contribute to the destruction of it; and we may even wish for those little tyrants, the great Lords and the great Prelates again, to oppose the encroachments of the Crown. How preferable will subjection to those powerful landlords (whom the commonalty were accustomed to serve; and by whom, if they suffered on one hand, they had considerable advantages on the other), how preferable, indeed, will this subjection appear to them, when they shall see the whole nation oppressed by a few upstarts in power; often by the meanest, always by the worst of their fellow-subjects;

by men, who owe their elevation and riches neither to merit nor birth, but to the favour of weak princes, and to the spoils of their country, beggared by their rapine. Then will the fate of Rome be renewed, in some sort, in Britain. The grandeur of Rome was the work of many centuries, the effect of much wisdom, and the price of much blood. She maintained her grandeur, whilst she preserved her virtue; but when luxury grew up to favour corruption, and corruption to nourish luxury, then Rome grew venal; the election of her magistrates, the sentences of her judges, the decrees of her senate, all was sold; for her liberty was sold, when these were sold; and her riches, her power, her glory, could not long survive her liberty. She, who had been the envy, as well as the mistress of nations, fell to be an object of their scorn, or their pity. They had seen and felt, that she governed other people by *will*, and her own by *law*. They beheld her governed herself by *will*; by the *arbitrary will* of the worst of her own citizens, of the worst of both sexes, of the worst of human kind; by CALIGULA, by CLAUDIUS, by NERO, by MESSALINA, by AGRIPPINA, by POMPEA, by NARCISSUS, by CALISTUS, by PALLAS; by princes, that were stupid, or mad; by women, that were abandoned to ambition and to lust; by ministers that were emancipated slaves, parasites and pandars, insolent and rapacious. In this miserable state, the few that retained some sparks of the old Roman spirit, had double cause to mourn in private; for it was not safe even to mourn in public. They mourned the loss of the liberty and grandeur of Rome; and they mourned that both should be sacrificed to wretches, whose crimes would have been punished, and whose talents would scarce have recommended them to the meanest offices, in the virtuous and prosperous ages of the Commonwealth. Into such a state (the difference of times, and of other circumstances considered), at least,

into a state as miserable as this, will the People of Britain both fall, and *deserve to fall*, if they suffer, *under any pretence*, or by any hands, that Constitution to be destroyed, which cannot be destroyed, *unless they suffer it*; unless they co-operate with the enemies of it, by electing those to represent them, who are hired to betray them; or by submitting tamely, when the mask is taken off, or falls off, and the attempt to bring beggary and slavery is avowed, or can be no longer concealed. *If ever this happens, the FRIENDS OF LIBERTY, should any such remain, will have ONE option still left; and they will rather choose, no doubt, to DIE THE LAST OF BRITISH FREEMEN, than bear to LIVE THE FIRST OF BRITISH SLAVES."*

What does the reader say to the foreboding of Lord BOLINGBROKE? Is he a *true*, or is he a *lying* prophet? Have his apprehensions been justified by events, or were they groundless? The reader will answer these questions to himself, and make his own comments.

All that has been said about the contents of the GREEN BAG, seems now to be of no consequence, because the said contents have answered their end—the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended.—Not a breath of the said contents is known to any one but the two Committees of Secrecy, whose REPORTS have at length dissolved into air—thin air. Even the PARODIES are almost forgotten. But the *Times* of to day affirms, that *Parodies* have only appeared in these latter days. If he means *Parodies of Portions from the Liturgy*, I must, and do contradict him: entertaining also the charitable supposition, that he made such

affirmation in ignorance—and yet the *Times* ought to know, that in 1736, “THE PRETTY MISS’S CATECHISM,” no very decent *Parody* on the Church Catechism, was published in a work on the shelves of every library in the kingdom—the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. vi. p. 463. In 1743, a *Parody* on the Athanasian Creed, appeared in the *Foundling Hospital for Wit*, beginning thus, “Whosoever will be an Exciseman, before all things it is necessary that he learn the art of arithmetic; which art, unless he wholly understand, without doubt, he can be no Exciseman,” &c. In the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, for 1757, vol. xxvii. p. 271, a *Parody* on the same Creed begins thus “Whosoever will be a true Englishman, &c.” and, to mention no other, who that has read the Witticisms, printed during Sir CECIL WRAY’S Election Scrutiny for Westminster, can forget the celebrated “*Cross Gospels*, &c.” preserved in the *Asylum for Fugitive Pieces*, and still republishing, by Mr. RIDGWAY, in every new edition of the *Rolliad*?

In my last Register I mentioned, that a *Parody on the Catechism*, was printed at the expense of “Mr. JOHN REEVES’S Association for preserving Liberty and Property, against Republicans and Levellers:” I now judge it proper to give an entire *Parody* from the Common Prayer, which was published only four years ago, by Mr. J. M. RICHARDSON, of Cornhill, Bookseller.

PARODY.

(REPRINTED VERBATIM.)

Te Deum.

Oh, Emperor of France! we curse thee.

We acknowledge thee to be a Tyrant.

Thou murdering Infidel! all the world detest thee.

To thee all nations cry aloud,
BONEY, BONEY, BONEY!

Thou art universally execrated!

Holland, Russia, Spain, and Portugal, are full of the measure of thy crimes.

To thee, the infernal host of Hell;

To thee, sycophantic, the tribe of Senators,

And the whole army of Sinners and Devils, raise their hideous notes, crying, Thou art the Commander of the “*Legion of Horror*.”

The armies of ALEXANDER and FERDINAND condemn thee; the noble Cossacks of the Don despise thee, exclaiming, RUNAWAY, RUNAWAY, RUNAWAY!

The POPE excommunicates thee; saying, RENEGADE! *No Concordat!*

For thou art the parent of infinite sin.

Thy fictitious, and thy true name, are equally accursed,

And thy black spirit maketh mankind to shudder.

Thou art the kernel of infamy, O NAPPY!

Thou art the everlasting son of tyranny and avarice.

Thou hast not scrupled to violate the laws of God, of nature, and of man.

Having, unhappily, escaped the dangers that have awaited thee, thou hast opened thy prison doors, to shut them again on the innocent.

Thou shalt sit at the right hand of Lucifer, ornamented with thy impious spoils, where thou shalt judge in

favour of those who shall most flatter thee.

Thou dost not believe that the day of judgment will come.

We recommend thee to have mercy on those whom thou hast robbed of their peace and property.

Let thy Ministers be numbered with thee in eternal damnation.

May the "Lads of Paris" guillotine thee, and thus spare the People whom thou oppressest with thy Corsican yoke; and may thy heritage suffer in a like way!

May they be not simply damned, but damned to all eternity.

Day by day all nations reproach thee, and adjudge thy name to be detested from generation to generation.

Deign, O NAPPY! to leave the world in peace and quiet; and at least spare those who have put their trust in thee.

Thou hast not scrupled to carry fire and sword among the peaceful dwellings of the Russians.

England, testifying her admiration for their glorious resistance to tyranny, her generous sons hasten cheerfully to dry up the tears of that homeless people.

The torrent of thy crimes is stopped; thou sickenest at the punishments that await thee.

Frost, hail, rivers, and all the elements, have waged war against thee, and thy fugitive followers.

Russia has let loose her hardy and patriotic sons: thou, and thy boasting myrmidons, flee; they "bite the dust."

Arise betimes, ye inhabitants of the East and West, to curse the Tyrant.

Curse the name of the Tyrant, at sun-set, ye inhabitants of the North, ye wives and children of the enraged Cossacks (his faithful pursuers); yea, *rise in the night to curse him soundly.*

Let not your curses, though last, be the least, ye inhabitants of the South.

Arouse, ye Sovereigns of Austria,

Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria; shake off the fetters which perfidy hath forged.

Behold the day of settling is at hand; the just God of Armies will confound thy boasted foresight.

Behold, now is the appointed time; now is the oppressor sore smitten.

Strike home, that he may fall; let the voice of liberty be heard among the nations, and the murders of ENGHIEU, PALM, and WRIGHT, be revenged.

At the news of thy drubbing and flight, hearest thou not the rejoicing shouts of thy conquerors? *Hourra, Hourra, Hourra!*

Go, roaming tiger, and with a Russian hempen collar adorn thy neck.

But first with some false tale, thou Prince of Liars, thy German blue-eyed cara sposa's dubious breast compose; and with sweet beet-root sugar-plumbs, thy hopeful URCHIN's palate please; cram well, and gull thy Parisian slaves with lies.

When thou shalt have reached the Palais Royal *en bas*, thy last and faithful Bulletin on earth send forth, signed by his Imperial Majesty, the Commander in Chief of the infernal hosts.

In it thy health, thy Fontainebleau excursion, summers' days, a smiling sky, and snug warm winter-quarters, praise; and let not thy obsequiousness to the supreme commands of the Generalissimo be forgotten.

Deign, O Beelzebub, to keep this arch-fiend treble-ironed; and let the *elites de demons* "guard the avenues" of his dungeon.

Oh, Satan, give this "precious despot" a good warm corner in Hell, and take him into thy tender keeping, for he has been thy faithful servant; and, as he has relied on thee, let him partake of thy torments, now, and for evermore.

Thus, the Monster's race being run, return, O BLESSED PEACE! and heal oppressed Europe's bleeding

wounds; come at length, long-wished for; and plentifully bestow thy precious gifts.

Long mayest thou dwell among thy cherished BRITONS! ready to conquer, or, in their country's cause, to die.

This *Parody* is quite in the tone and spirit wherein the *Times* was conducted when the above *Parody* was published; and being printed for Mr. JAMES RICHARDSON, whose respectability, as a bookseller, and whose LOYALTY, are undoubted, it must give the *Times* satisfaction, to see the *Parody* again in print. Mr. RICHARDSON, also, will not quarrel with me, perhaps, for giving more extensive publicity to his very *orthodox Parody*. That gentleman is a true Churchman, as well as a Loyalist, and the *Parody* is right *Loyal*, as well as *orthodox*. Mr. RICHARDSON reads the *Times*, too, and therefore, the *Times* and Mr. RICHARDSON will not fall out.

Now it seems, that to publish a *Parody* of any part of the Liturgy, is the height of wickedness in me—and doubtless, in any publication whatever, to call for People to be ‘*numbered together in eternal damnation!*’ would have been wrong in me—to desire that a whole *heritage* might ‘*be, not simply damned, but, damned to all eternity!*’ would have been wrong in me—to ask ‘*Satan,*’ to provide ‘*a good warm corner in hell*’ for any body, would have been wrong in me—and VICE SOCIETIES, and so forth, would have been called on to prosecute me. But as to Mr. RICHARDSON, why, he’s another man—he publishes all this in a *Parody* of the Church Service—

but he is another sort of man—Mr. RICHARDSON does not write and publish *Reformists’ Registers*, not *he*—and that makes *all* the difference! Surely the *Times* will not fall out with me, for *republishing* this *Parody* of the Church Service, as published by Mr. RICHARDSON, which I shall venture to call, without meaning particular offence, a very *Legitimate Parody*: and I shall also venture to admire it; and to be pleased with it; and to say it is a pretty *Parody*; and perchance, if I am found fault with—aye, not merely perchance, but for certain, if I am found fault with—I shall publish something further concerning this *Parody*—showing WHO approved of it, HOW they approved of it, what they SAID of it, what they DID with it, WHERE it went to, and various little pieces of curious information concerning this same *LEGITIMATE Parody*, which some People do not dream of.

Now all this the *Times* will not blame me for; particularly if this *Legitimate Parody* should turn out to be a production of the redoubtable DR. SLOP, who, I take to myself the merit of having killed off, to the entire satisfaction of the *Times*, whilst he was in that Office. A little better than a year ago, the DOCTOR was in a violent fit of swearing, and I discharged a shilling squib at him, entitled ‘*BONA-PARTE-PHOBIA, or Cursing made easy to the meanest capacity.*’ It fell on his vitals, and in three days he swore no more!—DR. SLOP’S GHOST, however, has lately appeared in Crane Court, where it walks “*regularly at SIX O’CLOCK every morning!*”

It talks strangely about "consistent and honourable principle! reputation! unbiassed candour and fairness! unjustifiable calumny! the light of science, of liberty, and of the gospel!"—Alas, poor GHOST!!! It mutters of "proprietors, who have embarked their funds! the *good things* that God has given us! one, and one only directing mind! transplanted fresh and living! and calls the Constitution a *thing* of permanence! and himself a *professional Gentleman*—rather unceremoniously dragged forward!"—Alas, poor GHOST!!! All these 'more last words' are as droll as DR. SLOP'S sayings when alive. Ghost as he now is—an airy nothing—instead of being '*alone*,' as he says, he is all the while accompanied by *certain persons*, who know him to be as mischievous as the 'Spirit of the Chapel,' and watch him narrowly. A *professional Gentleman*?—Poor SLOP!—still hankering, after death, for the GREEN BAG, and a legitimate ERNULPHUS, which rendered his illustrious prototype in STERNE, immortal. He has lately annoyed me, by his gibbering in Crane

Court; but let his Ghostship remember his fate, when in the body, or I will put my little finger upon him, and sink him a hundred fathom deep, whilst every living soul within hearing, will laugh at his last squeal.

WILLIAM HONE.

Friday, 7th March, 1817.

TO READERS.

THE REFORMISTS' REGISTER will, every *half-year*, have a TITLE-PAGE, with a COMPLETE INDEX of reference to its contents, and bind up into a Volume, as large in size as a Volume of the best edition of Hume's History of England, or Gibbon's Rome. But a volume of the REGISTER will contain more than double the quantity contained in a volume of these works, and be at *one half* the price; so that the Reader will have, at the end of every year, Two VOLUMES, abounding with sound political information, on subjects in which he himself, and his children, and his country, are deeply interested; and the contents of these Two VOLUMES, which he obtains by an easy purchase of *Two-pence a Week*, and which do not cost him NINE SHILLINGS, will be equal to the contents of *Four* volumes of Hume's History of England, which will cost *One Pound Twelve Shillings*.

No. VI. was published Saturday, March 1st; the leading Article of which was on "THE SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT."

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 8.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1817.

[Vol. I.

A LETTER

TO

ALEX. MACONCHIE, ESQ.

HIS MAJESTY'S

LORD ADVOCATE OF SCOTLAND.

Plagues of Egypt, and the Political Situation of England—Execution of CASHMAN—Kent Meeting for Reform—Distress of the Country—200 Arrests at Manchester—EATING HORSE-FLESH—Sir R. Wilson on the present System—CERTAINTY OF A NEW WAR—Sir Mark Wood, and the Borough of Gotton—Lord Chatham and Mr. Burke on Corruption—Westminster Address for removing Ministers—Reasons for their Removal.

Wednesday, March 12, 1817.

MY LORD,

THERE are moments in a man's life, when the doing what he ought to do gives him less immediate pain than the sin of omission. To such a period your Lordship and myself have arrived. I know not how you feel, my Lord. Your Lordship is from a country where those causes have ceased to operate, which create such feelings in *political* men. Thanks to the wisdom of my English ancestors, Scotland has long been saved the trouble

of care for her political constitution. Public spirit is not wanted in your country, my Lord, to guard public freedom. There—*privilege* kindly takes the place of right; there—patronage blooms as broad and as gaudy as a sunflower; and there—through *patrons* alone, are good and ill dispensed to those whose duty it is to be thankful, and who, not being permitted to choose or reject either, receive what the *Lairds* send of each, in silent submission to their will. It was in allusion to *Scotland*, perhaps, that Bishop HORSLEY said, 'The People have nothing to do with the laws, but to obey them.'

Your Lordship finds things a little otherwise in South Britain. Public virtue, however useless in *Scotland*, is a quality *in demand* here; and we shall be thankful to your Lordship for as much of it as you can spare. You have not had time to show it yet, my Lord; but, as no doubt "you have come here for all our *goods*," the sooner we experience your Lordship's usefulness the better. The time is now gone by for compliment—it is not necessary for either party to stand upon ceremony. In return for our little rills of comforting *influence*, we are willing to accept from your Lordship, in the name and on the behalf of the People of *Scotland*, a reflux of grati-

tude, a full tide of independence and patriotism.

By this time, my Lord, you understand me. But it may be as well to enlighten your Lordship a little to the political situation of England. You come to us in a season of great and unexampled distress. The plagues of Egypt typify our calamity. As Aaron's rod, which became a serpent, swallowed up those of the Egyptian magicians; so, by an arbitrary and daring system of ministerial mis-rule, all petty evil, all individual vice, all social wickedness, are drawn together, and combined, in one body of general and wide-wasting Corruption. Most fitly the plagues of hail and fire, running along the ground, and the turning of the rivers into blood, denote the desolation and carnage of wars wantonly commenced, and only terminated after unparalleled waste of human life. The plagues of flies, lice, and frogs, that infested the Royal Bedchamber, are figurative of the vermin and creeping things that are about the Court, fill our public-offices, and devour our substance. What could more aptly denote, than the murrain of beasts, the taxation and ruin which deprive the poor husbandman of the live stock he can no longer keep? Who is at a loss to discover the locusts covering the earth, and eating every herb, and every green thing? The destruction of our first-born may be nearer at hand than your Lordship and I can at this moment see. Men already meet each other in gloomy despondency, with scarcely a ray of hope for future welfare. Thick darkness is over the land;

even darkness which may be felt.

This is our political state, of which your Lordship shall judge for yourself. Amid so much of gloom and despair, as the last month has generated, there is nothing that cheers me to proceed; but having taken your Lordship under my arm, we must go forward. When Christian and Faithful were walking together, after journeying through the valley of the Shadow of Death, they talked of the terrible sights they met with in their way:—your Lordship, having me for a companion, on a similar journey, must be content with like discourse.

An object of this appalling nature is at hand. JOHN CASUMAN, the wretched sailor, concerned in the riot of the 2nd of December, was hanged to day.

"After due deliberation," says the *Courier*, "it was considered imperative, however painful the duty, to consign this unfortunate man to the fate apportioned by law to his offence. This morning was fixed for his execution, and, in order that it might produce a more lasting impression," he was hanged opposite Mr. BECKWITH'S house, in Skinner Street, upon Newgate gallows, which had been removed there for that purpose. When he was told on Saturday, that he was to die, he exclaimed with calmness, "Well, if it must be so, I am ready to die!" The *Courier* then relates other particulars, some of which I extract:—

He was visited by several of his friends, to whom he spoke in an unconcerned manner. Among others, an Irish gentleman, named Upton,

who had been on a former occasion the landlord of his father. To this gentleman, CASHMAN spoke unreservedly of his affairs—he said he was entitled to 200l. wages and prize money, about the disposition of which he was very anxious. Mr. Upton prepared, under his directions, a will, by which he disposed of this property in various ways; he mainly left it, however, to purchase a boat for a brother of his, who had been a fisherman on the coast of Ireland; to his mother; and for the payment of his debts, about which he appeared particularly solicitous. This will be signed, and Mr. Upton promised to do all in his power to see it executed.

Mr. Devereux states, that he had received a letter from Miss Upton, the daughter of the gentleman who has undertaken to administer to the will of the unhappy man, stating, that previous to his leaving Ireland, he was in the greatest distress, and on embarking in the packet for England, had but two ten-penny pieces in his pocket. She added, that he had borne an irreproachable character.

The prospect of being dragged to the scaffold in a cart, most agitated his mind. He said, “He did not like to be taken like a vagrant through the streets; if he had been a felon or a murderer, he should not mind it; but when he was neither, he thought it was too bad.” Mr. Cotton kindly promised him, with a view to calm his feelings, that he would get him removed in a coach. At eight o'clock yesterday evening, he was brought from his cell up stairs, to one adjoining the press-yard, in which he was to pass the night. In alluding to his approaching death, he said, “he had often faced the enemy amidst a shower of balls, and with the d—l before him, without shrinking, and did not now fear to face his God!”—As he passed through the press-yard, he exclaimed, with an oath, “I wish a forty-four pounder would now come and cut me in two, rather than I

should go into the hands of Jack Ketch!” In his cell, he was joined by the Rev. Mr. Devereux. Occasionally he was serious, but he frequently launched forth into comments on the nature of his past life, and talked of his fears of “being dragged like a vagrant through the streets.” On being exhorted to abandon these thoughts, he said “he had no fear of death, he wished the moment was then come, for he was ready to drop, but he did not like to be exposed like a common robber.” Mr. Devereux entreated him to offer himself meekly to his Maker, as an atonement for his sins—he exclaimed, “I do die willingly, and would go to the mast-head now to receive a rope for my death, for I know that my next voyage must be to Jack Ketch!” A gentleman named Boyle, a Catholic, accompanied by two friends, and Quinland, to whom Cashman seemed attached, entered his cell, and sat up with him the whole night. Every attempt was made to awaken him to a sense of his situation; but he still seemed bent on a repetition of his supposed wrongs and former adventures.

At six o'clock one of these gentlemen quitted his cell. He stated that the wretched man, during the early part of the night, indulged himself in making a variety of observations on the hardship of his case, and the injustice with which he had been treated by Government; but that latterly he had become somewhat more composed, having obtained two hours' sound sleep. Mr. Cotton, the Ordinary of Newgate, soon after entered the condemned cell, and endeavoured to rouse in the unhappy man a religious sense of his situation; but he was continually adverting to his exploits while in his Majesty's service, and lamenting that he was not to die at his quarters, instead of being “dragged to the place of execution in a cart, like a vagrant.” He asked if he might not have a glass of grog. This was refused; but he partook of some tea and

bread and butter. During the whole of this time he was pacing up and down his cell, in a very agitated manner. Quinland was the person who seemed to have the most influence over him. They were left together for a few minutes. On the door being opened, for the purpose of removing Quinland, Cashman shook hands with him, and said, "Good by, Quinland; I suppose I shall not see you again before I kick the bucket." Quinland remained in the cell until the approach of the fatal moment. Cashman shook hands also with Mr. Smart, the turnkey, and requested he would "give his compliments to the other officers." Clean linen being brought to him, he changed his shirt and drawers, put on a sailor's blue jacket and white trowsers, and tied on a black silk handkerchief. He then expressed his readiness to die, and the door of his cell opening for the admission of some one, he stepped forward with great alacrity, saying, "Am I to go now?" Being brought out, he stood with much unconcern while his fetters were knocked off, looking at and assisting in the operation. His hands were tied, and on his arms being bound behind him with a cord, he called out to the Sheriff's officer, in the sea phraseology, "haul it tought;" and again expressed his regret that he could not die at his quarters, like a man. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Devereux in vain attempted to administer religious consolation to him. He exclaimed, "Don't bother me---it's of no use---I know nothing at all about the matter." The subjects which at that awful instant seemed nearest his mind, were the mode of his death, and the disposition of his little property. On his expressing his uneasiness on this last head, the Sheriffs very benevolently assured him, that measures should be taken to carry into effect his wishes with respect to it. This assurance appeared to be very satisfactory to him; and he said, gratefully, "thank you,

gentlemen." Every thing being in readiness, the loud toll of the prison bell gave the signal for the procession to move.

Of the ten or twelve individuals present, Cashman was probably the only one unappalled by the melancholy sound. He looked about him with the most obdurate expression of countenance; cried, as if involuntarily, "God bless you all!" and marched firmly through the various passages of the prison, to the debtor's door, preceded by the Sheriffs, and accompanied by the Ordinary and Mr. Devereux.

It was about ten minutes before eight o'clock, when the culprit quitted the prison, and took his seat in the much dreaded cart, which was prepared for his reception. The executioner and his assistant sat on each side of him. His firmness was unabated, and not a muscle of his countenance betrayed the slightest appearance of fear. During the short time which elapsed, while the Sheriffs, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Cotton and the Rev. Mr. Devereux, were getting into their carriages, a few persons collected about the cart shook hands with him. Looking towards the prison door, at which one of the turnkeys stood, he said, in a laughing manner, "Good by, Bishop---God bless you, my hearty;" and then addressing himself to the others, he exclaimed, "this is not for cowardice---I am not brought to this for any robbery---I am going to die; but I shall not shrink. If I was at my quarters, I would not be killed in the smoke, I'd be in the fire. I have done nothing against my King and country; but fought for them."

As he passed along, he nodded to the crowd, and continued to inveigh, in loud language, against the injustice of his punishment, declaring, that he had done nothing but what he was driven to, and that he had been robbed by merchants, as well as Government, of his due. "This," said he,

"is what has brought me here! I always fought for my King and country, and this is my end!"

As the procession advanced, the mob expressed the strongest feelings of indignation; groans and hisses burst from all quarters, and Cashman joined his voice to the shouts, crying out, "hurrah! my boys, I'll die like a man!" On his quitting the cart, and mounting the scaffold, the groans were redoubled: he seemed to enter into the spirit of the spectators, and joined in their exclamations, with a terrific shout. He repeated his former remarks on the supposed hardship of his case. His face was placed towards Holborn-hill, but he turned his head on all sides, and greeted the mob with cries of "hurrah, my hearties in the cause! success! cheer up!" The Rev. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Devereux, exhorted him, but he pushed them aside, exclaiming, "Don't bother me---it's no use---I want no mercy, but from God!"

The executioner then came forward, and put the rope round his neck. This operation excited new tumults, and fresh exclamations of disapprobation burst from the crowd. On the night-cap being put over his face, he said, "For God's sake let me see to the last, I want no cap." In this he was indulged, and the cap was withdrawn. He now turned towards Mr. Beckwith's house, in an angry manner, and shaking his head, said, "I'll be with you---there," meaning, he would haunt the house after his death. Again turning to the People, he cried, "I am the last of seven of them that fought for my King and country; I could not get my own, and that has brought me here." The executioner having quitted the platform, the unfortunate wretch addressed the crowd nearest him and exclaimed, "Now you---give me three cheers when I trip."---"Hurra you---" And then, calling to the executioner, he cried out, "come Jack, you---* let go the

* The term Cashman is said to have

jib boom." The few remaining seconds of his existence he employed in similiar addresses, and was cheering at the instant the fatal board fell from beneath his feet. The cap was then drawn over his face, and he died almost without a struggle. A dead silence instantly prevailed, which continued for a few moments.

The populace expressed disgust and indignation towards every person who had taken a part in the dreadful exhibition. Cries of "Murder! Murder!" were distinctly heard from innumerable mouths, followed by cries of "Shame! Shame!" "Where are the Conspirators? [meaning VAUGHAN, BROCK, PELHAM, and others.] Why not hang them?" &c. Groans and hisses accompanied these allusions.

Cashman, from his own account, it appears, was born at sea, and lived a considerable time in America. His mother now resides near Cork in Ireland; and he said, he had two brothers living, who were in the King's service, but where they were just previous to his death, he had no knowledge. On Monday he was visited by his aunt and a cousin, of whom he took his leave in an affectionate manner.

The *Morning Chronicle* remarks, that "it was expected and *generally wished*, that this man, who has received several wounds in the service of his country, and particularly one in the head, which frequently affected his intellects, should become an object of *Royal clemency*."

"He appears," says the *Times*, "to have been a fearless, callous-hearted man; who may probably have been ill-used, and suffered much. Into these two latter circumstances, of which, used, is of disgusting import to polished ears, but is the usual phrase of salutation amongst sailors, and as applied by them in common conversation, is of the same meaning as 'comrade', or 'good fellow'.

"at least, there is a general suspicion, we hope an exact inquiry will be instituted; either that their falsehood may be proved, for the general satisfaction; or that the same provocation, which drove this man to unhappy courses, may not be applied to others."

It is a circumstance deserving particular observation, that, as appears by the statements of the *Courier*, the execution of CASHMAN took place in open day, four days after it was publicly known that it would take place; and that he was carried from the prison by police officers, to the place of execution, and there hanged, in the presence of an immense multitude, without a single soldier being seen, or any other visible sign of authority, than the constable's staves. The military were in waiting at a distance, and ready to be called in by signal; but notwithstanding the expression of feeling in the populace, no violence rendered that measure expedient—such is the respect of Englishmen for the law.

Obedience to the law is one of the most excellent features in the conduct of the People, amidst all their distresses; and they have a clear right not only to laws purely made, but adapted to the circumstances under which they live. For the laws, however, to be just and suitable, Parliament, which is the fountain of law, must be itself pure and well informed; its Members must be well acquainted with the wants and wishes of the People, and its proceedings be independent of all undue influence; particularly of all dictation by Ministers.

Now, although I think the House of Commons is at this very moment legislating in ignorance of facts which they ought to have before them; yet I will not here take upon me to state the language in which I think the House ought to be addressed; not that I have any doubt of being able to draw up a Petition to the House, fully expressive of what I conceive from observation and experience to be the wants and wishes of the People, but that I would rather refer to the sentiments of two Members of the House itself, at the Kent County Meeting, convened by the High Sheriff, at Maidstone, on Thursday last, to address the Regent on the late insult to his person, and to petition for Parliamentary Reform—both which objects were carried with great unanimity. On this occasion, Mr. W. P. HONEYWOOD, who moved the Petition to the House of Commons, in commenting on its different points, observed, that as all Governments were constituted for the good of the governed, the People, while they gave allegiance, had a right to expect protection. Sir WILLIAM GEARY, Member for the county, then said, "He had now sat in the House of Commons for three Parliaments, and he was convinced, that *the VOTES, mannert and mode of election, are TOTALLY SUBVERSIVE OF THE CONSTITUTION* he was sent to protect." Mr. CALCRAFT, Member for Rochester, said, that "he daily witnessed in the House of Commons, what he considered to be a disregard and inattention to the *DIS-TRESSES OF THE PEOPLE!*"

Here, my Lord, is a pretty picture of the conduct of the Hon. House, into which you have just entered, by two Members of that House. Now, lest your Lordship may suppose there are no distresses to regard or attend to, I submit the following statement.

A Committee, appointed to consider the best means of relieving the distressed poor, in the parish of Melksham, in Wiltshire, lately visited the district, including Bowerhill, Red Stocks, Forest, and Sandridge Hill; and out of 160 families inspected, found 141 families requiring relief. These 141 families, consisting of 560 persons, earned only £51. 12s. 6d. per week; but they received £7. 5s. 2d. per week, parish pay, &c. making £58. 17s. 8d. per week, or 2s. 1½d. per week, per head, or from 3½d. to 3¼d. per day; being about the price of 1lb. of bread, leaving nothing for other, or further subsistence, or for clothes, washing, fuel, candles, rent, &c.—Now when it is considered, that from 5s. to 5s. 6d. per week, is the lowest sum per head, whereon the parishes keep their paupers, it is quite plain, that the poor creatures in this district, of Melksham Parish, having scarcely more than one third of parish allowance, must be in a most lamentable state. But looking nearer home, distress will be found of a most appalling nature, as the following circular testifies.

“ST. MARY, ROTHERHITHE.

“17th February, 1817.

“At a Vestry held this day at the Parish Church, to take into consideration the present extraordinary and pressing wants of the Poor,—It

was resolved unanimously, that the Officers be requested to apply to the Inhabitants, to raise a voluntary Subscription, in aid of the fund now in hand, to relieve the wants and necessities of the labouring Poor of this Parish.

“The unprecedented distress of the labouring Classes of the Community, arising solely from a stagnation in Trade; and the high prices of the necessary articles of life, having reduced many honest and industrious families (who have hitherto supported themselves with decency) to the severest privations and distress, calls for immediate attention; and as many of them are now employed by the Overseers, at the rate of One Shilling per Day; and many others making applications to the same effect, who must unavoidably be rejected, from the low state of the funds; the Officers respectfully and confidently appeal to the liberality of the Parishioners; trusting they will come forward in aid of so benevolent a design, which may be the means of preventing the most deplorable and afflicting result to the unhappy sufferers!

“The Officers will take an early opportunity of waiting upon the Inhabitants, to receive such Subscriptions as they may severally think proper to contribute.

“By Order of the Churchwardens, &c.

“M. NOTTINGHAM,

“Vestry Clerk.”

In St. Mary, Rotherhithe, your Lordship sees, that persons of honest and industrious families are employed by the overseers, at 1s. per day; and that others of these persons, who have hitherto supported themselves in decency, cannot be employed, or in other words, cannot be fed by parish rates, which are as high in that parish as they can be. Looking still nearer home, an inhabitant

of St. Martin's parish, which, by the by, is the Prince Regent's parish, and includes a great many opulent inhabitants, writes me, on the 4th of March, that "the united parishes of Westminster have been for these 6 weeks relieving 3470 families! that the funds are now nearly exhausted, and the same misery remaining. What still makes a deeper impression on the minds of the humane subscribers, is, that notwithstanding this, *it all requires doing over again*—there is no likelihood of an extension of charity, this district not standing alone. What will be the consequence of this approaching wretchedness, requires a greater philosopher than me to determine; but I hope that REFORM will be pursued with the utmost vigour."

Having just cast your eye, my Lord, over these little introductory notices, which are mere *symptoms* of the state of the country, I think you can have no doubt of its languishing trade, its palsied industry, its half smothered deep distress. "We admit," says a paper of yesterday, "that in various parts of the kingdom, the labouring mechanics have suffered, and are suffering, a pressure of distress most painful to contemplate. We have heard of a whole township, which in the course of last year, paid not a penny of rent; where the inhabitants had sold or pawned nearly all their furniture; even scarcely any of them more than half clothed; and fed from one week's end to another, on nothing but oatmeal and water!" Now this

is a statement made *by the Editor himself*, who is a red-hot ministerialist, who if it were not true, dare as well eat his own flesh, as tell it. But your Lordship will ask, why does this man give information to the Public, disagreeable to his *Patrons*? I will tell you my Lord:—his *Patrons* can no longer keep it close; and such sort of men have their cue, to let a little of the bad news leak out to the public—to prepare them for a great deal more!—But come, my Lord, let us look at this afternoon's *Courier*; which contains the account of CASHMAN, and is, you know, what is called the Government paper. The *leading article*, headed in capital letters, begins thus:—

"IMPORTANT INTELLIGENCE FROM MANCHESTER, &c.

"We announced yesterday, that four persons had been taken into custody at Manchester, on suspicion of *treasonable practices*, and that others were expected to be apprehended. This morning we have further and MOST IMPORTANT INFORMATION, which we subjoin. A MEETING was held at Manchester, on Monday; previous to which, it was intimated, that the numbers collected on that day, would proceed to London, to present a PETITION to the PRINCE REGENT in person, for the purpose of 'UNDECEIVING HIM.' Placards were stuck up, and hand-bills distributed. The people of Stockport were invited to join those of Manchester, on Lancashire Hill. Several emissaries were at work during the week, making every effort to inflame the public mind, and to engage a large mass to assemble on the day appointed. It was insinuated that 25,000 stand of arms at Birmingham might be secured. Information of these pro-

ceedings was sent to the Secretary of State's Office, and reached town on Friday night. Immediate measures were adopted: A Magistrate and King's Messenger were despatched with warrants, and, as we stated yesterday, four were apprehended on Sunday.

"Meanwhile the active Commander of the District, Sir JOHN BYNG; and the Magistrates, had taken precautions. The Stockport troop had orders to meet; two troops from Macclesfield, and three from Knutsford, were also directed to be at Salemoor (the usual spot for reviews, near Manchester), so as to be in readiness to act, in case of emergency."

"Manchester, Tuesday, March 11.

"We find it was among the notifications at the Meeting on the 3d inst. near St. Peter's Church, corroborated in the course of last week, by the declarations of individuals who have been actively engaged in promoting the late seditious Meetings, that the espousers of their doctrines should collect at the same place, the Monday following (yesterday), and proceed to the Metropolis, at 9 o'clock; to present a PETITION to the PRINCE REGENT, that they might be enabled 'to undeceive him.' Aware of these intentions, and of the dangers which an immense influx of strangers, irritated by the inflammatory appeals of their factious leaders (who, under the pretence of promoting PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, have been for a length of time past agitating the minds of the labouring class of society), portended, the conservators of the public tranquillity took every precaution adequate to the occasion.

"Yesterday morning, according to the expectations entertained, crowds of people flocked into town, from all directions, as early as 8 o'clock; and at about 9, the instigators appeared on their temporary stage, in a cart, and continued to harangue the multitude, till their vast increasing num-

bers suggested the EXPEDIENCY of putting into practice the WELL-FORMED ARRANGEMENTS of the civil and military powers. Accordingly, a party of the first regiment of dragoons, under Colonel TEESDALE, accompanied by the Magistrates of the district, appeared amongst them; and, with an adroitness and decision almost electrical, surrounded the erection, and immediately conveyed the entire group upon it to the New Bayley Prison: their attention was next directed to the concourse of auditors, who were forthwith dispersed, without the infliction of any severity.

"An arrest had taken place, early on Sunday morning, of JOHNSTON and OGDEN, who had previously figured at this place, and they were secured in the New Bayley. Others were seized by the soldiers on their way to deliver their charge in Salford. The following are the names of prisoners:---

"Drummond, Bingley (the two orators), Handring, Grimshaw, Linguard, Quincy, Shaw, Wood, Hargraves, Lever, Shawcross, two Williamses, Tucker, Whitworth, Oddey, Bousfield, Kay, Letgar, Blackshaw, Simms, Thomason, Barlow, Cuthbird, Lees, Hudson, and Higginbottom (the owner of the cart on which the stage was fixed).

"A considerable number of People set out on their mission to London, taking the route of Stockport, but about 40 of them were re-conducted to Manchester, and added to their other unfortunate companions; others were furnished secure accommodations in Stockport. Most of them were provided with knapsacks, &c. containing blankets, and other articles. Upon the examination of some of these travelling equipages, two unusually large knives were discovered.

"JOHNSTON, OGDEN, &c. will be despatched, without loss of time, under escort, to the Secretary of State, in London.

"We shall desist from entering

further, at present, into the cases of these characters, as they will probably, hereafter, be the subject of high judicial inquiry.

"The military preparations were under the direction of Sir JOHN BYNG, the Commander of the District, who arrived in Manchester on Sunday. A party of the 54th Regiment of Foot, were present, to render their assistance.

"We may fairly presume, that at one period, there was an assemblage of at least 30,000 at the meeting; and we believe we do not over-rate the arrivals in the course of the day, at from 60 to 70,000 individuals.

"No particular act of outrage OR *INTEMPERANCE*, has yet reached our ears, and we cannot help feeling highly indebted to the judicious and salutary interposition of the respective authorities, for the satisfactory result of this day's transactions.

"As we are closing this account, we have authority to state, that the apprehensions are nothing short of two hundred persons."—*Manchester Mercury*.

"To the above account, we subjoin the following :—

"Macclesfield Courier Office, March 10.

"On Sunday morning, the Magistrates of Manchester, deeming it necessary to strengthen the military force in that neighbourhood, in consequence of the declared intent of some thousands of the population, to proceed in person to Carlton-House, with a PETITION to the REGENT, forwarded expresses to the several troops of the Prince Regent's Regiment of Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry, requiring their immediate aid. The same evening, five troops marched into Manchester, and the remaining three troops were disposed in Stockport and Macclesfield, to prevent the SUSPECTED PROGRESS of the Petitioners in that direction.

"Early on Monday morning, the streets of Manchester were crowded

by thousands, of whom a great part were prepared with blankets and bundles, for the march to London: by the activity of the Magistrates, however, and the military at their disposal, every one most active in haranguing the multitude, all who had the appearance and character of ringleaders, were arrested and imprisoned on the spot. This CAUTIONARY MEASURE, for the POSSIBILITY of which, we are indebted to the SUSPENSION of the HABEAS CORPUS ACT, disorganized the plans of the Petitioners to such an extent, that a few thousands only, who eluded, by obscure passages, the vigilance of the soldiers, succeeded in penetrating to the bridge of Stockport, and here they were encountered by a troop of the Life Guards, and a troop of the Macclesfield squadron of the Prince Regent's Yeomanry. No attempt was made to force the bridge, but many threw themselves into the river, and crossed it wherever it was fordable. This circumstance, added to another, that the streets of Stockport were literally wedged full of the inhabitants of the vicinity, constrained the troops to withdraw from the bridge, over which, of course, the Petitioners had afterwards a free passage. In the thoroughfare of the town, however, all those who had prepared themselves with the necessaries of a march (commonly comprising a blanket, and a few days' provision), were arrested, partly by the laudable activity of the Stockport Police, and partly by the alertness of the military force; and were in the course of the day, despatched, under escort, to the New Bayley Prison, at Manchester. The persons apprehended, might be 200 in number; one individual was so severely wounded, that his life was despaired of. Not more than 500, out of the many thousands assembled in the morning, penetrated so far as Macclesfield, where a troop of the Yeomanry had remained to provide against such a contingency; and we have authority, on which we can rely,

for positively stating, that no more than 20 persons proceeded from Macclesfield into the adjoining county of Staffordshire.

“ Nothing could be more wretched and pitiable, than the appearance of the few who reached this town; some actually fainting from weariness; and all of them without baggage, or any apparent resource, with which to proceed 20 miles further toward London. It is now eleven o'clock, *p. m.*; patrols of cavalry, and special constables, are continually passing, but in other respects the town is as tranquil as usual. The behaviour of the Magistrates, not only compassionate, but judicious, in permitting the **DELUDED WRETCHES** to seek lodging without impediment, for this single night, will, in all probability, have the happy effect, of inducing them to return home, without further alarm to the country, and what was most imminent, *without further peril to the UNFORTUNATE VICTIMS themselves.*”

From these statements, my Lord, it appears, that the People at Manchester are in very great distress—that they met in a large body, to **PETITION** for Reform and Retrenchment—that *they neither manifested outrage or intemperance*—that whilst quietly listening to the speeches from the hustings, they were broken in upon by soldiers—that this disturbance of the Meeting by troops was in consequence of previous arrangements between the *civil and MILITARY* powers—that *the military surrounded the hustings, and carried off all the speakers to prison*—that the military next entirely dispersed the Meeting, without the infliction of any *severity*—that is, I suppose, they did not shoot the Petitioners, or cut them down—that the military seized a num-

ber of the Petitioners, who were on the road to London, to present their Petitions, and sent them back to Manchester prison, or provided them, as the *Manchester Herald* says, ‘with secure accommodations at Stockport’—and, finally, beside some minor particulars, we are told that this arrest of the Manchester Petitioners by the military, is **A CAUTIONARY MEASURE**, for the *POSSIBILITY* of which we are indebted to the **SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT.**

Entreating your Lordship to bear this in recollection, I wish your Lordship good night.

Thursday, March 13.

Recollecting that to the *Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill* is attributed the power of preventing the Meeting at Manchester from proceeding with its Petitions, and that such Meeting was called under the pressure of severe distress, I for one moment beg your Lordship also to recollect, that though the Suspension Bill, enforced by the military, is fully competent to disperse a petitioning body of 30,000 men, it cannot alleviate the distress of *one man*—it cannot prevent his goods being seized for taxes, or distrained for rent, or prevent him from being idle when he has no work, or being put into jail when he has no money to pay his debts, or prevent his family from being hungry when they have nothing to eat, or save them from dying at the end of four or five days, if they go without food that length of time: the Suspension Bill cannot prevent any of these things;

and therefore the remedy for such distress must be sought elsewhere.

A person, calling himself S. GRAY, Esq., and apparently well disposed, has lately published a quarto volume, intitled, '*The Happiness of States;*' in which, seeming to imagine, that the country does not produce food equal to its consumption, he seriously suggests that we should eat the *horse*. He says, that "Great Britain alone, from not eating him, loses a quantity of subsistence, sufficient to feed an additional population of about 500,000." Now this may be all very true, and I think the donkies may as well be calculated upon as the dobbins; but if it is really proposed that we shall eat either horse-flesh or ass-flesh, I hope the example will be set us by our betters; and as Mr. GRAY is, I understand, in a Government Office, I would recommend my Lord Castlereagh to him, as his first customer. Before I eat dogs-meat, I should particularly like my Lord Castlereagh's opinion of its flavour. We have lately heard of Ministers finding a mare's nest; they may now turn *nackermen*. The dog's-meat and cat's-meat sellers should retire; and their ware being dignified by man's use, be called by such names no more. A Board of Distribution, with Commissioners, at proper salaries, might be appointed, to sit in full *costume*, and superintend the venders, who should have state livery jackets, with sleeves, and aprons, agreeably to a new regulation. To bring the food into fashion, the chump-end of an old mare might be introduced as a

novelty, at my Lady C—'s entertainment; and a horse roasted whole, be a standing dish at the cabinet dinners. With what expressive admiration my Lord CASTLEREAGH would gaze on its fundamental features; and how eagerly his dearly and well-beloved brother Counsellor, Mr. CANNING, would proke about for the *merry-thought*!

I beg pardon, my Lord, for *seeming* to trifle. These are not times when Mr. GRAY or Mr. Anybody should hint at *horse-flesh*, either as a substitute or an addition to human diet in England. We live in a period of overwhelming calamity. Every man is seeking to avert it from himself; and, in endeavouring to provide a remedy, naturally looks for the cause, and turns his eye upon Parliament, for relief from the system which has been prolific of the evil. Sir ROBERT WILSON well pourtrayed its consequences, at the Maidstone Meeting, in these words:—

"The consequences of this system are forty-six millions of permanent annual taxes, which, notwithstanding their intolerable exaction, are not adequate to the payment of the public creditors and the expenses of the State---eight millions of annual poor rates, which are not sufficient to feed and clothe the hungry and the naked: such are the legacies left us by successive Parliaments, in which Ministers had such undue and absolute influence as to insure the approval of all their measures, except in one or two instances, where the individual interests of the Members constituting the Majority, were immediately concerned. To that influence must be attributed the sanction of a system of policy, which, notwithstanding all our sacrifices for Europe, has made us the

object of her general enmity---which has arrayed against our character and interests the Italian, the German, the Belgian, the Pole, and the Norwegian, and has even given France a right to reproach England with the most flagrant abuse of power and violation of good faith---a system which has overthrown the principles of our Constitution, (those principles for the maintenance of which, the House of Brunswick was placed on the throne of this kingdom,) by employing a British army to guard the system of Legitimacy in France, in opposition to the wishes of a free People---a system, which, suffering as we now are, has given to us **THE CERTAINTY OF ANOTHER WAR** (probably at no very distant period), in support of the succession of a hateful dynasty---[loud applause]---a system of policy which introduced torture into Ireland---that torture which I myself witnessed, and whose dreadful images I never remember without shuddering---a torture where the innocent were not only confounded with the guilty by unsupported charges, but where the lash (as I declare to God, I saw it myself) was applied promiscuously on the chance of extorting a confession, or obtaining an accusation---a system which has suspended the pride of your birthright and the shield of your liberties---[loud applause]---a system of policy which only requires the establishment of a censorship over the Press, to accomplish all which it has been said by the scoffers of the Holy League, was proposed by that alliance; viz. "To make every man in Europe a slave in his person and a brute in his mind." All this would not have happened, if a constitutional union had existed between the People and their Representatives---if abuses had not existed, which proved sources of life to the power destroying your freedom and happiness."

I will now present to your Lordship's view, the present state of a **BOROUGH**, which I think

was once represented by a gentleman, who executes the high official duties in England, which I believe your Lordship does in Scotland, I mean Sir **WILLIAM GARROW**, his Majesty's *Attorney General*.

BOROUGH OF GATTON,

IN THE COUNTY OF SURRY.

According to Mr. **OLDFIELD**, in his *Representative History*, this borough, which sends **TWO** Members to Parliament, was the property of the late Sir George Colebrooke; he having failed, it was sold by his assignees to Sir **W. MAINE**, who was soon afterwards created **LORD NEWHAVEN**, of the kingdom of Ireland, for what reason is unknown; but of course, not because he was a borough proprietor. After this, it was purchased *upon speculation*, by Mr. Percy, a sugar baker, and a Mr. Graham, who sold it again, to the late Robert Ladbroke, Esq. the banker. In 1795, it was purchased of Mr. Ladbroke, by John Petrie, Esq. for *one hundred and ten thousand pounds*; of which sum, £50,000 was to be kept in hand by the purchaser, as was understood, to answer a claim that Government had upon the effects of Sir George Colebrooke. The new proprietor, Mr. Petrie, failed, and his assignees sold it to **MARK WOOD**, Esq., who, *since the purchase*, has been created a *Baronet*—of course, as I said before, respecting **LORD NEWHAVEN**, not because he is a borough proprietor. This borough consists of only *six* houses; and the right of election being in the *freeholders*, having such freeholds in their own occupation, and in the *inhabitants*, *paying scot and lot*, Sir **MARK**

WOOD, being proprietor of the whole borough, is *the only freeholder*, and by possessing the six houses, by occupying one himself, and by letting the other five by the week, for which he pays the taxes, he is *the only Elector* of its TWO Representatives!

Sir MARK WOOD thus unites in himself the functions of sole freeholder, or proprietor of the borough; its sole elector, and one of its representatives in Parliament—its magistrate, churchwarden, overseer, surveyor of highways, and collector of

taxes. The return of its Members is made at the court leet, where Sir MARK WOOD sits by himself, in all the above capacities, and composes by himself the whole court; and as such, appoints the constable, who is the returning officer, to take the election; and who may, if Sir MARK chooses himself, be *himself* the constable, to take the election of himself, *by himself*, and to make the return of himself, and his son MARK WOOD, Esq. who is the other Hon. Member, representing the Borough!!!

RECAPITULATION,

BOROUGH OF GATTON.

Proprietors	ONE...	Sir MARK WOOD, Bart. M. P.
Magistrates	ONE...	Sir MARK WOOD, Bart. M. P.
Churchwardens	ONE...	Sir MARK WOOD, Bart. M. P.
Overseers of the Poor	ONE...	Sir MARK WOOD, Bart. M. P.
Vestrymen	ONE...	Sir MARK WOOD, Bart. M. P.
Surveyors of the Highways	ONE...	Sir MARK WOOD, Bart. M. P.
Collectors of the Taxes	ONE...	Sir MARK WOOD, Bart. M. P.
Candidates at the last Election ..	TWO...	{ Sir MARK WOOD, Bart. M. P. His Son, MARK WOOD, Esq. M. P.
Voters at the last Election	ONE...	Sir MARK WOOD, Bart. M. P.
Representatives returned at the last Election	{ TWO...	{ Sir MARK WOOD, Bart. M. P. His Son, MARK WOOD, Esq. M. P.

What is this? Is this *Representation*? Is it not the freehold possession of a seat in the House of Commons *in perpetuity*.

By the Statutes 1 of Henry IV. cap. iii. and iv. and 39 Henry VI. cap i.—

“The Parliaments of the 21st of Richard II., at Westminster, and that of the 38th of Henry VI., at Coventry, are adjudged and declared void, and no Parliament at all, but unlawful; yea, devilish assemblies and ordi-

nances; because in the first of them, the Knights were not *DULY* elected by the Commons, according to *law and custom*, but by the *King's pleasure*.--- And because the latter of them was unduly summoned, by divers seditious and evil-disposed persons about the King---and a great part of the knights of divers counties of the realm---and many burgesses and citizens for divers boroughs and cities appearing in the same, were named and returned, and accepted without *due and free* election; some of them *without any elec-*

tion, by means and labour of the said persons, against the course of the laws and liberties of the Commons of the realm."

What would they who made these statutes have said to such a borough as *Gatton*? The great Lord CHATHAM observes, "that a borough, which perhaps no man ever saw, is what is called *the rotten part of the Constitution*. It cannot continue a century; if it does not drop off, it must be *amputated*." Who holds this true English language now? Mr. BURKE, who understood these matters well, affirms, that "corrupt influence is itself the perennial source of *all* disorder, which loads us more than millions of debt, which takes away all vigour from our arms—all authority from our government—and all wisdom from our councils." Lord SHEL-BURNE, who was himself a Minister, denounces to the House, "the servile followers of the Minister, ready to obey every mandate he thinks proper to issue; totally immersed in the *deepest* and dirtiest ways of Corruption, and lost to every sense of their own duty, and Constitutional importance in the state." And his Lordship declares, that "before this country, or its Constitution, is *recovered*, that CORRUPT HOUSE must be new modelled. It is at present [in 1778], the *source* of all CORRUPTION and misfortunes: and if all other means should fail, *the people will probably rise*, and drag their CORRUPT and VENAL REPRESENTATIVES from their seats."

I purposely abstain from adding a word of my own to these high authorities, which are brought together and quoted, in Mr. WALTER FAWKES's *English-*

man's Manual, from whence I have taken them.

It is now time that I should assign my reasons for troubling His Majesty's LORD ADVOCATE OF SCOTLAND with a public letter, in a little fortnight after taking his seat in the House of Commons; but I am obliged to defer my reason until the next No. in order to include the address of the Westminster Meeting, in Palace Yard, yesterday.

ADDRESS

TO H. R. H. THE PRINCE REGENT.

"The dutiful and loyal Address of the Citizens of WESTMINSTER, in public Meeting assembled.

"*May it please your Royal Highness,*

"We, his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Citizens of Westminster, always unwilling to approach your Royal Highness with the expression of any sentiments other than those of affection and gratitude, feel the deepest sorrow at being compelled, upon this occasion, to approach you with a recital of grievances and injuries, such as we firmly believe were wholly unknown to Englishmen in any former age.

"After a war of twenty-five years' duration---after sacrifices of blood and treasure unparalleled in the history of the world---after seeing ourselves bereft of fathers, brothers, sons, and friends without number, in this long and bloody struggle---we expected, and we were led to expect, as the reward of all our sacrifices and exertions, that real peace, and that lasting happiness and security, which, as we were told, it was impossible for us to enjoy, without those sacrifices and exertions.

"But, alas! instead of real peace, we see established an immense standing army, the persons belonging to which are now to be separated wholly from the People, by a law, which, on the vague charge of attempting to se-

duce them from their duty, makes any communication with them attended with the danger of an ignominious death; and which law, by being made perpetual, but too plainly avows the intention of making a standing army a settled and integral part of the Government of our country, in which standing armies have always heretofore been held in such abhorrence. Instead of that happiness, which we were so repeatedly promised, we find ourselves plunged into misery unspeakable; and while distress, bankruptcy, and ruin, are sweeping before them the middle class of society, the labouring classes are actually perishing under the various and indescribable sufferings of a state bordering on absolute starvation. Instead of that security, which was to be the great prize of all our warlike achievements, every man of us now feels that he sits in that house, which the ancient law called his castle, at the mere mercy of a Secretary of State; that he has no security for any one moment of his life; that he walks at large and breathes the open air, solely at the will of another; and, of course, that he is a slave, and a slave too the more degraded, because his forefathers were free.

"Such, may it please your Royal Highness, is the reward which we have received for twenty-five years of toil and bloodshed; such is the balm for the hearts of the widows and orphans made by the war; such is the result of a deadly contest for 'social order'; such is the wretched and shameful state to which England has at last been reduced by the measures of those Ministers, who, as the only answer to our repeated and humble supplications for the lightening of our burdens, and for the restoration of our undoubted and unalienable rights, have shaken the halter in our faces, and have rattled in our ears the keys of the dun-

geon; and whom we, therefore, most humbly, but most earnestly, implore your Royal Highness to remove from your Councils and confidence for ever, as the first step necessary to prevent England, once so happy, so mighty, and renowned, from becoming a heap of ruins, a by-word and a reproach amongst the nations of the earth."

During the administration of these ministers, not a single advantage for constitutional freedom has been obtained; not a restriction upon it loosened; yet the endeavours for both have been earnest and incessant. Pursuing an undeviating and successful career of shameless profligacy, they have added to our burdens, and have become as daring as they are wicked. Setting the sense of the whole nation at defiance, the strength of the whole nation is required to assail them. Every man throughout the country should sign Petitions to the Throne for their removal. Petition by counties—Petition by cities—Petition by boroughs—Petition by corporations—Petition by towns—Petition by parishes—Petition collectively—Petition singly—Petition by every possible means. The ear of the Prince Regent being once obtained—the sense of the country being once universally expressed to him, his Royal Highness cannot, *will* not, refuse to dismiss these odious men from his councils for ever!

This, my Lord, is my belief, and the course I recommend to my countrymen. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient Servant,

WILLIAM HONE.

Friday, 14th March, 1817.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 9.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1817.

[Vol. I.

A SECOND LETTER

TO

A. MACONOCHIE, ESQ. M. P.

HIS MAJESTY'S

LORD ADVOCATE OF SCOTLAND.

Mr. Cobbett's *Horsewhipping, the Morning Post Account, and the true Account—Specimens of Representation—Edinburgh City and County—Borough of Yarmouth, and Mr. Macnochie—Mr. Douglas, his Burghs, and his Wiser People of Scotland—Plympton Earle, and Mr. Boswell—Anecdote of Dr. Johnson—Mr. Macnochie, and the Tin Kettle tied, &c.—Scottish Anti-Reformists—Sentiment of Napoleon, from his Life, written by himself—Lord Chesterfield—Lord Carteret—Mr. Fawkes—Earl Grosvenor—Lord Bolingbroke, on the Consequences of Universal Corruption in England—An almost incredible Anecdote of the present Parliament.*

Thursday, March 20, 1817.

MY LORD,

I beg one minute's attention to the following article from the MORNING POST Newspaper, of Tuesday the 18th instant; it richly deserves preservation.

(COPY).

“COBBETT CHASTISED.

(From a Correspondent.)

“In one instance, at least, this hectoring bully has met with his deserts. Understanding that he passed the night of Sunday at Mr. TIMOTHY BROWN'S, at Peckham, Mr.

“LOCKHART repaired thither, “early yesterday morning, with the “intention of CHASTISING the “Reformer, for his insolence at Winchester. Before Mr. LOCKHART “had reached the Bricklayer's Arms, “he met Mr. COBBETT returning “to town, and, being furnished with a “TREMENDOUS HORSEWHIP, “he applied it *sans ceremonie* to the “broad and well adapted shoulders of “his antagonist. COBBETT ESCAPED into the shop of Mr. JONES, the apothecary, where he “remained *two hours*. His *seance* “appears to have suffered considerable “damage, as he was seen to leave the “apothecary's shop with an ENORMOUS PLASTER over his left “eye.”

Now the particulars of this article from the Morning Post, which are not true, I will enumerate, and will state lastly, what is true.

1st, *It is not true*, that Mr. COBBETT had AN ENORMOUS PLASTER over his left eye.

2ndly, *It is not true*, that he was seen to leave the apothecary's shop.

3dly, *It is not true*, that he has suffered considerable damage.

4thly, *It is not true*, that he remained in the shop of Mr. JONES, the apothecary, *two hours*.

5thly, *It is not true*, that Mr. COBBETT ESCAPED into Mr. JONES's shop.

6thly, *It is not true*, that Mr. LOCKHART was furnished with a TREMENDOUS HORSEWHIP.

7thly, *It is not true*, that before Mr. LOCKHART had reached the Bricklayer's Arms, he met Mr. COBBETT returning to town.

8thly, and lastly, *It is not true*, that

Mr. LOCKHART, *either met or beat*
Mr. COBBETT, *at all*. But
THE TRUTH IS, that the entire
article is, from beginning to end,
wholly *fabricated*,---entirely a gross
falsehood,---a LIE---

-----“An odious DAMNED LIE;
Upon my soul A LIE; a WICKED LIE.”

SHAKSPEARE.

Though, by half an hour's walk to
the *Bricklayer's Arms*, which begins
the High Kent Road, every person in
London, who chose to go, ascertained
this article of the MORNING POST
to be a barefaced fabrication, wholly
destitute of a shadow of truth; yet
the TRAVELLER Evening News-
paper, and the SUN Evening News-
paper, afterwards inserted THE LIE
verbatim; and neither the TRA-
VELLER, the SUN, nor the
MORNING POST, have to this day
contradicted THE LIE they have
propagated *in the country*, though
known to themselves, and every man
in London, *to be A LIE*; but on the
contrary, THE SUN of last night, in
order to encourage the belief of THE
LIE, as far as its miserable circula-
tion extends, actually published the
following doggerel:

“LOCKHART versus COBBETT.

That to the peace LOCKHART'S not bound,
Was prov'd by the HORSEWHIPPING
sound

He gave to COBBETT t'other day—

What! whip a man in open day!!

Did COBBETT STAND IT?—Tell us
pray—

OH, NO!—He wisely RAN AWAY!

March 18, 1817.

TARTAR.

The puny efforts of the sinking
SUN, and the lingering half-alive
TRAVELLER, to give currency to
this LIE, may be accounted for, by
any man who understands *how*, and
to what *end* these papers are *manufac-
tured*; but the MORNING POST,
by its unblushing shameless impu-
dence, seems to be ambitious to be
called, as long as it exists, by its old,
well-earned, well-known name, the
“LYING POST!”---therefore, let it
be called, the “LYING POST!”
for ever.

I now proceed, my Lord, to
the immediate object of the pre-
sent letter.—

On Feb. 22, the *London Ga-
zette* announced your Lordship
as being returned to serve in
Parliament for the borough of
Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight,
in the room of RICHARD WELLES-
LEY, Esq. who had accepted the
Chiltern Hundreds; and on the
27th, your Lordship made your
maiden speech in the House, on
the first reading of the Habeas
Corpus Suspension Bill, which
you concluded, by imploring the
House to pass that Bill without
delay, *because you venerated the
principles of the Revolution of
1688!* Now, unless your Lord-
ship's veneration for those prin-
ciples be imaginary, which is
very possible, considering *how*
you have shown that veneration,
you will be glad to be reminded,
that one of the principles of the
Revolution, one of the ten *condi-
tions* for continuing the succes-
sion to the throne in the present
line, is, “That no person who has
“any office under the King, or
“receives a pension from the
“Crown, shall be capable of
“serving as a Member of the
“House of Commons;” and in
conformity to that principle, you
will, as you are serving in the
House of Commons, resign your
office of Lord Advocate of Scot-
land, or immediately vacate your
seat, and go back to Scotland.

That your Lordship might not
be without other reasons for va-
cating your seat in the House
of Commons, I gave in the *last
Register*, as a specimen of the
representation of the People in
that House, an account of the re-
presentation of the borough of

Gatton, in the county of Surry; and now, my Lord, lest your legal studies should have interfered with your *Parliamentary* inquiries, I will furnish you with some account of the representation for the city and county of EDINBURGH; from which city, leaving your duty as a Crown Lawyer, you come to try your hand with us, as a practising Legislator.

EDINBURGH CITY.

The Corporation is as follows:—

The Provost	1
The Baillies	4
The Dean of Guild	1
The Treasurer	1
The <i>old</i> Provost	1
The <i>old</i> Baillies	4
The <i>old</i> Dean of Guild	1
The <i>old</i> Treasurer	1
The Merchant Counsellors . . .	3
The Trades Counsellors	2
The ordinary Council Deacons	6
The extraordinary Ditto	8

These are the Voters 33

There are two persons called *patrons*, or MANAGERS of this city, namely, the *Duke of Buccleugh*, and Mr. DUNDAS, of Ar-niston; and these two patrons, and the 33 persons above mentioned as the corporation, *manage* to elect a representative for the *sixty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-eight* inhabitants, whom the said inhabitants have no more voice in electing, than they have in electing the Pope of Rome. The Member who has the honour to be the choice of the 33 *free and independent* Members of the Corporation of Edinburgh, is the Right Hon. W. DUNDAS, cousin of Lord Viscount MELVILLE, and

Keeper of the Signet in Scotland!

EDINBURGH COUNTY

Sends one Member to Parliament. The population of the county is *one hundred and twenty-two thousand nine hundred and fifty-four* persons, of whom, *thirty-four*, only, are voters; the county is under the *patronage* of the *Duke of Buccleugh*.

There appears to be some weight in an insinuation of the *Morning Chronicle*, that the *Scots* Members were unwilling to vacate, for a *sinecure* to which *no salary* is attached, in favour of your Lordship; you take your seat for the following borough:—

YARMOUTH (*Isle of Wight*.) According to Mr. OLDFIELD'S *Representative History*, this borough, which has 343 inhabitants, which contains only 72 houses, cottages included, and sends *two* Members to Parliament, has never, for more than half a century, had more than one solitary voter resident in the place. It has a Corporation, consisting of a Mayor, and 12 capital Burgesses, who have power to make any number of free burgesses, and who have altogether the choice of the two Members, the Mayor being the returning officer. The *influence* over this Corporation was for many years contested between the late Lord HOLMES, and the late JERVOISE CLARKE JERVOISE, Esq. and the LEIGH family, of North Court, in the Isle of Wight, to whom Mr. JERVOISE'S lady was related. At last, a *compromise* took place, by which it was agreed, that a great number of free burgesses should be *disfranchised*, which was accordingly

done; that *each* party should thenceforth name *one* Member; and to *keep the interests even*, whenever a capital burgess should die, the side to which he belonged should immediately nominate another person to be a free burgess, and then make him capital. This *compromise* continued till the last general election; and after the death of Mr. JERVOISE, each party returned a Member. The late Sir HENRY WORSLEY HOLMES is said to have purchased the interest of his successor, and his son now nominates *both* Members. Since the Corporation has fallen under the *CONTRUL* of a *single patron*, it has become the *policy* to have the number of electors as low as possible, and for that purpose, to make no more *free* burgesses; so that the electors of the *TWO* Members are now reduced to thirteen.

The *show* of election in such a place as this—the *show* of election in Edinburgh city by 33 electors, and in Edinburgh county by 34 electors, is whimsical enough; but the consequences of *sixty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-eight* inhabitants of the first city in Scotland, being *represented* by a man sent to Parliament by 33 men, only, and that under the *patronage* of a peer, and another person; and the consequences of the 343 beggarly inhabitants of the rotten borough of *Yarmouth*, being *represented* by *TWO* Members, sent to Parliament, elected by 13 men, upon such 13 men being ordered so to do by their *patron*, Sir LEONARD TROUGHEAR WORSLEY HOLMES; the consequences of such practices cannot be thought on, by

an honest man, without deep indignation. The city of *Edinburgh* sends us the Scottish Keeper of the Signet; whilst the borough of *Yarmouth* sends us the Scottish Lord Advocate, and the Irish Advocate General; for your Lordship, and JOHN LESLIE FOSTER, Esq. King's Advocate General in Ireland, are worthily associated, as Members for the same place; which place, if what is stated be correct, would, upon the nomination of its patron, as *freely and independently* return the INDIAN JUGGLERS to represent them; as Mr. LESLIE FOSTER, and your Lordship.

To understand how, and also *why* your Lordship came into Parliament, is very easy; and it is as easy to see that you will not quit it till you have completed your work there. Your first speaking in the House was with the first reading of the *Habeas Suspension Bill*, and your next upon its final reading, when you strenuously supported a clause against the liberty of the subject in Scotland, because, “in 1715, 1722, and 1745, the Law Officers who then sat in that House, meant to put the People of Scotland *out of the pale of the law* as much as the People of England;” but which clause the House of Commons, even the House of Commons as it is now constituted, rejected, and sent the Bill back to the Lords without it. When I heard your Lordship's support of the *Habeas Suspension Bill*, I involuntarily exclaimed, whilst looking at you from the gallery of the House, “for this he was *ordained*.” Was I mistaken, my Lord?

On the 10th of March, I find

your Lordship stating it to be "your firm conviction, that of the *classes* of the People of Scotland capable of forming a correct judgment on the subject, nine-tenths did not wish for any change in the *representation* of that country in Parliament. In evidence of this was the fact, that no Petition had come to that House from the *landed interest*, from any *corporate body*, from the *Commissioners of Supply*, or from any meeting of *freeholders*—that you thought Scotland *satisfactorily* represented in that House—you had heard nothing to shake your opinion—that the representation was *satisfactory*—that the number of electors had increased in some counties, and that the number was *very SERIOUSLY* increasing!"

Mr. BOSWELL observed that there had not been a single *Petition* presented in favour of Reform from the landholders of Scotland, all of whom who were freeholders voted for the counties. They had expressed no dissatisfaction at the present mode of representation. Several *Petitions* from insignificant places in Scotland, praying for Reform, had *wandered up to London like foundlings*, and had got into the hands of certain Noble and Honourable Members, who did not know one of their subscribers."

Mr. DOUGLAS maintained that the *WISER* part of the People of Scotland were so apprehensive of the dangers which might result from meddling with the existing system of representation, that they had serious thoughts of *petitioning* Par-

liament against any alteration!"

I beg your Lordship's excuse for five words which I am about to say—I do not believe Mr. DOUGLAS. I believe it possible that some *foolish* men in Scotland may be stimulated to petition against Reform; I believe it possible that some *knaveish* men in Scotland may do so; but I believe it *unlikely* that even knaves or fools will do it very readily; and I am certain, not only that "the *WISER* part of the People of Scotland" will never do it; but that they never had, nor ever will have, "serious thoughts" respecting Reform in the Representation of Scotland, except for the purpose of promoting it with all their power. I have never conversed with any of "the *WISER* part of the People of Scotland," in this country, who have not hailed Reform in the representation of Scotland, as one of the greatest blessings that can be extended to her; but I have seldom talked at all upon Reform to any Scotsman, who I suspected to have an itching after the good things in the gift of Ministers, or their underlings; knowing well that the least inclination thitherward would obstruct all right feeling towards the true interests of his country.

Mr. DOUGLAS represents the five Royal boroughs of *ANVAN, Dumfries, Kircudbright, Lochmaben, and Sanguenhar*, in Scotland. The number of voters who return him is FIVE! The Marquis of Queensbury is *patron* of the five! Mr. DOUGLAS is his brother! I do not wonder that Mr. DOUGLAS is contented: he, I dare affirm, will never be a dis-

contented man—it may be pretty well guessed who the 'WISER' sort of People are in Scotland, that have thoughts of petitioning *against Reform*; but it should not be forgotten, that, only five days before Mr. DOUGLAS made this *wise* speech, the *Morning Chronicle* says, "Mr. DOUGLAS "STEWART presented a petition "from the *Burgesses* and other "inhabitants of the Royal borough of *Annan*, for Parliamentary Reform. The Petition "was *very numerously signed*, and "the signatures were *very respectable*"—this is from one of the five boroughs Mr. DOUGLAS represents.

The '*wiser*' part of the People of Scotland, indeed! Who can help estimating, Mr. DOUGLAS, at a moderate rate? I have a desire to know by what rule Mr. DOUGLAS would classify his countrymen: property and rank, I presume, constitute his 'measure of value.' Were I to produce to him a man who, by gradually subverting individual prejudice, and loosening leading interests, would narrow the sources of want and suffering, and whose perceptions and usefulness, not limiting improvement to one nation, or the present generation, would provide happiness for all; such a man, placed by the side of a *Noble Lord* in office, with a blue ribbon, would obtain little more of Mr. DOUGLAS's regard, I presume, than the said Lord's footman. And should it so happen, that the Noble Lord might do himself the honour to take Mr. DOUGLAS's opinion upon the most effectual mode of extending ministerial influence, and for ever preventing Reform in Scotland;

and if the first described person stood in the way of the intended measure, and there should be a necessity for one of them being a candidate for the merciful consideration of the RECORDER of London, can there be a doubt which of the two it ought to be; or, if left to Mr. DOUGLAS, or your Lordship, which of the two it would be?

Mr. ALEXANDER BOSWELL, the Gentleman who talked of Petitions having wandered up from Scotland like foundlings, *represents* the following borough:—

PLYMPTON EARLE (*Devonshire*). The number of voters are about 40; and Mr. OLDFIELD, in his *Representative History*, affirms, that they are created by 9 men, all non-residents; and who have no more concern with the borough than they have with the city of Constantinople! The *patrons* are the Earl of MOUNT EDGECUMBE, and PAUL TREBY TREBY, Esq. The Aldermen, or *freemen-makers*, are the 2 patrons; their 2 attornies; a relation to Mr. TREBY, living at Cornwall; the Mayor, resident in Cornwall; a Clergyman resident in Cornwall; and the Receiver-General of the Land-Tax for Cornwall. One is vacant.

Really, my Lord, it is uncommonly amusing for Mr. BOSWELL to talk against Reform—for Mr. BOSWELL, with the 40 electors clapped upon his back, like so many *leeches*, by the 9 *freemen-makers* of Plympton, "who have "no more concern with the borough, than with the city of "Constantinople"—his speaking against Reform, is as edifying as some of the stories his father has told *against himself*, in his Life

of Dr. JOHNSON; and of whom one anecdote is related to this effect.—JOHNSON'S roughness occasioned him to be compared to a mastiff. BOSWELL, who was JOHNSON'S spaniel, heard this, and carried it to him. "Doctor, they say you are a *great dog!*" "Aye, aye," growled JOHNSON. "Do you know what they say of you, Bozzy?"—"No, Doctor."—"Why, they say that you are a *tin kettle tied to my tail!*" Your Lordship does not fly out less than the Dector. You are to the full as great a mastiff against the People; and a man cannot be hanged for calling *young Bozzy* a tin canister tied to your Lordship's tail.

But your Lordship is surprised that Petitions for Reform do not come from *corporate bodies!* from *Commissioners of Supply!* from *respectable inhabitants!* No, no, my Lord; you are not surprised; you know that *these* are what the Marquis of QUEENSBURY'S brother, mistaking property for respectability, and grey-headed abuse for wisdom, would call, "the *wiser* part of the People—having serious thoughts of petitioning *against* Reform;" *these* are the gentlemen, who, the moment Reform looked a little serious, would cry out, with the shrine makers, "the *craft* is in danger;" *these* men—like Mr. DOUGLAS, with his *five* chartered votes—are very well *contented*; *they* want no such change, as we would give them; they would petition *against* Reform, as the commissioners, and assessors, and surveyors, and clerks, and collectors of the Property Tax, petitioned against the repeal of that Tax; *they* prefer *riding* their

countrymen, to walking with them; their policy is grounded on the vulgar saying of, "I don't care who goes a foot, so that I am drawn in a coach and four." Why, my Lord, *this shuffling can last but a little while*; a system founded on trickery, and pure selfishness, and decaying the faster for every new shift, is nearly out, by extinction of time. Your Lordship, the representative of the rotten borough of Yarmouth; Mr. DOUGLAS, and his five royal burghs of Scotland; and Mr. BOSWELL, and his nine *freemen-makers* of Plympton, "who have no more concern with Plympton, than with Constantinople;" you three gentlemen, I recommend to learn by heart a sentiment from an extraordinary work, published this week, in French, purporting to be Memoirs of the Political Life of NAPOLEON, written by himself. "Nothing," says the author, "proceeds rightly in a political system, in which words disagree with things. The government is degraded by the daily duplicity it practises. It falls into that contempt which awaits every thing false; because whatever is false, is feeble. *It is besides no longer possible to play double in politics; nations have been too long acquainted with public affairs, and the newspapers tell them too much, for that now to be done.*" This man, whether ruling Europe from an imperial throne, or hurled as from the crater of a volcano, upon a barren rock, in the midst of the sea, seems destined to be the means of teaching counselors wisdom, and directing nations how to live. It is said, that experience makes fools wise; I

do not believe it. Once a fool, and a fool for ever. The wise, only, will profit by instruction and example; and the evidence of wisdom in your Lordship and your colleagues, will be, your at once dismissing all duplicity, and acknowledging that the science of government is as well understood by the *governed*, as the *governors*. But I must leave NAPOLEON and the fresh gales from *St. Helena*, for closer communication with your Lordship and the stagnating Corruption of our system at home.

So long ago as the year 1742, Lord CHESTERFIELD, speaking of the rotten boroughs, said "Many of them are now so much the creatures of the crown, that they are generally called court-boroughs, and very properly they are called so. For our Ministers for the time being have always the nomination of their representatives, and make such an arbitrary use of it, that they often order them to choose gentlemen whom they never saw, nor heard of, perhaps, till they saw their names on the Minister's order for choosing them. These orders they always punctually obey, and would, I suppose, obey them, were the person named in them the Minister's footman, then actually wearing his livery. For they have, we know, chosen men, who have but very lately thrown the livery off from their backs; but never can throw it off from their minds."

Such was the language of Lord CHESTERFIELD, with regard to *borough representation*, 76 years ago; about which period Lord CARTERET, remarking on the frequent votes of credit, and applications to Parliament, to pay off

debts on the Civil List, said, in his place in the House of Lords, "Our pretences to liberty will, I fear, in a short time, become as much the ridicule of foreigners as our late conduct has already rendered our pretences to the holding of the balance of power in Europe. I was confirmed in this opinion by a question lately put to me by a French Nobleman. He was a man of good sense, and yet he one day seriously asked me, what difference there was between the Parliament of England, and the Parliaments they have in France? I readily answered, and I hope I had some ground for saying, that in France the King makes their laws or edicts, and their Parliaments must comply with whatever the King desires; but in England, our laws are made by King and Parliament, and our Parliaments may refuse to comply with whatever the King desires. To which he as readily replied: In your late history, we read of several extraordinary messages or demands sent by your King to his Parliament, *no one of which was ever refused*; and pray, where is the difference between an edict made by the King, and an edict made by King and Parliament, if the Parliament never refuses what the king is pleased to demand? for our Parliaments claim the privilege of refusing as well as yours; and if a trial were to be made, such a refusal might perhaps be found as insignificant in England, as it now appears to be in France. This I am apt to believe, my Lords, is the way of thinking in other countries, as well as France."

Against the causes and consequences of the present system,

the Petitions of the People have been directed, and must still be directed. If, as Sir ROBERT WILSON affirms to be probable, a NEW WAR takes place (See last *Register*, p. 249), then is retribution heavy upon us, for our national misdeeds:—we are likely to be lost as a country. Nothing can avert the calamity of national degradation, but PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, and no language or argument used out of or in the House of Commons, can be honest or true, which would persuade that House not to reform itself, or which would induce the People to relax in petitioning for Reform.

The Members of the House of Commons, when proceeding to extremities, formerly had the truth forced upon them, and were compelled to hear the voice of the People. In 1701, *the House having proceeded against the sense of the People*, a Petition from Kent was presented, lamenting the divisions in the kingdom; and, amongst other things, recommending to the Hon. House *attention to the sense of the People*. Instead of this, the House voted the Petition scandalous, insolent, and seditious; and ordered the gentlemen presenting it to be taken into custody: whereupon, a letter was sent to the Speaker, which began thus:—

“Gentlemen, it were to be wished you were men of that temper, and possessed of so much honour, as to bear with the truth, though it be against you, especially from us, who have so much right to tell it to you: But since even Petitions to you from your masters (for such are the People who choose you) are so haughtily received as with the committing the

authors to illegal custody; you must give us leave to give you this fair notice of your misbehaviour. If you think fit to rectify your errors, you will do well, and possibly may hear no more of us; but if not, assure yourselves the nation will not long hide their resentments. And though there are no stated proceedings to bring you to your duty, yet the great law of reason says, and all nations allow, that whatever power is above law, is burdensome and tyrannical, and may be reduced by extra-judicial methods,” &c.

In this language, my Lord, the House of Commons was addressed 117 years ago, as your Lordship will find, on referring to the Debates; and the practice of REMONSTRATING, when Ministers or Parliament proceed in ignorance, or against the sense of the People, is both just and necessary. It was well and truly said by Mr. Pitt, in the year 1741, that “Gentlemen who are in office seldom converse with any but such as are in office, and such men, let them think what they will, always applaud the conduct of their superiors; consequently, gentlemen who are in the administration, or in any office under it, can rarely know what is the voice of the People. The voice of this House was formerly, I shall grant, and always ought to be, the voice of the People. If new Parliaments were more frequent, and few placemen, and no pensioners, admitted, it would be so still; but if long Parliaments be continued, and a corrupt influence should prevail, not only at elections, but in this House, the voice of the House will generally be very different, nay, often directly contrary to the voice of the People.”

Mr. WALTER FAWKES, my Lord, in his *Englishman's Manual*, ably combats the notion, that Parliamentary Corruption is essential to the welfare of the Crown. He says,—

1. If William III., who had not influence sufficient in Parliament to carry *his own personal measures*;
2. If he, who was *ten years* in getting a *civil list* settled upon him for life;
3. If he, who was compelled to *revoke* a grant, made to his favourite, Bentinck: and to send away a regiment of Dutchmen, “the companions of his victories,” whom he more than once importuned the House of Commons to suffer him to retain;
4. If he who was not always soothed by flattery, but much oftener mortified by the language of *expostulation and remonstrance*;
5. If he, who devoid of all prior claim, had the diadem placed upon his brow, *upon certain terms imposed by his People*;

If he, if William III. with all these disadvantages, sat securely on his throne, I say you insult your first Magistrate, by sending abroad an idea, that undue influence is now necessary; by maintaining that he cannot exercise the high prerogatives with which the Constitution has invested him, without *bribing* and *corrupting* the Representatives of the People.

“It has been the invariable policy of a certain party in this country,” Mr. FAWKES observes, “to represent the *French Revolution*, and all the mischievous effects resulting from it, as the consequences of *attempts* at Reform. It is, however, a truth

that cannot be too deeply impressed on the minds of sovereigns and nations, that the French Revolution itself had its origin in the want of a timely Reform; in the delay of Reform, till it came with a *vengeance*.—There is danger, great and imminent danger, in rulers of a nation hearing the call for Reform with averted ears. That stubborn selfishness, which relies on the strong arm of power, to bear out its hateful usurpations, may endanger the peace and happiness of a country. But the affections of the human heart must be inverted, before concessions irritate, or a redress of public grievances excite public discontent. If salutary truths be scorned on the one hand, extravagant projects will be indulged on the other.”

The excellent Lord GROSVENOR, in the House of Lords (11th March), agreeing with the sentiments expressed by Mr. WALTER FAWKES, observed, that “it was in vain to say that the French Revolution was brought about by clubs and societies, like those against which the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was intended to operate; or to talk about the high and palmy state of the French monarchy. The fact was, that the Revolution was brought about by the general dissoluteness of manners in that country, and by the despotism of the Government!”

“Early Reformations,” says BURKE, “are amicable arrangements with a *friend in power*; late Reformations, are terms imposed upon a *conquered enemy*. Early Reformations are made in cold blood; late Reformations are made in a state of inflammation.

In that state of things, the People see nothing in Government that is respectable. They see the *abuse*, but they will see nothing else. They fall into the temper of a furious populace, provoked at the disorder of a House of ill-fame—they never attempt to correct—they go to work the shortest way—they abate the nuisance; but they *pull down the House.*”

LORD BOLINGBROKE, a great statesman, an authority of much weight on the *constitution* of the two Houses of Parliament, and the *Corruption of the House of Commons*, I had occasion to quote before (See *Register*, No. 7. p. 213); yet I must once more recur to that eminent person's sentiments, committed to writing 80 years ago. Your Lordship's recollection will be refreshed, and Lord BOLINGBROKE's opinions rendered familiar to persons for whom the perusal of this Letter is also designed, and who will be likely to remember them better than your Lordship. I earnestly entreat patience in reading the ensuing columns, and bespeak serious and undivided reflection upon them afterwards:—

LORD BOLINGBROKE observes, that at THE REVOLUTION (in 1688), pleased that the open attacks on our Constitution were defeated and prevented, men entertained no thought of the *secret* attacks that might be carried on against the *independency of Parliaments*; as if our dangers could be but of *one kind*, and could arise but from *one family*. Soon after the Revolution, indeed, men of all sides, and of all denominations (for it was not a party-cause, though it was endeavoured to be made such), began to perceive not only that *nothing effectual had been done to hinder the undue*

influence of the Crown in elections, and an over-balance of the creatures of the Court in Parliament; but that *the means of exercising such an influence, at the will of the Crown, were unawares and insensibly increased, and every day increasing*. In a word, they began to see that *the foundations were laid of giving as great power to the Crown indirectly, as the prerogative, which they had formerly dreaded so much, could give directly*; and of ESTABLISHING UNIVERSAL CORRUPTION! Whenever this happens (says his Lordship), *when- ever the independency of the two Houses of PARLIAMENT, and the uninfluenced and uninfluenceable FREEDOM of ELECTIONS*, are once effectually secured against the dangers that may arise possibly hereafter from the growth of CORRUPTION; then will all our future Kings be reduced to the *agreeable necessity* of establishing their thrones, as we are obliged to acknowledge that the throne is now established, not on the narrow and sandy foundations of Court-craft, and unconstitutional expedients, but on the popularity of the prince, and the universal affection of the subjects; foundations of the kingly authority so evidently supposed by our Constitution, that a King, who will add weight to his sceptre, must govern by them, or govern against this Constitution, against the very rule of his government.

His Lordship inquires, What a Prince can desire more, than to be placed at the head of an united People; among whom he may have as many friends as he pleases, and can have no enemies, unless he creates them, by supposing them to be such, and by treating them accordingly? If the designs of a Prince, in fomenting the divisions, are to invade the liberties of his People, his designs are laid in the utmost iniquity; and if these are not his designs, they must be laid in the utmost folly. When a People submits quietly to government,

and is willing to obey *on the terms* on which alone their Prince hath a right to command, how extravagant must his demands be, and how unaccountable his conduct, to divide such a People! *Shall he expect, for instance, that ALL his People should think like HIM and HIS COUNCIL, about every occurrence, about every measure he takes, and every man he employs; and since this is too much to ask of FREEMEN, nay, of slaves, if his expectation be not answered, shall he form a lasting division upon such transient motives? Shall he proscribe every man, as an enemy to his Government, who dislikes the administration of it? Proscriptions are abominable, and inhuman, when they are backed by a fulness of arbitrary power. But to hang up the tables of proscription, without the power of sending centurions to cut off every head that wears a face disliked at Court, would be madness in a Prince. Such a conduct cannot suit his interest, however it may his passions, in any circumstance whatever.*

It is certain (his Lordship observes), that if ever such men as call themselves *friends to the Government*, but are real enemies of the Constitution, prevail, they will make it a capital point of their wicked policy to keep up a **STANDING ARMY**. False appearances of reason for it will never be wanting. But nothing can be proved more manifestly by experience than these two propositions; that Britain is enabled, by her situation, to support her Government, *when the bulk of her People are for it*, without employing any means inconsistent with her Constitution; and that the bulk of the People are not only always for the Government, when the Government supports the Constitution, but *are ever hard and slow to be detached from it, when the Government attacks or undermines the Constitution, and when they are by consequence both justified in resisting, and even obliged in conscience to resist the Government.*

Notwithstanding what hath been said, I (says Lord BOLINGBROKE) do not imagine that an army would be employed by these men, directly and *at first*, against the nation, and national liberty. To destroy British liberty with an army of Britons, is not a measure so sure of success, as some people may believe. To corrupt the Parliament is a slower, but might prove a more effectual method, and 2 or 300 mercenaries in the two Houses, if they could be listed there, would be more fatal to the Constitution, than ten times as many thousands in red and blue out of them. Parliaments are the true guardians of liberty. For this principally they were instituted; and this is the principal article of that great and noble trust which the collective body of the People of Britain reposes in the representative. But then *no slavery can be so effectually brought and fixed upon us, as PARLIAMENTARY SLAVERY*. By the **CORRUPTION** of PARLIAMENT, and the absolute influence of a King, or his Minister, on the two Houses, we return into that state, to deliver or secure us from which Parliaments were instituted, and are really governed by the arbitrary will of one man. *Our whole Constitution is at once dissolved*. Many securities to liberty are provided; but the integrity which depends on the freedom and the independency of Parliament, is the keystone that keeps the whole together. If this be shaken, our Constitution totters. If it be quite removed, our Constitution falls into ruin. That noble fabric, the pride of Britain, the envy of her neighbours, raised by the labour of so many centuries, repaired at the expense of so many millions, and cemented by such a profusion of blood; that noble fabric, I say, which was able to resist the united efforts of so many races of giants, may be demolished by a race of pigmies. The **INTEGRITY OF PARLIAMENT** is a kind of pædium, a tutelary goddess, who pro-

fects our State. When she is once removed, we may become the prey of any enemies. But I need not dwell any longer on this subject. There is no man, who thinks at all, can fail to see the several fatal consequences which will necessarily flow from this one source, whenever it shall be opened. If the reason of the thing does not strike him enough, experience must. The single reign of Henry VIII. will serve to show that no tyranny can be more severe than that which is exercised by a concert with Parliament; that arbitrary will may be made the sole rule of Government, even whilst the names and forms of a free Constitution are preserved; that for a Prince, or his Minister, to become our tyrant, there is no need to abolish Parliaments; there is no need that he, who is master of one part of the legislature, should endeavour to abolish the other two, when he can use, upon every occasion, the united strength of the whole; there is no need that he should be a tyrant in the gross, when he can be so in detail, nor in name, when he can be so in effect; that for Parliaments to establish tyranny, there is no need therefore to repeal Magna Charta, or any other of the great supports of our liberty. It is enough if they put themselves corruptly and servilely under the influence of such a Prince, or such a Minister. In the possible case here supposed, *the first and principal object will be TO DESTROY THE CONSTITUTION, under pretence of preserving the Government, by CORRUPTING OUR PARLIAMENTS.* I am the better founded in concluding that this may happen in *some future age*, by what we may observe in our own. There is surely but too much reason to suspect that the enemies of our Constitution *may attempt hereafter to govern BY CORRUPTION*, when we hear and see the friends and advocates of our present *most incorrupt Minister* [Sir ROBERT WALPOLE] harangue and

scribble in favour of corruption; when it is pleaded for and recommended, as a necessary expedient of Government, by some men, of all ranks and orders; not only by professed hirelings, who write that they may eat; but by men who have talked and written themselves already out of their native obscurity and penury, by affecting zeal in the cause of liberty; not only by such as these, but by men whose birth, education, and fortune, aggravate their crime and their folly; by men whom honour at least should restrain from favouring so dishonourable a cause; and by men whose peculiar obligations to preach up morality should restrain them at least from being the preachers of an immorality, above all others, abominable in its nature, and pernicious in its effects.

Lord BOLINGBROKE, writing as though he lived in our days, says, that some men are ready to tell us that the **INFLUENCE** *they plead for, is necessary to strengthen the hands of those who govern*; that **CORRUPTION** *serves to OIL the wheels of Government*, and to render the administration more smooth and easy; and that it can never be of dangerous consequence under the present father of our country. Absurd and wicked triflers! According to them, our excellent Constitution is no better than a jumble of incompatible powers, which would separate and fall to pieces of themselves, unless restrained and upheld by such honourable methods as those of **BRIBERY** and **CORRUPTION**.

With the sentiment of a true Patriot, Lord BOLINGBROKE exclaims, Whatever happens in the various course of human contingencies, whatever be the fate of particular persons, of houses, or families, let the liberties of Great Britain be immortal! They will be so, if that Constitution, whose genuine effects they are, be maintained in purity and vigour. A perpetual attention to this great point, is there-

fore the interest and duty of every man in Britain ; and there is scarce any man, who may not contribute to the advancement of it in some degree. The old may inform the young, and the young may animate the old. Even they, who are most retired from the scene of business, may be useful in this cause, to those who are in it ; to those who are heated by the action, distracted by the cares, or dissipated by the pleasures of the world. I say, they may be useful ; and I add, that they ought to be so to the utmost that their situation allows. *Government* is the business of those who are appointed to govern, and of those who are appointed to control them. But the *British Constitution* is the business of every Briton.

The Peers of the Realm, he observes, can, the Commons cannot, assemble in their *collective* body, without exceeding those numbers, amongst whom, the quiet, order, decency, and solemnity of a senate may be preserved. The Peers therefore sit in Parliament in their collective, the Commons in their representative body. The Peers have an *inherent*, the Commons a *delegated* right. The Peers are therefore accountable for their conduct, as all other men are, to God, to their own consciences, to the tribunal of public fame, and to no other. But the *Commons* are accountable to another tribunal, as well as to these ; to that of *their Constituents*, before which they must frequently appear, according to the *true* intent of our Constitution ; to have a censure, or approbation, passed on their conduct, by the refusal or grant of new powers to the particular Members. Thus the collective body of the People of Great Britain DELEGATE,

but do not give up,---*TRUST*, but do not alienate their *RIGHT* and their *POWER*, and cannot be undone, by having beggary or slavery brought upon them, unless they co-operate to their own undoing, and in one word betray themselves.

We cannot therefore subscribe to those two sayings of my Lord Bacon, which are quoted to this effect ; that England can never be undone, unless by Parliaments ; and that there is nothing which a Parliament cannot do. Great Britain, according to our present Constitution, cannot be undone by Parliaments ; for *there is something which a Parliament cannot do. A Parliament cannot ANNUL the Constitution* ; and whilst that is preserved, though our condition may be bad, it cannot be irretrievably so. The Legislative is a *supreme*, and may be called, in one sense, an *absolute*, but in none, an *arbitrary* power. It is limited to the public good of the society. It is a power, that hath no other end but preservation, and therefore can never have a right to destroy, enslave, or designedly to impoverish the subject ; for the obligations of the law of nature cease not in society, &c. (See LOCKE, on Government.) If you therefore put so extravagant a case, as to suppose the two Houses of Parliament concurring to make at once a formal cession of their own rights and privileges, and of those of the whole nation, to the Crown, and ask who hath the right, and the means, to resist the *supreme legislative power* ; I answer, *THE WHOLE NATION* hath the *RIGHT* ; and a *People*, who deserve to enjoy liberty, will find the *MEANS*. An attempt of this kind would break the *BARGAIN* between the King and the

Nation, between the REPRESENTATIVE and COLLECTIVE BODY OF THE PEOPLE, and would DISSOLVE THE CONSTITUTION. From hence it follows, that the nation, which hath a right to *preserve* this Constitution, hath a right to *resist* an attempt, that *leaves no other means* of preserving it, but those of RESISTANCE. From hence it follows, that *if the CONSTITUTION was actually DISSOLVED, as it would be, by such an attempt of the three estates, THE PEOPLE would return to their ORIGINAL, their NATURAL RIGHT, the right of RESTORING THE SAME CONSTITUTION, or of MAKING A NEW ONE.* No power on earth could claim any right of IMPOSING a Constitution upon them; and less than any, THAT KING, THOSE LORDS, AND THOSE COMMONS, who, having been INTRUSTED TO PRESERVE, HAVE DESTROYED THE FORMER!

REFORM MUST COME, my Lord. *That CORRUPTION, which the vicious and the dissolute support—which bad men cling to—which temporising men palliate—which good men condemn—which honest men execrate—and which all wise men would abolish—it requires nothing but courage and perseverance to subvert; and therefore I say, my Lord, Reform must come, and CORRUPTION will fall.*

There is no safety for this nation, whilst ignorant and bad men bear the rule—for they undermine our liberties. There is no safety for the Sovereign—for they

endanger his throne, which is founded on our liberties. Arbitrary and unfeeling, they reject *all* proposals for Reform—all legislative measures for abolishing either sinecures or *useless* places. In the insolence of their power, they oppress us with severe statutes—in the wantonness of impunity, they answer our supplications for relief, by taking away the only security of our persons from imprisonment, when they choose to throw us into dungeons. And, as if rioting in the very contemplation of being able to render the life of a victim, miserable from his helplessness, still more miserable, by a knowledge of the sufferings he may endure during his helplessness, they refused to enact, on the proposition of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, that the wife or children of their prisoner should be permitted, *by an order of the Secretary of State, to see him!*—they refused to enact on behalf of such prisoner, that he should not be deprived of the means of petitioning the King, or either House of Parliament!—they refused to enact that he should not be loaded with irons!—they refused to enact that he should not be shut up in any damp unwholesome place!—and they refused to enact that he should have air, warmth, and exer-

cise necessary for the preservation of his life!

This, my Lord, *you* know to be true. *You* were in the House of Commons on the night the clause was tendered and rejected—it was on the final passing of the Bill. I have a blush of shame for humanity on my cheek, my Lord, which will rekindle and burn, if I ever suffer the foul disgrace of hearing one creature, who sanctioned the rejection of *that* clause, called by the name of *man*—if called *Briton*, and so recognized by Britons—then, to such of my countrymen I say—

—————“your breath I hate

As reek o' the rotten fens, your loves I prize

As the dead carcases of unburied men,
That do corrupt my air.”

Such anticipations overwhelm the heart.

I am, my Lord, &c.

WILLIAM HONE.

Friday, 21st March, 1817.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I have a long arrear of Acknowledgments to Correspondents, which I cannot now individually mention; generally, however, I must say, that information duly authenticated I shall be glad to receive; but that which is not authenticated, or which I am not furnished with easy means of authenticating, it is not in my power to use in the *Register*.

I entreat Mr. CAPEL LOFFT's indulgence, until my next or following Number.

JUSTUS, with whom I have had the pleasure of communicating, I am constrained, against my wish, to defer for one week—and no longer.

I am much obliged by Gentlemen who have kindly transmitted me Country Newspapers, and return them my thanks.

I beg to inform Country Inquirers, who desire to have the *Reformists' Register*, that they should give their orders for it to Country Booksellers, most of whom have usually a parcel of various publications every week from their agents in town, and these town agents will procure and forward the *Register*, in their weekly parcels, regularly; but Booksellers, and persons in the country, who take the *Reformists' Register* to sell again, may have them forwarded in any way they point out, by remitting with the order, or appointing payment by some person in London, at stated periods.

W. H.

TO READERS.

THE REFORMISTS' REGISTER will, every *half-year*, have a TITLE-PAGE, with a COMPLETE INDEX of reference to its contents, and bind up into a Volume, as large in size as a Volume of the best edition of Hume's History of England, or Gibbon's Rome. But a volume of the REGISTER will contain more than double the quantity contained in a volume of these works, and be at *one half* the price; so that the Reader will have, at the end of every year, TWO VOLUMES, abounding with sound political information, on subjects in which he himself, and his children, and his country, are deeply interested; and the contents of these TWO VOLUMES, which he obtains by an easy purchase of *Two-pence a Week*, and which do not cost him NINE SHILLINGS, will be equal to the contents of *Four* volumes of Hume's History of England, which will cost *One Pound Twelve Shillings*.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER,

AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 10.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1817.

[Vol. I.

YORKSHIRE & CORNWALL

MEETINGS ;

AND

MR. CAPEL LOFFT ON REFORM.

Mr. WALTER FAWKES, and the YORKSHIRE MEETING—The Gag Committee—The 12 Noble Men of Yorkshire—Yorkshire Addressers, a Century ago—Letter from a Yorkshire Bookseller—CORNWALL MEETING—Mr. RASHLEIGH'S admirable Speech, verbatim—Lord Cochrane going to South America—Alleged Departure of Mr. COBBETT, for America.

YORKSHIRE is, at this time, the scene of manly independence, and honest patriotism, struggling against notorious corruption, and narrow-hearted selfishness.

Mr. WALTER FAWKES, who, in these times of defection amongst the leaders of the People, and in the county of York in particular, stands as a high land-mark, pointing the right way to the bewildered—whose name I never write, or hear mentioned, without feelings of respect for his dauntless public virtue ; which, though

no effort of mine can equally impress upon those to whom I write, I cannot help expressing—this gentleman, whose expansive mind, stored with the old laws, and resting upon the *principles* of the Constitution, is employed but for his country's welfare—this excellent man has been amongst the most active of the independent gentlemen of Yorkshire, in endeavouring to obtain a meeting of that great and important county, to express its sense to Parliament on the present state of public affairs.

But the implicit confidence of noble minds, is a helpless, and almost pernicious quality, when the luke-warm and the half-hearted sit down with it in council. This the independent gentlemen of Yorkshire have already experienced. They now know that names are not worth having on the roll, if the men they belong to run away on the eve of battle ; and that though there is some difference between simple cowardice, and the crime of going over to the enemy, yet a deserter is three parts a traitor.

A nefarious delusion has been practised in Yorkshire, the effect of which, hitherto, has been to prevent the county from petitioning for relief. A requisition, with about eighty names, was presented by Mr. WALTER FAWKES, to the High Sheriff, for

such meeting. As soon as it was understood that the requisition was preparing, the Court party, well knowing what the sense of the county is, was instantly in motion to *keep down* the county. Regular clubs and combinations were formed, for the especial purpose of preventing the meeting from being held. The well-known arts of patronage and corruption were used, to render silent and inactive those who were at all likely to take part in the proceedings. The People themselves, whose hearts and good wishes were for the meeting, laughed the doings of their enemies to scorn, in the hope that they would be overcome; and they called them, the *keeper-downs*, and their central committee, the GAG COMMITTEE. This *Gag Committee* "had *branch Committees*, corresponding with it, and affiliated to it." It is not wonderful, therefore, that such an extensive and regular organization of illicit force should for a season prevail. By threatening and cajoling, and overawing and coaxing, some were terrified, and others, who had mixed with the leaders of the People, wheedled out of their good intention.

Common minds are hardly equal to withstand the half-earnest insinuation from a dinner-table friend, of, "If you do so and so, we must *cut*;" or the shocking refresher to the memory, that a relation who is in the Church, or that another in Place, or that one who wants to be in, or their wives, or cousins, will be eternally disobliged; and then comes in the old clench, of its "disturbing the peace of the family,

"and *doing no good besides*." Such manœuvring, dexterously shaped, and fortified by solemn stories, about a four-wheeled waggon, a tri-coloured flag, an old stocking, with a ha'porth of gunpowder, and three bullets and a half in the foot of it; how the tower *was* summoned, though the Lord Mayor says it was not—for the fellow that did it, hid himself behind a watch-box, and spoke in a low voice; how there certainly is *something* that's not yet found out, and perhaps never will be; and that its *proper* the hands of Government should be strengthened;—this sort of stuff, related with important gravity, duly amplified, and illustrated by reference to doubtful facts, and false consequences, drawn from the *French Revolution*, the very mention of which, alone, is enough to frighten the mind of a poor country gentleman from its propriety; this kind of conversation, with the offer of "*my advice*," immediately given, without waiting for, actually prevailed over some of the persons who had committed themselves with the requisitionists for a county meeting in Yorkshire; and it was *thought* expedient to withdraw the requisition from the High Sheriff, after it was presented.

The Reformists in Yorkshire have been deceived by hollow associates, by whom they will be deceived again, if they trust them again. Men, who *conceive* their interests to differ from the interest of the great mass of the People; who are fettered by connexion; who are liable to be terrified by groundless alarms; who are small about the heart, weak about the head, and

strong nowhere but in their property; such men never can be Reformists, never can be relied on by Reformists. Their presence is dangerous, their advice is useless, and their fears paralyze; they are the halt and the lame which encumber the march, and must go with the women and children amongst the baggage and lumber.

But, if in the outset, the gentlemen of Yorkshire have been out-flanked by the enemy, and betrayed by some in their own camp, they may yet accomplish their purpose to a great extent. There is a brave and gallant band still remaining, who are heart and hand with the People, and who, if supported by the People, will at least obtain a meeting of the *West Riding* of Yorkshire. I perceive the following names mentioned in the *Leeds Mercury*, as amongst the stout-hearted. They are a goodly dozen; and I cannot refuse my readers the pleasure of seeing them placed alphabetically on this page.

NOBLE MEN OF YORKSHIRE.

SIR GEORGE CALEY, of Brumpton.
 COL. COOKE, of Wheatley.
 ROOKES CROMPTON, Esq. of Esholt.
 B. DEALTRY, Esq. of Loftus.
 WALTER FAWKES, Esq. of Farnley.
 F. J. FOLJAMBE, Esq.
 B. HEYWOOD, Esq. of Stanley.
 F. MAUDE, Esq. of Wakefield.
 SIR W. PILKINGTON.
 DANIEL SYKES, Esq. of Raywell.
 G. TASBROUGH, Esq. of Burgwallis.
 THOMAS WYBERGH, Esq. of Linton
 Spring.

In the History of Addresses attributed to DANIEL DE FOE, but

which was written by JOHN OLD-MIXON,* the historian of the Stuarts, are some curious specimens of addresses from Yorkshire, all in favour of the ruling powers, whether Jacobites or Constitutionalists; and in particular in 1710, the High Sheriff, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Clergy, and Gentry, met at the assizes, at the city of York, together with the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, and several principal Inhabitants of the said city, and prepared an Address to Queen ANNE, commencing with, "We, your Majesty's "most dutiful and lawful subjects, in opposition to all your "enemies, beg leave in this public "manner to declare before God "and the world, that your Majesty is *by hereditary Right*, as "well as by legal establishment, "our lawful and rightful Queen, "and only supreme governor in "all causes, over all persons and "estates, spiritual and temporal; "and that it is *not lawful*, on "any pretence whatsoever, to "resist your Majesty." By such silly fulsomeness, the addressers declared their assent to the stupid doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, long ago happily exploded in theory, in all ages preached, but in no age or country observed, when contrary usage rendered resistance *necessary*; and these addressers further

* *The History of Addresses; by one very near a-kin to the Author of the Tale of a Tub*, 8vo. London, vol. 1, 1709, vol. 2, 1711. Mr. ALEX. CHALMERS, in the last edition of the *Biographical Dictionary*, 24 vol. 8vo. Art. DE FOE, says that DE FOE was the Author of this ingenious work—an error which he fell into when he published DE FOE's Life separately. OLDMIXON affirms that the History of Addresses was written by himself. See his *Memoirs of the Press*, 8vo. 1742, p. 7.

declared, what, in their highflying loyalty they actually forgot was not true, namely, that ANNE was an *hereditary* Queen; whereas, the *Chevalier* St. GEORGE, called the Pretender, was, in a *right line*, the heir to the throne, and actually put aside to make way for her; which said Pretender, the predecessors of the said addressers, "moved by the most ardent affection, profoundest duty, and truest interest, congratulated His Sacred Majesty King James II. and the three kingdoms' happiness in the birth of!" This style of addressing has been practised in Yorkshire, with similar grace and consistency, to the present period; so that it is surely time for Yorkshiremen to break the usage altogether, and to manifest that intellectual superiority in public affairs, which they are well known to exercise in private. I know that there are numerous obstacles to this; because, to mention no other, in many of the towns in Yorkshire, the inhabitants live in grievous bondage, as to their political liberty.

I have a letter before me, which I received a few weeks ago, from a respectable bookseller, in a large town in Yorkshire, exemplifying a state of dependency, to live under which, scarcely daring to whisper my own thoughts, I had "rather be a kitten, and cry mew!" He writes to me thus:—"I wish well to the cause, and I may say the *justness* of it, being fully convinced of the necessity of a Reform in the representation, which I think, as it now stands, is little better than mockery. *The PETITIONS have already done some good, but I*

fear the GREAT ROOT of all evil will be suffered to remain. WHIGS, as well as Tories, are BOROUGH-MONGERS; and it appears they are determined to remain so. There is hardly a more violent man in the House, against Reformers, than what Lord MILTON is, one of the representatives of this great and opulent county. Such is the high tone that our CORPORATE possesses, that it is highly dangerous, with regard to a tradesman, to hold opposite opinions. I have by no means hid my opinions under a bushel, but have espoused them upon the plan of a moderate Reform, such as triennial parliaments, &c. &c. As almost every man in large towns is a politician, so I give my opinion with others.—Say, when you send Lord Byron's Poems, if you have any other publication that has a speedy sale, that is not political, as it would be very injurious to me to offer any thing on that subject, except it supported Corruption!"

I pity this poor gentleman, from my heart. He will recognize his own letter in print, and will not be sorry, that having omitted his name and place of residence, I have let him relate his thralldom in his own words, to all the world. He points out the cause of it—the *Borough-mongering*. This is, as he says, the root of the evil; and hence it is, that WHIGS as well as Tories, being *Borough-mongers*, have interests in direct opposition to any Reform that will essentially benefit the People.

But even if the requisition for the Yorkshire Meeting had been

left with the High Sheriff, it is not certain that he would have called a meeting of the county. Mayors and Sheriffs sometimes exercise their *power* as if it conferred on them a *right* to do wrong. One of these Official Gentlemen, the High Sheriff of CORNWALL, has just "damned himself to everlasting fame." Let others follow his example, who envy him his feelings. A requisition was sent to this most important personage, for a meeting of the freeholders *and inhabitants* of the county; which meeting he refused to call, because he was required to summon the inhabitants as well as the freeholders. Such refusal, however, was of no consequence whatever; it was wholly immaterial whether the Chair was taken by the said Sheriff, or by some sensible gentleman appointed by the Meeting; and, above all, as the independent freeholders and inhabitants would as readily attend a meeting summoned by some of themselves, as if it were summoned by the Sheriff, a requisition, signed by eight Magistrates, and other gentlemen of the county, requested the freeholders and inhabitants to meet at *Bodmin*, on Tuesday, the 11th inst.; when a most respectable meeting was held, and EDWARD W. WYNNE PENDARVES, Esq. a Magistrate, one of the requisitionists, being voted in the Chair, an Address to the Regent, on his escape; a Petition to the House of Commons, for Retrenchment and Reform; and thanks to Earl GROSVENOR, Lord ERSKINE, Sir F. BURDETT, Mr. BRAND, and Sir W. LEMON, and "to the virtuous "Minorities in both Houses of

"Parliament, who refused to libel "the character, and invade the "rights of the People" (by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act), were unanimously carried. There was much excellent speaking at this Meeting; but the best speech was made by J. C. RASHLEIGH, Esq. a Magistrate, who signed the Requisition. It gives so wide and clear a view of our recent and present circumstances, that I should be ashamed of imposing on my readers, by presuming to offer any thing of my own instead of it. I give it as it is reported at length, in a Supplement to the *West Briton, and Cornwall Advertiser*.

Mr. RASHLEIGH spoke as follows;—

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen. Often as it has been my lot to address the county on subjects of great and essential importance to the public welfare, I never before came forward to the performance of this arduous duty, with feelings of such deep anxiety as those I now experience. Gentlemen, I think it a high mark of distinction and favour, to be permitted to second the Resolutions, which you have just heard read, and to identify myself with my Honourable Friend, (Mr. GLYNN,) who has elucidated the subjects embraced by them, in a speech so able, so luminous, and so eloquent.---It has been said, by one of our ablest writers, that there could hardly occur a case involving the interests of his country, in which a good citizen could remain neuter; and the most enlightened and polished state of the ancient world, made it criminal for its citizens to refuse taking a part in matters that compromised the public welfare. If this maxim holds true in ordinary occasions, how much more justly will it apply to occurrences so momentous as those which have now called us toge-

ther.---It is a duty which, as Englishmen, we owe to our country, to ourselves, and particularly to this county, to appear here this day, and, not being conscious of guilt, and disdaining the appearance of fear or of shame, manfully to declare our determination to persevere to the last, in our endeavours to preserve every branch of the Constitution from violation; to repair its dilapidations, and, if need be, at the hazard of our lives, to maintain and uphold the dominion of the laws.---Gentlemen, the peaceable and orderly conduct that the county of Cornwall has manifested on all occasions, is the best refutation of the calumnies with which our enemies assail us.---Whatever may be said through libellous newspapers, we should not be prevented from coming forward in that mode constitutional usage has made most proper, to exercise our undoubted privileges, and assert our birth-rights.---It is a duty we owe to ourselves, to our posterity, and to the memory of our ancestors, not to suffer the glorious prerogatives of rational and immortal man---those sacred liberties transmitted to us by our forefathers---that Constitution which is our dearest inheritance, bought by their struggles, and sealed by their blood, to be wholly torn from us, without one legal struggle for its preservation.---Gentlemen, besides these, the principal reasons which we conceive render it our bounden duty to appear here this day, in times such as these, *when the shield of the law has been lifted from our heads, and we stand bare to the arm of power*, it behoves us to be careful of what may be said of us;---we should be anxious not to allow our enemies any advantage over us. It is, indeed, difficult to guard against moral assassination; to defend ourselves against 'the arrow that flies by day, or the pestilence' of slander, 'that walketh in darkness.*'

There is but one way in which honest men should, in such times, conduct themselves; and that is, by bearing an open front of integrity, and manfully avowing those sentiments, that in days of peace and safety, they professed.---[*Applause.*]---This alone is the conduct that will enable us to defy the weapons of calumny. Gentlemen, there is a time for all things;--in ordinary circumstances, it may be well to disregard the malignity of the slanderer, and to treat his efforts with silent contempt;---but *there is also a time when things are out of joint; when all that is corrupt and putrid; all that stinks and rots at the bottom of the state, rises to the surface, when it may be proper to act in the spirit of a less fastidious taste.* When calumny walks abroad, it becomes us to appear in the open day, to challenge inquiry, to lay each of us his hand on his breast, and to say, *Ubi lapsus, quid feci?*

I trust I may be permitted to illustrate these observations by a case personal to myself; but which, from its contemptibility, I should not, in ordinary times, deem worthy of a moment's consideration. I learnt, in the course of last week, that a report has been industriously circulated, that my Rev. Friend opposite, and myself, had literally prostituted the parish church of Luxillion, for political purposes; and that such Psalms were chosen for Divine Service, as were calculated to excite the People to insurrection against the Government.--[*Laughter.*]---Gentlemen, we may well laugh at such a report, on its own account, as an idle tale of slander. I am sure, neither my Rev. Friend nor myself feel any wish to trace it; but I believe it owes its origin to the neighbourhood of HELSTON; that *choice borough*, whose corruption, which had not even the miserable plea of

Thanksgiving, for the Regnt's Escape, appointed to be read in all churches and chapels throughout England and Wales, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed.

* These passages are quoted from that matchless piece, the Form of Prayer and

poverty to extenuate its enormity, stands recorded on the Journals of the House of Commons; and to disfranchise whose electors, a bill passed that House, though it was rejected by the House of Lords.---Yet, Gentlemen, these same electors of Helston, get into the moral chair, and judge us, Reformers, worthy of their high and virtuous reprehension.---[*Hear! and laughter.*]---But, contemptible as this slander may appear, the man that could invent it, would not scruple to bear a tale to the ears of Government, that, if believed, would deprive us of our liberty.---Slanders, that in other times would excite only contempt, may become dangerous at present; and, therefore, we ought to stand forward, to show that we are not what we are represented to be; that our 'righteousness may be as the light, and our just dealing as the noon-day.'--So much, Gentlemen, for reports and aspersions, which carry with them their own refutation:---other matters, of more serious moment, now call for our attention.

My Honourable Friend, in the Chair, has read to you the answer which the High Sheriff thought fit to return to the requisition addressed to him for calling you together. This answer affords a most admirable text for commenting on the topics embraced by the Resolutions which I have the honour to second. The High Sheriff says: 'Had I received a requisition to convene a meeting of the freeholders of this county, for the purpose of congratulating His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on his late providential escape from the most treasonable and atrocious attempt that could have been devised upon the life of His Royal Highness, I should have experienced the highest possible gratification in calling it.'

I should have been highly gratified to have seen any good reason why the worthy Magistrate would be gratified to see the freeholders assembled to express their loyalty, which would not

apply to the inhabitants of the county at large.---I should be glad to know why the inhabitants have not an interest in supporting the dignity of the Crown; the splendour of the Throne; the dominion of the laws, and every part of the Constitution, as great as that of the freeholders.---Does the worthy Magistrate mean to deduce the rule he has laid down, from the feudal system, so long exploded; under which two-thirds of the inhabitants of this country were villains, in a state of absolute slavery?---The Sheriff proceeds to say:--'But when I perceive that the requisition now before me requires that I should call a meeting of the freeholders and "*inhabitants*" of this county, who are to question, under my presidency, the *wisdom of Parliament*, and the propriety of imposing *restraint* on the *seditions*, although the inadequacy of the existing laws has of late been too sufficiently proved; I feel it a duty which I owe to the public, and to myself, as having undertaken the office of chief Magistrate for this county, firmly to declare that I cannot comply with the request of the requisitionists---or give the slightest sanction to proceedings, of which the probable result will be the overthrow of the existing Government of this Kingdom, and the total subversion of our inestimable Constitution.'---Now, in the first place, I should be glad to know what is here meant by questioning the *wisdom of Parliament*? Does the Sheriff mean to contend that, in no case, are the People of this country to question the propriety of any measure which is in progress through Parliament; or on which Parliament has decided? If this be the meaning of the worthy Magistrate, who has so kindly condescended to read us a lecture on the Constitution, I can only say, that such a proposition has not been broached in this country, since the days of Mr. Justice ALYBONE, the Papist Judge, who figured at the trial

of the seven Bishops, in the reign of James the second.---*If we have no right to question what takes place in Parliament, the term PETITION should be obliterated from our statute books; as we can only assemble to vote adulatory addresses to the Throne.*

But though an utter repugnance appears to prevail in certain quarters, to the exercise of this invaluable privilege of the People, *the right of Petition*, even when it has questioned the wisdom of Parliament, has been productive of more salutary effects to the Constitution, than any other enjoyed by them. What put an end to General Search-Warrants?---the Petitions of the People.---What terminated the American War?---the Petitions of the People.---What put a period to that inhuman and damnable traffic, the Slave-trade?---the Petitions of the People.---What preserved the Toleration Act from being tampered with?---the Petitions of the People.---What induced the House of Commons to reject the Property-tax?---the Petitions of the People.---What produced even those meagre measures of economical Reform, which, from time to time, have been adopted by Parliament?---the Petitions of the People.---Yet we are gravely told by the High-Sheriff, that we are to forego the right of Petition, because, truly, it is not allowed us to question the wisdom of Parliament.---[*Thunders of applause.*]

We now come to the reason assigned by the Sheriff for refusing, as far as he has power to do so, to allow the Inhabitants of Cornwall to exercise their constitutional right of Petition. He says, 'he cannot comply with the Requisitionists, or give the slightest sanction to proceedings, of which the probable result will be, the overthrow of the existing Government of this kingdom, and the total subversion of our inestimable Constitution.' With all the attention which I could give to this passage, I confess I am not sure that I comprehend the meaning of the worthy Magistrate; and I

should be sorry to comment on what I do not understand. I really do not know what proceedings he has in view; whether he alludes to the Spa-fields riots, or intends to insinuate, that the probable consequences of your meeting here this day, will be the overthrow of our excellent Constitution [*laughter*].---To assign any rational meaning to the words, I must suppose he intends to inform us, that the right of Petition should not be allowed to large assemblies of the People, but be committed to a chosen few, who shall exercise it almost like conspirators, with all the stillness of a secret committee. But on this system, how are the People to exercise the right of Petition at all?---however aggrieved, can they, from their cots and hamlets, state either their wishes or their grievances?---We are taunted with indulging in Utopian theories, and told that the People are incompetent to decide on complicated questions of law and policy: but *how are their judgments to be informed, or their ideas enlarged, if they are not allowed to attend public meetings, where men of education, talents, and experience, may instruct them what to avoid, and what to pursue*; and where they might decide on their own dearest interests, as they can alone safely decide, when under the guidance of superior authority, or of superior mind? In the political homily the Sheriff has so kindly addressed to us, he has given us much good advice, which I should be sorry to see fall on barren ground; but I cannot help observing, that instead of convening the county to inquire into the matters stated in our requisition, he has taken for granted questions which, if he had presided here, he would have heard discussed, and have learned whether there was any foundation for his assertion, that we question the propriety of imposing restraints on the seditious; and whether the existing laws were adequate to the preservation of the public peace.

If what has been stated in the Reports of the Committees of Secrecy be true,---if a conspiracy exists, having for its object the extinction of all morality, the destruction of all law, and the plunder of all property, who is so insane or so wicked, as to refuse to sanction any restraints that may be necessary to avert so horrible a catastrophe? Certainly no man on our side would for a moment refuse to do so. We would only ask, that before these restraints were imposed, the necessity for their imposition should be proved. And is this too much for Englishmen to require, when the measures proposed go to the length of absolutely suspending the liberties of the country, by taking away the whole of that Constitution, which we have been taught to value above every other earthly possession---which has been our boast, our glory, and our security---forming a proud distinction between us and the rest of the world?

In order to form a correct judgment on this subject, I shall state, as briefly as possible, what are the nature and character of the end proposed to be accomplished, and what are the nature and character of the means proposed for its accomplishment. When I have put you in possession of what the Habeas Corpus Act was intended to effect, what was the state of the People before it passed, and what is likely to be the consequence of its suspension, I think that you will agree with me in opinion, that *the anxiety of the Sheriff to prevent the demolition of the Constitution, is rather curious, and somewhat resembles that of the good man who eagerly sought for a lock for his stable door, after the steed was stolen* [applause.]

Gentlemen, I will not presume on my own information, in giving you the history of the Act of Habeas Corpus; but will state it to you in the words of Mr. DE LOLME, of whom Mr. BENTHAM says, that he *thought* on the Constitution, whilst BLACKSTONE had only *written*. He says:---

"But the most useful method of securing the personal safety of the subject, and which even, by being most general and certain, has tacitly abolished all the others, is the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, so called, because it begins with the words *Habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*. This writ being a writ of high prerogative, must issue from the Court of King's Bench: its effects extend equally to every county; and the King by it requires, or is understood to require, the person who holds one of his subjects in custody, to carry him before the judge, with the date of the confinement, and the cause of it, in order to discharge him, or continue to detain him, according as the judge shall decree.

"But this writ, which might be a resource in cases of violent imprisonment effected by individuals, or granted at their request, was but a feeble one, or rather was no resource at all against the prerogative of the Prince, especially under the sway of the Tudors, and in the beginning of that of the Stewarts. And even in the first years of Charles the First, the judges of the King's Bench, who, in consequence of the spirit of the times, and of their holding their places *durante bene placito*, were constantly devoted to the Court, declared; 'that they could not upon a *Habeas Corpus*, either bail or deliver a prisoner, though committed without any cause assigned, in case he was committed by the special command of the King, or by the Lords of the privy council.'

"Those principles, and the mode of procedure which resulted from them, drew the attention of Parliament; and in the Bill called the Petition of Right, passed in the third year of the reign of Charles the First, it was enacted, that no person should be kept in custody, in consequence of such imprisonments.

"But the judges knew how to evade the intention of this act: they indeed did not refuse to discharge a man imprisoned without a cause; but they used so much delay in the examination of the causes, that they obtained the full effect of an open denial of justice.

"The legislature again interposed, and in the act passed in the sixteenth year of the reign of Charles the First, the same in which the Star-chamber was suppressed, it was enacted, that 'that if any person be committed by the King himself in person, or by his privy council, or by any of the members thereof, he shall have granted unto him, without delay upon any pretence whatever, a writ of *Habeas Corpus*; and that the judge shall thereupon, within three court-days after the

“return is made, examine and determine the legality of such imprisonment.”

“This act seemed to preclude every possibility of future evasion: yet it was evaded still; and, by the connivance of the judges, the person who detained the prisoner could, without danger, wait for a second, and a third writ, called an *alias* and a *pluries*, before he produced him.

“All these different artifices gave at length birth to the famous act of *Habeas Corpus* (passed in the thirty first year of the reign of Charles the Second), which is considered in England as a second Great Charter, and has extinguished all the resources of oppression.”

The Clause of this Act which is affected by the present measure of suspension, enacts, that,---

“Every person committed for treason or felony, shall, if he require it, in the first week of the next term, or the first day of the next session, be indicted in that term or session, or else admitted to bail, unless it should be proved upon oath, that the King's witnesses cannot be produced at that time: and if not indicted and tried in the second term or session, he shall be discharged of his imprisonment for such imputed offence.”

This is the history of the Act of Habeas Corpus; an act which gives no new rights to the People of England, but merely provides for the secure enjoyment of those they already possessed by Magna Charta, which declares that no man shall be imprisoned or punished, but by due process of law. The immediate cause, which led to the passing of the Petition of Right, in the early part of the reign of Charles the First, was the arbitrary imprisonment of several independent Members of Parliament: two of whom, to the immortal honour of this country, were Cornishmen---Sir JOHN ELLIOT and Mr. CORRYTON, for resisting illegal loans to the Government. Sir JOHN ELLIOT, who was accused of using seditious language in Parliament, was imprisoned for 13 years in a dungeon, where he perished; and it was to remedy such cases of grievance, that the Act of Habeas Corpus was passed [hear]. Nor are cases nearly similar

to that of Sir JOHN ELLIOT unknown in our times: whilst the Habeas Corpus Act continues suspended, we are exposed to a similar fate. A petition, lately presented to the House of Commons, by a person named EVANS, now in custody, of whose case I know nothing but what has appeared in the public papers, states, that during the suspension of the Act of Habeas Corpus which took place in 1794, he was confined in a dungeon for three years, denied the use of books or paper, and prevented from seeing his friends:--- at the end of this time he was dismissed without trial [hear, hear]. I myself know a gentleman of education, and a man of fortune and of excellent character, who was thrown into the Tower, where he was confined for two years; and then, broken in mind, health, and faculties, released by the expiration of the Act of Suspension, without ever being able to discover the cause of this heavy punishment being inflicted on him, except that he had the misfortune of being an *Irishman* [hear]. I state this fact on my honour. Such, Gentlemen, is the character of this measure of suspension. What is the alleged necessity on which it is resorted to? The Committees of Secrecy say, that a treasonable conspiracy exists in the heart of the kingdom, which embraces vast numbers of the People, whose object is the extinction of law, morality, and religion; and who, by open force and direct levying of war, were preparing to carry their designs into execution. Now, I put it to you to say, if such a conspiracy had pervaded in nearly the whole of this kingdom, must not the symptoms have broken out at some of the numerous public meetings that have been convened in all parts of the country? Where have these dragon's teeth been buried; where has this flame been smothered, that was on a sudden to burst forth and consume us? Where have any such symptoms been manifested; and how, if any

such a conspiracy existed, was it possible for the People to still the pulses of their hearts, under the pressure of the acute and protracted distress that every where prevails? Were any such symptoms exhibited at the public meetings at Glasgow, at Paisley, at Westminster, at Southwark, at Bristol, at Manchester, at Liverpool, at Birmingham, at Leeds, at Sheffield, in Hampshire, in Berkshire, or in this county? At none of these places have any such symptoms appeared. The presumption then is, that the People are innocent. I speak not of individuals: some there may be, who entertain the insane views described by the Committees, but these are few and insignificant---the common law of the land is quite a match for them; but as for the great body of the People, they are untainted. At Spa-fields, it is true, some hundreds of persons were so foolish and so wicked, as to break out into acts of violence and insurrection; yet hear what the Lord Mayor says on the subject. He was sorry the Committees did not think proper to examine him, who had the best means of knowing the extent of the conspiracy; for suppressing which, he said, he deserved no thanks, as he merely had to jump from his carriage, and seize the ring-leader. This was the only overt act of treason that had taken place; and is it on this that the liberties of the People have been suspended? Gentlemen, if these are the facts, is not the presumption in favour of the People?

Let us now consider the presumptions on the other side. What is the history of this deprecated measure. The Lord Mayor sends all the letters he receives, after the Spa-fields' riot, from different parts of the kingdom, to the Secretary of State; many of these, his Lordship says, were written in a feigned hand; and many by persons who wished to see the Act of Habeas Corpus suspended; from these and other papers Ministers make a selection, which they put in a

green bag, and carry to a Committee, chosen by ballot; that is, *every Member writes the names of those he wishes to be on the Committee, on a slip of paper, which he puts in a glass: the Ministers have a majority in the House, and all their friends put in the same names; so that Mr. BROUGHAM told the House, they need not take the trouble of going through the farce, for he would read the names which would compose the Committee, before the glasses were examined; and this he actually did.** What reply do you think did my Lord Castlereagh make to this?---he said it was *an old joke*, for Mr. Sheridan had played it off many years ago;---that is, the abuse was sanctioned by long practice, and, therefore, should be continued.---[Hear!]
---Gentlemen, let us look at the composition of the Committee;---the majority consisted of persons notorious for a bias in favour of Ministers;---I need say no more on the subject. But had Ministers no interest in getting up a plot?---I need not tell you the state of the country.---From Caithness to Cornwall, the cry of the People, suffering the greatest privations, was for a redress of grievances, and a diminution of the burthen of taxation, which was pressing all classes to the earth.---The first efforts were made against the Property-tax, and, as I think, on very narrow grounds, for whilst a great regard was shown for property, very little was manifested for liberty.---The relief afforded by the repeal of the Property-tax being found to be comparatively trivial; the People began to Petition for economy and retrenchment in every department of Government. In these Petitions little was said respecting Parliamentary Reform. At length, however, they began to look beyond mere effects, to reason up to their causes, and from complaints of the Administration, to inquire into the perverted state of the frame of the Govern-

* See Reformists' Register, p. 66.

ment. Then some appearances of reduction became necessary, and the army is, therefore, to be reduced from 150,000, to 123,000 men, and the navy from 33,000, to 18,000. The whole amount of the retrenchments made by Ministers, amounts to no more than six millions.---Lord Castlereagh has not thought it necessary to deny what is the real cause of the difference between the navy and army. The chief reduction of the army has taken place in the colonies? 81,000 men are said to be necessary for the maintenance of tranquillity at home, in time of profound peace.---Already the People see that a real and effective system of economical Reform can only be obtained through the medium of a Reform in Parliament, and Petitions from all parts of the country, containing 1200,000 signatures, have already been presented to the House of Commons, in favour of the measure. ---Ministers perceived that if some means were not resorted to, it was probable that some system of Reform must speedily take place:---this it is obviously their interest to prevent. Is it too much, therefore, to say, that when the plot has been brought forward by such hands, the presumption on the one hand outweighs the presumption on the other?

Gentlemen, when the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended, every other constitutional right is suspended with it.---What are those rights on which an Englishman would set his finger, if called on to point out in what consisted the Constitution? They are, the right of personal safety; the right of Petition; the right to consent to the laws which bound his life, his liberty, and his property, and the freedom of the press.---On these rights depend the whole of civil liberty.---I ask, then, which of these rights remain, when the security of personal liberty is destroyed? Can a man come forward to Petition against the acts of Ministers, or go to the poll

to vote for a candidate obnoxious to them, with the same confidence he would, in ordinary times, whilst he feels that these Ministers holds his personal liberty in their power? Many, I hope, would prefer chains or death to a base surrender of their freedom;---but I calculate on human nature in its ordinary operations. Is the press free, whilst the Minister can, at pleasure, lock up the man who censures his conduct, in a dungeon? The liberty of the press is, therefore, virtually suspended. Trial by jury, for political offences, ceased with the Habeas Corpus Act; and any man may be accused of political offences.---In fact, *when the personal liberty of the subject is suspended at the pleasure of the Ministers of the Crown, however their discretion may be exercised, the People are reduced to a state of absolute slavery.*

Gentlemen, I have trespassed on your patience.---The views which I entertain may be erroneous; I may be a mistaken man; but I know I am not a corrupt one.---*I have been desirous of proving that under a system of terror, I possess the same feelings that animated me in the days of freedom, and was determined to speak out as boldly as when my head was covered by the shield of the law.*---Anxious to place before you the state of our country; and to show that there is no real ground for aspersing the People of England, or suspending the palladium of their liberties, I have, fearlessly, endeavoured to do my duty;---I regret that my efforts are not more powerful; but however weak the advocate may be, his heart is strongly inclined to the service; the People may easily find an abler advocate, but not one more honest.

Gentlemen, it is no wonder that gloom overspreads the land: that the firm are appalled, and the brave disheartened. But in the page of history, so often blackened by the crimes, the follies, and the miseries of mankind, there are passages on which philan-

thropy delights to dwell. *If you feel disposed to persevere in constitutional efforts for the recovery of your liberties, cast your eyes on the history of your forefathers; look to the close of the reign of the profligate and tyrannical Stuart, who had succeeded in binding chains upon his country. At that time, it is said, the best patriots in the land desponded; but in six years from this dark night of despotism, rose the glorious sun of the Revolution of 1688, under which was established that inestimable Constitution which raised the nation from degradation and slavery, to liberty and happiness.** Gentlemen, our prospects may be adverse; we may have fallen on evil times and evil men; still let us persevere, through evil report and good report, in the steady and constitutional path we have hitherto trodden.---I am no political Quixote, and feel no wish to breathe the air, or view the light of heaven, through the bars of a dungeon;---but did the alternative lie between slavery and suffering, I trust I have sufficient virtue to prefer suffering to slavery;---when an Englishman has survived the liberties of his country but an hour, he has lived an hour too long [immense applause.]

This is language worthy to be remembered and held at all times. There is not only no use, but there is great wickedness, in concealing our opinions. The man who dares not speak what he thinks, is a slave; the man who will not speak what he thinks, is a coward; and the man who thinks upon such subjects, without speaking, may make a Revolutionist, perhaps, but a very poor Reformist. England! my country! the birth-place of wise and mighty ones, of heroes, and philosophers! if ever thy sons want courage to utter their thoughts, then thou art near to become a land of knaves and assassins, of plotters

and conspirators, and sanguinary blood-spillers. For then the philosopher will in vain employ his pen, or the hero wield his sword, in thy defence---thou wilt have nothing worth praise, or description, or preservation.

From a state of such foul debasement, of deep degradation, the firmness and energy of individuals may yet preserve us. Instead of sitting down hopelessly, with our hands before us, in despair, sinking into irrecoverable lethargy, and becoming monuments over the grave of our freedom, every man alive should show himself alive, and promote the march of truth. If the honest and the upright turn neither to the right nor to the left, they will meet with no lion in their way; if they show no timidity, but persevere in faith and hope, they must overcome. Bad men may prevail for a while, but evil is nothing more than ignorance and disorder, and their reign must be very short. It is in the nature of truth to force its way every hour; knowledge is making gigantic progress, and will cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea. We ought not therefore to despair of our country, which may still be great and noble, and in our time, if we make it so by our virtues. We have, within these islands, more thinking heads, and upright hearts, than in all Europe besides; and therefore, though corruption, as a wide wasting pestilence, may desolate and enfeeble us; though uncontrollable power may plunge us so deep in distress, that some of us may throw off the load of life, unable to bear it; and others may slay, and feed, on their children, to enable them to support

*See Reformists' Register, p. 177.

it; still I should say, let us not despair of our Country—if our misery is too great to be increased, there are stores of happiness in reserve for us; and we shall yet arise in greater glory amongst the nations.

No! England cannot be *destroyed*. She is the *brain* of the world. A Ruler in Asia and the West Indies, a Civilizer in Africa, and the Parent of the United States of America, she now seems destined to be the Liberator of South America, Though the British Government, hideously allied with the *thing* who sits, in mockery of humanity and justice, on the blind and sore eye-ball of despotism and superstition, the throne of Spain, may not choose to disoblige this petticoat-stitching monarch, by emancipating his subjects in South-America, who struggle for indendence with groans which cannot be uttered; yet this great event in the history of human happiness will perhaps be achieved by British *talent*. Lord COCHRANE, the brave, the gallant Lord COCHRANE, whose name is a terror to the foes of Britain throughout the world, and whose presence in Parliament is a nightly annoyance to the enemies of her liberties at home; the noble, ill-used Lord COCHRANE is, I have no doubt, the man, by whose genius and enterprize the deliverance of South America will *ultimately* be accomplished. He announces his "having resolved to *view* (during a few months) the operations going on in South America." What sort of a *viewer* of warlike operations in South America will the HERO OF BASQUE ROADS make?

Two of the bravest of British

subjects have been in disgrace at Court. The great, the wise Sir WALTER RALEIGH, for his successes against the Spaniards in South America, 200 years ago, was beheaded by King JAMES I. in compliment to the Spanish Ambassador; and Lord COCHRANE, by putting insult and indignity on whose valour Ministers have irretrievably disgraced themselves, will probably avenge RALEIGH's death, by freeing South America; and heap coals of fire on the heads of his enemies, by opening fresh channels of trade to the enterprize of British merchants.

However it may seem disconnected with the intended departure of Lord COCHRANE, for South America; yet, it is a little remarkable, that the DEPARTURE OF MR. COBBETT, for the United States of America, is announced by the *Statesman* newspaper of last night, in the following article:—

Liverpool, March 25, 1817.

"Mr. COBBETT is now in Liverpool, with two of his sons, for the purpose of proceeding to New York. We hear he has engaged room in the ship Importer. His friend, Mr. CASEY, of that town, accompanied him to the Custom-house, and gave all necessary assurances of his right of egress. He accompanied Mr. CASEY, to the Exchange, *incognitus*; but as it is usual to enter the name on admission to the great room, this formality was omitted, until Mr. COBBETT retired; after which, Mr. CASEY, in conformity with the rules, inserted Mr. COBBETT's name in the book. From this time, the curiosity to see this celebrated man was inconceivably great. At the

" Custom-house, Mr. CASEY was asked
 " if his friend had any thing *saleable*
 " with him? To which Mr. CASEY
 " answered, ' he undoubtedly had---
 " he had his talents with him, for
 " which he might obtain a great
 " price; but not being disposed to
 " sell them, he found it necessary to
 " quit *this country*, and to seek a
 " *quiet asylum in another.*"

The *Globe*, evening newspaper has an article to the same effect. I have endeavoured to trace this information. The letter in the *Statesman* is positive, but on the other hand, Mr. COBBETT's *family* treat the whole as a HOAX—as having originated, probably, with the person who played off the *Horsewhipping* story, last week; and it is a fact, that Mrs. COBBETT is coming to town on Saturday, from *Bottley*, for the express purpose of meeting Mr. COBBETT, at his house in *Catherine Street*. As yet all remark on this subject is premature.

I beseech the reader to keep his eyes constantly fixed on the great changes which are now taking place in our internal affairs; and to bear in recollection, that the question of REFORM is coming nearer to issue daily. Every step hastens it. The great County Meetings for Reform—the *six hundred* Petitions for Reform, signed by a *million* of People, presented to the House of Commons on the 3d of this month, most of which were rejected, because they were printed—the numerous Petitions presented previously—the refusal of silly Magistrates to call meetings—the peaceable and unanimous proceedings at those meetings when held---such excellent

speeches as those made by Mr. RASHLEIGH—the unwearied labours of such estimable men as Mr. FAWKES—the dirty arts of ministerialists, and the base defection of false friends, which for a short season have postponed a meeting in Yorkshire—the conviction prevailing everywhere, except in the House of Commons, that Reform is the *only* remedy for our evils, and *must*, sooner or later, take place—the proceedings in Parliament—and last, not least, the *deficiency in the Revenue, the impossibility of increasing taxation, and the means adopted to raise money, by adding to our debt*—all prove, that a *very great and important change must take place.*

My next Number will include a subject of UNUSUAL INTEREST.

WILLIAM HONE.

Friday, 28th March, 1817.

MR. CAPEL LOFFT

ON

REFORM.

Universal Suffrage—Election by Household-ers—Duration of Parliaments.

Stanton, near Bury, Suffolk,
 20 Feb. 1817.

SIR,

I HAVE seen the 2d Number of your "*Reformist's Register*," and have it now before me.

While I can either speak or write, I will not neglect, and I never have neglected, any opportunity in my power, of stating to the COMMONS OF ENGLAND what most concerns them; and I know of nothing which so directly, so greatly, so universally concerns them, as THEIR REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT; in other words, *the election and duration of their House*; which, whenever it is that which the Constitution has ordained it to be, is, both

in name, principle, and fact, THEIR House—the HOUSE of the COMMONS of the REALM, in *Parliament assembled*.

Although a *Barrister*, I do not think myself on that account *exempted* or disqualified from *knowing* and *representing* to my countrymen what I know of the *History* and *Constitution* of ENGLAND. And I cannot assent to the representation made of those Reformists, as ignorant of either, and still less as wilfully misrepresenting either, whom I believe to be better informed of both, and better friends to the true principles of both, than their opponents; and *this* I esteem the advocates of *universal suffrage* to be. Be it that an *approximation* be made, including all *householders*, and *permanent lodgers*; but *WITHOUT* *condemnation* of the *general principle*, I should be far from wishing to see it rejected.

I cannot see *how* the representation of *every male adult*, not excluded by natural incapacity, crime, or actual pauperism, or the extension of the exercise of the elective suffrage to *all householders*, or *permanent lodgers*, with the like exceptions, would vest the representation in the *commercial*, nearly to the *exclusion* of the *landed interest*. On the contrary, I take it, the more full and equal the elective suffrage, the more it would be a representation of BOTH—of the whole community of the realm; and that those immediately connected with the landed interest are the most numerous.

And supposing that *two* representatives, as now, were returned by *each* elective body, and that 8000 voted at each election, the less danger of *intrigue* or *corruption*; while, if the *poll* were taken in larger *subdivisions*, and containing as great a number of voters in each as could conveniently meet and vote in *one day*, *local influence* and *tumult* would be equally avoided.

With respect to ANNUAL Parliaments, I still continue to think, as I have thought for some considerable time, that *triennial*, with the *annual vacating*, in numerical order, of *one third* of the seats (but the same persons to be *capable* of re-election), would be preferable, in the extended relations, *internal* and *external*, of the WHOLE EMPIRE. I think that, *with a reformed representation*, even simply, *triennial* Parliaments, might be safely admitted. But I would, without hesitation, prefer *annual* to *septennial* Parliaments, or to any period which should suffer *more* than three years to pass *without* re-election, to the extent specified, at least.

If I err in these views, I have stated my reasons: and those whom they dissatisfy can equally state theirs.

I wish, at such a crisis, to keep clear of all prejudice, all undue vehemence of sentiment or of language. Clearness, calmness, and firmness, become those who advocate the rights and interests of a GREAT COMMUNITY. They give the surest ground of success, and the most just consolation, if, in such a cause, success is not obtained at present.

Give me leave to observe, that the cause of Reform should not be clogged by *ballot*, instead of the *free*, and *open*, and *living* voice of electors: and permit me to deplore that Mr. Fox, who considered *mankind* as his *friends* and *brethren*, and whose name was and is *popular* throughout the *civilized* world, should be mentioned as he is. Blame me, if you please, for thus expressing myself; but it would be unworthy and base in me, who have never personally been indebted to him, or to any Minister, not to speak of such a man, after his death, as I think and feel.

I remain, Sir, yours sincerely,

CAPEL LOFFT.

To Mr. HONE, 67, Old Bailey.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 11.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1817.

[Vol. I.

A LETTER TO THE READERS OF MR. COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL PAMPHLET.

*Public Feeling—Loyalty—Emigration
—Cheap Repository Charity—Rot-
ting alive—Mr. Cobbett's Embarka-
tion—His Address—My last Inter-
view with Mr. Cobbett—His Import-
ance as a public Writer—Character
of his Register---His Foresight---
Horrors of Captivity---The Bastille
in France---Dreadful Anecdotes---
Cold Bath Fields' Prison---Cruelties
formerly practised there---Regret for
the Discontinuance of Mr. Cobbett's
Weekly Political Pamphlet.*

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

EVERY one of us who feels he has a country, now feels his mind distressed—his heart heavy—his courage fail him. If any one tells us that he has no such feeling, we may be certain that he is no countryman of ours: he is an alien—a stranger—and has nothing in common with us, or he would feel as we feel. He may have been born on the soil, it is true; and he may have possessions here; he may carry on trade, have property in the funds, or houses, or land; he may be a merchant, a stock-holder, or even

a land-owner; but we do not acknowledge him to be our countryman. We shall find many such men as these, who will tell us they do not care how things go on, so that they can live quietly and peaceably in the world; that it is of no consequence to them, whether the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended, or meetings for petitioning are prevented, because they are well known to be *loyal* men; and that they are very well satisfied with things as they are. Such men as these are no more countrymen of ours, than the tombstones which relate the decease of our forefathers, and their virtues. When our rights and liberties can no longer be enjoyed, or exercised, these men, floating on the surface of society, like "the green mantle of the standing pool," denote general impurity and corruption. *Loyalty*, indeed! why these heartless beings mean no more by *loyalty*, than the most unmixed selfishness; namely, a determination to remain inactive, whilst the right to live free and independent is contended for by all except themselves. *Loyalty*!—Look first at the noisy senseless race, who bandy the word about as flippantly as their oaths; and then at the hypocritical smooth-faced knaves, who are also *loyal*, and who profess to be obedient to the higher

powers, and to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." *Loyalty!*—Why these miserable creatures, who know not that the word means love, or attachment, or faithfulness, to the laws, and who suppose it means love to the *King*, are themselves the calm, consenting, guilty accessories, to the old wholesome laws of our country being suspended or destroyed by new and unconstitutional laws. As to the King, their love for him is like the dram-drinkers' love for the gin-shop keepers; they love them all in succession, and all round:—if one dies, another enters on the old house; and the comfortable glass upon the death of poor Mr. So-and-so, who is gone to glory, is renewed upon the coming in of good Mr. Such-an-one, who takes to the stock and fixtures.

There is something in sorrow, which makes us desire to conceal it; but where all mourn, concealment is impossible. The occasions of our grief, too, are as notorious as those who caused them. We must, however, be patient, and commune with each other openly, as men. We have nothing to fear from our own proceedings, if they are conducted in the face of our enemies. We are enlightened to the causes of our distress; and therefore, as we are enjoined elsewhere, let our light shine before men, that they may all see what are the motives of our actions, and what we do. The renewal of laws opposed to our liberty, however we mourn them now, should not scare and appal us for ever; we should only become more vigilant and circumspect in

our general behaviour, and having fewer differences amongst ourselves, keep closer, and walk as passengers are obliged to do in *Bisham Wood*, where pitfalls are made to catch people alive, and into which the innocent may be entrapped, in common with the guilty.

A most deplorable effect of a long career of profligate expenditure, of cruel and unwise enactments, is driving from the nation men of property and talent, whose loss we cannot replace. It is a notorious fact, that such a fatal species of emigration is produced, and is now taking place, from these causes. I am not speaking of those amongst us, who are poor and distressed, with half a belly-full one day, and nothing to eat the next—they have not the means of getting away: but I am speaking of their employers—of men in business as manufacturers, or farmers, with large capitals at their command. Such men as these have gone, and others are going, to cultivate land, and establish manufactories, in countries where their skill and capital are of more value, and can be made more productive, than in this. As for those they once employed here, who are pennyless, *they cannot go—they must remain behind*: he who cannot live here, and has no money to remove himself elsewhere, must die here. He must make up his mind to it; and if he reads and believes the *Cheap Repository Tracts*, he will be duly prepared for it. One of these, addressed "to the Mechanics, Artizans, and Labourers, of London and Westminster," and diligently stuck about the

streets, has the impudence to say, that "the evils under which we "all (more or less) suffer, are "wholly imputable not to the "crimes of individuals, but to "natural and uncontrollable "causes;" and with unfeeling audacity, tells the poor famishing creatures who read it, that "it "becomes us to submit with "Christian patience, to being put "on short allowance!" Another of these things, entitled "Look "before you leap," reminds its poor readers, that—

"A Parliament Man, such another as PITT,
"Like him SAV'D THE LAND by his
courage and wit;
"Oh! PITT! *Guardian Angel*, what
didst thou perform!
"Heav'n's peace to 'the Pilot that wea-
ther'd the storm!'"

This is the way in which the burden of distress is attempted to be made bearable to us by the proud, insolent, unfeeling, shallow *Pittites*—the stupid lying supporters of that PITT—of that bold, bad man, whose system of politics and finance has brought us to beggary and hunger; who, so far from having saved the land, has impoverished it—has caused more ruin than any minister ever did before, or can again—has by his imposts so burdened the land, that in some parts no man can be found willing to cultivate it, even without paying rent—who, instead of having weathered the storm, died, and bequeathed it as a legacy, when it was only beginning to rage; and whose successors have so rode on his whirlwind, and directed its fury, that they have razed society to its foundations, and blasted every hope of future happiness. The false whining hypocritical papers of this

canting crew, are issued from the shop of Mr. HATCHARD, Bookseller to the *Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor*, in Piccadilly, where the society holds its meetings; and the general tenour of the trash is, "work, if "you can get any thing to do, "and if not, apply to the overseers: and if they cannot provide for you, you will do your utmost to starve with as much propriety as the most respectable amongst your neighbours."

This is the real meaning of all that these charitable impostors do and say. They look upon us as a grazier looks at his cattle; "What are they worth per carcass? How do they tallow upon the caul, and on the kidneys? What will they cost per head to keep? Are they worth keeping any longer? Are they worth shipping off alive?" and so forth. We are viewed and turned over, and speculated upon, as a sort of live stock, in which these persons have a common property, and exercise the right of ownership. We, who are poor, are looked upon as the mere *matériel* of the gentlemen-proprietors. The language in which we are talked of, is that, wherein a dry-salter, or a potatoe shipper, speaks of his goods. Read, for instance, the following extract from the *Times* of to-day; and if before you get to the end of it, you do not feel the blood from your heart rushing up into your cheeks, and scorching your very skin; if you do not feel as if you were nearly choking, before you have got half through, you have not the feelings which I had, when I read it carefully and deliberately over, as I wish you to do now.

"Your people," says the *Times*, "are a drug, like your goods: but the goods on hand may be thrown into warehouses, and reserved for a future, though contracted market. Here, then, is the misery. You cannot warehouse your people. They are hungry articles, which must be regularly oiled, whether idle or in action. They may ROT at last; but they will ferment before they rot, and burst their repository, and burn your habitations. The demand for men was the staple demand of the war; not for soldiers and sailors, merely, but for labouring men and manufacturers. The demand has ceased; and the men, to whose subsistence foreign nations had before contributed, have now no food but what we ourselves can furnish. Stripped of her external resources, this country cannot long support them," &c.

Well, fellow-countrymen, how do you feel now? Those of us who are unemployed, called a drug! a thing hanging upon hand! something which was once a staple article, for which the demand has ceased! which may ROT at last! but which may ferment before ROTTING! Why are we men? Is it come to this; that whether Englishmen are to live or die, is a question of pounds, shillings, and pence calculation, to be decided by a casting up of totals, or by a rule-of-three sum? Is this "a natural and uncontrollable circumstance, to which it becomes us to submit, with Christian patience," as the canting placard has it? Is our ROTTING to be a thing talked of to our very faces, by a

public newspaper? Mark the language. "They (that is we), may ROT at last; but they will ferment before they ROT, and burst their repository, and burn your habitations." Why, what does the *Times* mean? Ferment before we ROT? What! ferment, and ROT afterwards! What does the *Times* mean? "Burn your habitations." Whose habitations, and for what? Why the *Times* does not mean to say, if there is food enough in the country to fill all our bellies, that some of us must die, because others will not part with more than they can eat themselves. The *Times* cannot mean that the nobility and bishops, the gentry, clergy, the large land owners and capitalists, the Bank, which divides 10 per cent. on its capital, the East India company, the great corporations, the public companies, the gentlemen at Lloyd's, the underwriters, the merchants, the traders, the money jobbers, the war and loan contractors, the gentlemen of the Pitt Club, the lives-and-fortunes' men, and the whole noble army of sinecurists and useless pensioners, who wear purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day, would suffer Englishmen to ROT! This is, of course, impossible, in a Christian country; and therefore it is a base and wicked calumny of the *Times*, to say that we may "ROT at last;" and I pray the *Times* not to use that word. ROT! a living being, a man, or a woman, or a child, ROT! I don't like this supposition about ROTTING ALIVE. I hate the very mention of it. There is an old saying, "Talk of the devil, and he will appear." I

wish the *Times* had said nothing about **ROTTING**; not that I believe it can happen, because, if there be food enough, there will be plenty of means provided for distributing it; and yet I cannot somehow or other help coupling the old saying and the **ROTTING** in my own mind. However, we shall soon see the wicked prophecy of the *Times* set at nought. It is impossible for one part of the People to live in comfort, whilst the other part is dying, **ROTTING**. We shall see the rich and powerful *voluntarily* throwing open their coffers to prevent it, which is the easiest thing in the world; for it is of no consequence whether there is food enough in England, or not; there is food enough out of England, to supply England; and money, which the opulent will supply, is alone wanting to purchase it. Here will be a scene to glad the eyes, and expand the hearts of the humane. Instead of little paltry sums of 2 or 300l. from persons of rank and consequence, we shall see them rushing forth to tender moities of their incomes. I behold, or think I behold, the wealthy peers and commoners, of *eighty or a hundred thousand* pounds a year, putting down their names, with 40 or 50,000l. at least, against them; the Ministers of the Crown depositing half their salaries; the Crown itself giving up half the sum appropriated to it by the Civil List; people of property, in all gradations, following the example—a sense of real **JUSTICE** pervading the hearts of the rich in behalf of those who, having nothing, must, as the *Times* says, **ROT**, unless this **JUSTICE** be

done to them. For the rich to give less than sufficient to prevent the People **ROTTING**, will be unjust. For them to give more, will be generous. However, justice, and nothing but justice, is wanted, and we must not hear of **ROTTING**. How the money should be appropriated, in the first instance, is another question. Providing employment, and paying wages for labour, is the best mode; but for those of us who are so far advanced towards starvation, as to be near **ROTTING**, something should instantly be done—*instantly*—**INSTANTLY**. So, arise! my Lord **SIDMOUTH**. Arise! my Lord **CASTLEREAGH**. Be up, and doing; for if the *Times* speaks truly, there is not a moment to lose: “You cannot warehouse “your People; they are *hungry* “articles, which must be regu- “larly oiled, whether idle or in “action. They may *rot* at last; “but they will **FERMENT** be- “fore they **ROT**, and burst their “repository, and burn your habi- “tations!”

Under such restrictions as the present session of Parliament has deemed you and I, my countrymen, to live; remaining out of dungeons, and holding life itself but by sufferance, and at the pleasure of Ministers; all of us, from the palsied state of society, embarrassed by our own difficulties; witnessing more misery in a week, than perhaps any of us ever saw before during our whole lives; compelled to say to each other of Lord **CASTLEREAGH**, as **CASSIUS** said of **CÆSAR**:—

“Why man, he doth bestride the narrow world,
“Like a Colossus; and we petty men

“ Walk under his huge legs, and peep about

“ To find ourselves dishonourable graves.”

Influenced by these dire omens, which too plainly tell to what further degradation and misery we are to be reduced, before we can claim to walk the earth as of right; before we can again sit by our fire-sides, surrounded by our children, without being liable to be seized, put in irons, thrown into damp unwholesome cells, without sufficient air, warmth, or exercise, to preserve either health or life, and deprived of means of petitioning for redress, or of seeing our wives and children, even by an order of the Secretary of State: seeing that all this may happen to any one of us, and that the man most obnoxious to the ministry, would be the likeliest object for an early victim, it is not wonderful that Mr. COBBETT should take steps to leave the country, and embark for America, whither he has sailed, with his two sons, from the port of Liverpool, on board a vessel called the *Importer*; and whither he will shortly be followed by Mrs. COBBETT and his two daughters. The first authentic *public* announcement of his departure, was by the following *address*, which I record here, because every the slightest memorial of such a man, at such a period of his life, is of great importance.

“ TO THE PUBLIC.

Liverpool, March 26, 1817.

“ My departure for America will surprise nobody, but those who do not reflect.

“ A full and explicit statement of my reasons will appear in a few days, probably on the 5th of April.

“ In the mean while, I think it necessary for me to make known, that I have fully empowered a Gentleman of respectability and integrity, to manage and settle all my affairs in England.

“ I owe my countrymen most sincere regard, which I shall always entertain towards them in a higher degree than towards any other people upon earth.

“ I carry nothing from my country but my wife and my children, and surely *they* are my own, at any rate. I shall always love England better than any other country. I will never become a subject or citizen of any other state; but I and mine were not born under a government having the absolute power to imprison us at its pleasure; and, if we can avoid it, we will neither live nor die under such an order of things.

“ If I have not taken leave of numerous friends in London and in the country, it was because I should have been made unhappy by their importunities, and the expressions of their sorrow.

“ I make an enormous sacrifice of property and of feeling; but when my heart feels the tugs of friendship, and of all the interesting objects in Hampshire, it is reconciled to the loss, by the thought, that I can enjoy them only during the pleasure of a Secretary of State. When this order of things shall cease to exist, then shall I again see England.

“ WM. COBBETT.”

Mr. COBBETT'S *LAST Address* will be published on the same day as this sheet, and be

read by you, my countrymen, with more interest, perhaps, as far as regards himself, than any of his *Political Pamphlets*.

The last time I saw Mr. COBBETT, was on Saturday, March 15, at his house in Catherine-street. Preparation had at that time been made, with a view to his leaving England. Nearly all the back stock and odd numbers of the *Weekly Political Pamphlet* were removed the day before, (Friday), to the publisher of his stamped Register, to whom he sold them. I found Mr. COBBETT in his dining room, with his daughter. Our salutation was mutual jocular congratulation upon our meeting once again at liberty, after the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which, on Mr. COBBETT's part, subsided into more grave remark upon the effect of that measure. I talked with him respecting his management of the *Weekly Political Pamphlet*, and that led to some observations on both sides, respecting Mr. LOCKHART, of whose brother, in Cumberland, I had formerly a slight knowledge. Mr. COBBETT repeated to me the substance of his *Letter to the De-luded People*, which formed his *Weekly Political Pamphlet* of the following Saturday (March 22). He enlarged much on the abject state to which the Suspension Act, and the pending bills, reduced the country, and particularly on what he conceived would be their effects in depressing literature, and preventing reading societies from being formed, where truth and information on all subjects are sought for and obtained. We next observed on the emigration

to America, and I mentioned to him a valuable pamphlet I am printing, entitled, *Hints to Emigrants from Europe, who intend to make a permanent Residence in the United States*, drawn up by the SHAMROCK SOCIETY, in New York, about eight months ago, for the special instruction of persons before they go out and settle. By the emigration of capitalists, he observed, England would receive a blow she must at this crisis most sensibly feel. He instanced the consequence to this nation, of an enlightened gentleman, an opulent and most extensive farmer, whom he named, in one of the brightest and best cultivated spots in England, retiring, with all his family, to settle in America, there to employ his capital and great talents, and whither he was preparing to be followed by other agricultural capitalists. Mr. COBBETT dilated much on this species of emigration to a rival state, where population is rapidly increasing, and unchecked; and where capital being in great demand, gives an immense spring to social progress. Our conversation ended by remarks on the *Weekly Political Pamphlet*.

This being my last interview with Mr. COBBETT, is on many accounts strongly impressed on my memory. I seem to have the sound of his voice still in my ear. I see his very attitude as he sat down in his chair, when I left him by his fire-side, in Catherine-street. I cannot get these little incidents out of my head. We attach importance to such trifles, when they are connected with recollections of those whom we esteem or admire,

and whom we perhaps shall see no more. These minute circumstances I may be pardoned, perhaps, for remembering, of a man who having more power to do good as a public writer, has accordingly done more good by enlightening you, my countrymen, than any other man who ever lived before him.

Mr. COBBETT's experience of mankind, his knowledge of life and public men, gave him advantages over every writer that preceded him. Twenty years ago, on his coming from America, he wrote on behalf of the PITT Administration, and thus became acquainted with all the master springs of its mischievous policy. Absurd and dishonest interference in the internal affairs of foreign countries—a war undertaken and prosecuted to no other end but to put down and utterly extinguish the rising freedom of the French People—the prosecution of that war at an enormous expense, by agents notoriously interested in a profuse and boundless expenditure of the public money—that expenditure so enormous, and so extravagantly appropriated, as to be unparalleled by all former outgoings—a corrupt demoralizing system of taxation, so extensively engrafted and dovetailed on the frame-work of society, as to make every man a levyer, as well as a payer of taxes—a dissipation of national resources, so great and uncontrollable, as must certainly dry up the very sources of national wealth, and destroy the means of support for the People—an arrogant, domineering, ignorant system of mis-government, dazzling by its insolence,

and impoverishing by its profligacy; haughtily rejecting all advice; despotically beating down and trampling upon all who opposed its injustice, or remonstrated against its rapacity; at every new step encroaching upon public liberty, destroying confidence between man and man, undermining private happiness, and reducing the mass of society to beggary and starvation: these Mr. COBBETT perceived were PITT principles, and their consequences; and that the end of these things is REFORM—or *Ruin*.

Mr. COBBETT foresaw, that though Reform or Ruin must, as one of them *will*, be the end of the PITT system, yet that there would be several stages in the progress of our affairs, before we reached the great change. He was convinced that misery would naturally produce desire for alteration, for a better mode of managing national affairs—that this desire would be manifested first, by Petitions for remedy of abuses, and the particular measures of oppression; next, by Petitions for Reform of Parliament; and if these were rejected, that the People would become indignant, and indignation might produce violence and tumult. He also foresaw and foretold the results which he and we have witnessed. The People, he said, will compel Ministers to restore the Constitution, or the Minister will make Parliament pass acts to abridge their liberties, and reduce them to become slaves, or revolutionists. He opposed all tumult; and how much he did to make the mind tranquil under severe distress, and to put it in the right way to seek relief, let

his *Register* speak. He put his addresses and arguments into a cheap form, and their circulation in his *Weekly Political Pamphlet*, has extended all over the nation, and been almost unbounded as to number. As proof of his excellent method of arguing, his matchless plainness of persuasion, read his letters, the titles of which follow:—

IN THE REGISTER, VOL. 31.

To Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.—What good can a Reform of Parliament now do? and in what manner can it take place without creating confusion. No. 15.

To Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.—In what manner can a Reform of Parliament take place without creating confusion. No. 16.

To the Journeymen and Labourers of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. No. 18.

To the Luddites. No. 23.

To the Country Gentlemen. No. 25.

These have given the People a lasting sense of their own importance, and taught them lessons which they never ought, and indeed never can forget. Every man, says the celebrated BOWLINGER, is proud of having acquired one more truth, because it gives him clearer views; he is proud of his knowledge, because it gives him power, and makes him of more consequence in society than he was before: and *knowledge once possessed, a man never can lose*. You, my countrymen, are indebted to Mr. COBBETT for an abundance of knowledge, of important knowledge, which has made you wiser and better men. He has imparted many truths,

many valuable truths to you, of which you were ignorant; he has made you wise unto political salvation; he has sown amongst us the seeds of Reform, which have taken deep root, which all the harpies of corruption and violence can never eradicate, and which in good time will bring forth good fruit.

Although it admits of question, whether Mr. COBBETT'S departure for America, at this time, was the very best course he could have pursued, yet there can be no doubt that his absence renders it more essential than ever, that those whose minds have been enlightened by his "*little books*," should implicitly follow his advice. Every man should preserve them as a treasure; every man who is without them should buy them, and form them into a volume; and, to use his own words, "read it over and over again, and it will serve his children to read as they grow up, and thus will they be informed as to their rights and duties, as well as their fathers and mothers. And why should they not? Why should they be ignorant of those rights and duties? Have not the labourers, as well as their employers, liberties and lives to defend? Do they not mainly assist to fight the battles of their country by sea and land. Are they not called out to serve in the militia and local militia? Have they not wives and children whom they love to see happy? Have they not arms to fight and to labour, and have they not minds to understand, and hearts to feel? Have they not a right to happiness?"

Though Mr. COBBETT's *Weekly Political Pamphlets* must be discontinued, yet those we have are a manual of useful knowledge, to be read every day in the week throughout the year. They should be bound up, and be on the same shelf with the History of England, the Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, and the Young Man's Book of Knowledge. Every cottage and kitchen library in the kingdom is incomplete without it. It should go with the Housekeeper's Instructor, the Pilgrim's Progress, Buchan's Domestic Medicine, the New Whole Duty of Man, the Wars of Flavius Josephus, and such kind of books; I mean that it should be as *common and familiar* as those books, and be read by all who read *them*; and every one will do well to recollect, whilst recommending COBBETT's *Cheap Register* to his neighbours, that a vote was unanimously passed by the public meeting at Sheffield, thanking Mr. COBBETT for that very work, and concluding with "a conviction, that in the late tumult in this town, the influence of Mr. COBBETT's *excellent advice, which had been so generally read*, prevented the multitude from proceeding to any serious acts of riot, to which they were frequently incited by disorderly persons."

Mr. COBBETT has performed, ably performed, his duty, in endeavouring to obtain REFORM for the country, in a strictly legal way. He persevered, with the hope that Reform would be effected: for the present, his hopes have been disappointed. But although so persuaded, he

by no means omitted to, anticipate the chance of disappointment. He plainly and honestly pointed out the consequences of refusal. He has told you, that Reform must come, or that laws would be made to stifle the voice of the People; laws which would degrade us as Englishmen, by taking away our liberty. He saw these laws made. He saw the personal liberty of every soul in the country put into the hands of a Secretary of State. He saw the power of life and death given by Act of Parliament to any prejudiced or ignorant Magistrate. He saw the will of a Magistrate substituted by law for Trial by Jury. He saw laws made to do away accusation on oath; to supersede public, and, indeed, every kind of examination; to do away the intervention of the Grand Jury—the finding of the Bill—the producing of witnesses—the trial itself; and, in short, to suspend all the forms which our forefathers established as necessary to be observed, before the most criminal and abandoned murderer could be deprived of life, or even committed to prison. He saw Acts of Parliament passed, to deprive of these open and fair advantages, any and every man who might do certain things, which, until the passing of those laws, he might not only do with impunity, but receive praise for; and which praise has often been received from the very persons who have now made crimes of such actions, and who have given to an individual the power of life and death over multitudes of Englishmen.

Mr. COBBETT saw that the

power of inflicting penalties, in many cases worse than death, was given to an individual, who, of his own mere will and pleasure, without assigning any reason, could confine whom he pleased in a solitary cell, and there deprive him of all communication with his wife and children—his business ruined, his family beggared, himself bereaved of all intercourse with his fellow man—of books, of pen and ink.—Here, deprived of all social intercourse, of all means of amusement or employment, even *Englishmen* might realize in their own persons the picture drawn by STERNE.

—“ I took a single captive, and “ having first shut him up in his “ dungeon, I then looked through “ the twilight of his grated door, to “ take his picture.

“ I beheld his body half wasted “ away with long expectation and “ confinement, and felt what kind of “ sickness of the heart it was, which “ arises from hope deferred. Upon “ looking nearer, I saw him pale and “ feverish: in thirty years, the western breeze had not once fann’d his “ blood—he had seen no sun—no “ moon in all that time—nor had the “ voice of friend or kinsman breathed “ through his lattice—his children—

—“ But here my heart began to “ bleed---and I was forced to go on “ with another part of the portrait.

“ He was sitting upon the ground “ upon a little straw, in the farthest “ corner of his dungeon, which was “ alternately his chair and bed: a “ little calendar of small sticks were “ laid at the head, notched all over “ with the dismal days and nights he “ had passed there---he had one of

“ these little sticks in his hand, and “ with a rusty nail he was etching “ another day of misery to add to the “ heap. As I darkened the little light “ he had, he lifted up a hopeless eye “ towards the door, then cast it “ down---shook his head, and went “ on with his work of affliction. I “ heard his chains upon his legs, as “ he turned his body to lay his little “ stick upon the bundle---He gave a “ deep sigh---I saw the iron enter “ into his soul---I burst into tears--- “ I could not sustain the picture of “ confinement which my fancy had “ drawn.”—

Mr. COBBETT had read of the *Bastille* in France, and of the dreadful abuse of power exercised by those who, in that country, could immure whomsoever they pleased in its dungeons; and he manfully resisted by his writings the passing of laws giving similar powers to any person in this country. But as many of you, my fellow countrymen, may be strangers to the mode of confining persons in that prison, I will tell you what the *benevolent* HOWARD relates of it, in his book on Prisons. He says,—

“ The *Bastille* consists of eight very strong towers, with walls of freestone, 10 feet thick at the top. These towers have dungeons: the dungeons of the tower of *Liberty* (what a name!) extended under the kitchen. Next that tower is a small chapel, with five niches, or closets, in which prisoners are put one by one, to hear mass, where they can neither see nor be seen. The dungeons exhale the most offensive scents, and are the receptacles of toads, rats, and other kinds of vermin. In the corner of each is a camp-bedstead, made of planks laid on iron bars, and on which the prisoners are allowed to lay

some straw. These dens are dark, having no windows, but openings into the ditch: they have double doors, plated with iron, with large bolts and locks. The most horrid chambers, next to the dungeons, are those in which are cages of iron, each 8 feet by 6. The *calottes*, or chambers, at the top of the towers, are more tolerable, but not high enough to walk in, except in the middle; the windows being in walls ten feet thick, having iron within and without, admit but little light. All the chambers in the prison are numbered, and the prisoners are called by the name of their tower, joined to the number of their room. Prisoners who die are buried in the parish of St. Paul, under the name of domestics."

The philanthropic HOWARD says, "I have inserted so particular an account of this prison, chiefly with a design,"—mark his words, fellow countrymen,—"*chiefly with a design of inculcating a reverence for the principles of a FREE CONSTITUTION LIKE OUR OWN, which will not permit in any degree the exercise of that despotism which has rendered the name of BASTILLE so formidable.*" And then he says, "Sir WILLIAM BLACKSTONE observes, "that the preservation of personal liberty is of great importance to the public; for, if it once were left in the power of any, THE HIGHEST, magistrate to imprison arbitrarily whomsoever he or his officers thought proper, (as in France it is daily practised by the Crown) there would soon be an end of ALL OTHER rights and immunities.—I have been assured, upon good authority, that during the mild administration of Cardinal FLEURY,

"above 54,000 *lettres de cachet* were issued upon the single ground of the famous bulle "*Unigenitus.*"

Mr. HOWARD was so fortunate as to obtain a pamphlet prohibited in France, on the severest penalties; from which I take some further particulars relative to that *Bastille*, and the persons confined there. He published a translation of it, to afford "a very interesting and instructive comparison between the horrors of despotic power and the mild and just administration of penal laws in a free state; and (poor Gentleman!) to increase the attachment and reverence of Englishmen to the genuine principles of their excellent Constitution."

It appears that the *Bastille* was destined to prisoners whose destruction was resolved on, either by apparent forms of justice, or by the punishment of the *oubliettes*, which was inflicted by causing the victims to be placed on a trap-door, through which they fell on wheels armed with points and cutting edges; others were drowned with a stone about their necks, or stifled in dungeons. TRISTAN l' HERMITE, Provost of the *Hotel*, and companion of LOUIS XI., was himself judge, witness, and executioner, and put 4000 people to death in this manner, who were delivered to him for that purpose by his royal master. Cardinal RICHELIEU, a Minister of State, had a closet at the Castle of Ruel, his country seat, called the *Cabinet des Oubliettes*, into which he caused persons whom he had doomed to destruction to enter, when the floor opening under their

feet, they fell into a profound abyss!

In the *dungeons* of the *Bastille* Louis XI. confined persons whose sufferings he wished to protract. He caused the Princes of ARMAGNAC to be buried in these dungeons in holes wrought in the masonry, the bottoms formed like sugar-loaves, that their feet might have no resting place, nor their bodies repose: and they were taken out, twice a week, to be scourged, and every three months to have a tooth pulled out. The eldest lost his senses. The youngest, who survived His Most Christian Majesty, was saved, and it is from his petition, in 1483, that the facts were learned.

The *iron cages* in the *Bastille* were invented by the Bishop of VERDUN, in one of which, at the Castle of Angus, the first person confined was the Right Reverend Father in God himself, and he had a spell for about 10 or 12 years. Louis XI. shut up the Cardinal de BALLEAU in an *iron dungeon* for 11 years. The walls, floor, cieling, door, &c. are all iron plates, fastened upon iron bars. Louis XI. had two at his Castle of Loches, in one of which Louis XII. shut up LUDOVICO SFORZA till he died.]

Marshall BASSOMPIERE, signalized by his valour and good conduct, gave umbrage to Cardinal RICHELIEU, the Minister of State before mentioned as addicted to torture, who shut him up in the *Bastille* in 1631, where the Marshal wrote his *Memoires*, and from whence he was not liberated until 12 years after the death of the Minister.

In 1674 a boy of 13 having made two Latin lines on the vanity of

the *Jesuits* of the College of Clermont, at Paris, was taken up and put into the *Bastille*, from whence he was liberated in 1705, having been a prisoner 31 years. The *Jesuits* made a merit of releasing him on his becoming heir to all his family, and possessed of great property, of a large portion of which they robbed him.

I have only room for these instances of horrible oppression, inflicted on persons subject to *arbitrary imprisonment* in the *Bastille*, at the will of a Minister, where most of the wretched prisoners went distracted. At length the tyranny of the Government becoming wholly intolerable, the People of Paris rose in a mass on the 14th of July, 1789, and took the *Bastille*, by assault, liberating five wretched victims of lawless power, amongst whom was the Earl of MASSAREENE, an Irish Nobleman, confined there many years, whose beard, when he was found, descended nearly to his girdle; and a Count DE LOSAGES, who was insane from the cruelty of his captivity. The *iron cages* were also found—one contained its prisoner, who had died in it, and who it had not been thought worth while to take out—he was an entire skeleton, and probably had been dead half a century. Another human skeleton was found, chained to the wall of a dreadful dungeon. The indignation of the Parisians was so intense towards this prison, that they razed it to the ground, not even leaving the walls standing.

These horrible cruelties Mr. COBBETT had read of; and he had also read, that persons arrested under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, in 1798,

were confined without cause, and treated like criminals under sentence—that they were kept in cells, too cruelly constructed even for the punishment of criminals—that the Middlesex Magistrates and their gaoler, and the Secretary of State and a majority of the House of Commons, shut Sir FRANCIS BURDETT out of *Cold Bath Prison*, where prisoners under that suspension of the Habeas Corpus were confined, at the moment that gaoler represented himself to have been charged with three *murders* in the prison—that a Committee of the House of Commons, expressly appointed to inquire into the state of that prison, and those charges, omitted to examine the persons confined there, who were anxious to give them information relative to it—that Mr. WILBERFORCE, himself, went to that prison, and made inquiries, without inquiring at all of the persons confined there, who had advanced the charge—that Mr. WILBERFORCE being a member of that committee, and Mr. W. DUNDAS, the chairman of that committee, wholly neglected to examine the state prisoners there, touching the charge stated by the gaoler in an affidavit, to have been by them or some of them advanced against him, although that document was the ground upon which that committee was appointed to inspect and inquire, and report on that prison—that though the committee visited the room in which these prisoners were confined, they came only as casual spectators did, and never announced themselves, or asked a question by which they could be known as a committee—that

ARIS, the gaoler, acknowledged upon oath, that he visited his prison with a stick in his hand, and struck his prisoners with both stick and fist—that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT stated in the House of Commons, that he believed there were then amongst those state prisoners, men as honest and as virtuous as any of those he was then addressing—that a man named HIGGLES, charged with no offence but poverty! not even suspected of any crime, but misery! was confined there six days and nights, in a wretched cell, and died in it, under circumstances which induced Sir FRANCIS to say of him, that he had complained unheeded and in vain, that he wanted not the apothecary, but food and warmth—that he was “a poor wretched murdered object” *—that the gaoler laid all under contribution, even the wretched prisoners themselves, every article being turned to profit; the food, the fuel, the mattresses, the beds, the apartments, the kitchen, even the hospital, were all sources of profit to him; from those prisoners who had any thing to give, receiving a weekly payment, and even those who had nothing serving the purposes of his avarice; for the example of the cruelties exercised upon them, was motive sufficient to extort the last farthing from him who had one, the gaoler receiving what he called *tip* from his prisoners, and presents from their friends for

* It is proper to state, that nothing in this sheet relative to the management of the House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields, is meant to apply in any way whatever to its present government under Mr. ADKINS, whose name I have always heard mentioned with respect.

admission; even borrowing hundreds of pounds from his prisoners, for some of which he had been afterwards arrested—that Sir Francis Burdett, in the House of Commons, speaking of the conduct of that gaoler, said,—“ I am
 “ not now barely stating what a
 “ man in such circumstances may
 “ be expected to do; I speak of
 “ what I aver he has done. I
 “ call for inquiry into the hor-
 “ rid facts, and I offer proofs! I
 “ say his means of extortion are,
 “ for his prisoners, dark cells,
 “ close confinement, without ex-
 “ ercise, without sufficient food,
 “ without warmth, without light,
 “ without cleanliness, without
 “ proper opportunities for their
 “ natural occasions, without in-
 “ telligence, given or received,
 “ debarred from books, pen, ink,
 “ paper—their friends excluded:
 “ —I say, he keeps them hun-
 “ gry and cold, and motionless,
 “ and heavily ironed:—I say,
 “ they receive from his hands,
 “ and from his turnkeys’, blows,
 “ and death by torture.”

During that suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, a person was confined there as a state prisoner for three months; and the gaoler being examined as to the cause of the prisoner not being shown to the visiting Magistrates, he said the prisoner’s name was not on the books; and being asked why not on the books? he answered, “ Be-
 cause he had *no warrant* with him!”

What has been *done*, man may *do*; and who can be assured, that when the power exists, the same use will not some day be made of it. Mr. COBBETT being acquainted with these facts, de-

ploring the state of his country, believing that he could not remain at liberty in it, and combining, perhaps, with that conviction, other persuasions, of a public, as well as some of a more private and personal nature, has withdrawn himself from the power of the new-fangled laws, and thus preserved his personal liberty, and some part, at least, of his usefulness.

To you, my fellow-countrymen, the readers of Mr. COBBETT’S *Weekly Political Pamphlet*, I intended to urge certain grounds, on which I claim your support for this publication; but I have not room to do that, or to say any more respecting Mr. COBBETT, as I also intended. I have much to acquaint you with on both these points, but they must be reserved for my next.

I little thought, when I put into Mr. COBBETT’S hand *Brother JACKSON’S* receipt for the 400 *Romsey Registers* I presented him with, the particulars of which you will find in Mr. COBBETT’S Register of *January 4th* (page 8); I little thought then, or when I afterwards pointed out to him the information in my account of the *Riots*, which had escaped his notice (see the same number, page 6), that then, when he had just concluded his “*Call upon the Clergy*,” and was induced, from my conversation with him, to announce “a New Year’s Gift to Old GEORGE ROSE,” for his next number; I say, I little thought then, that he would in three months from that time be on board a vessel proceeding to America, and that I should, in fourteen weeks, to a day, address you on the cessation of his *Re-*

gister, which at that time was in the height of its sale.

I cannot conclude, however, without mingling my regret with yours, that we have lost Mr. COBBETT as a public writer, when we most need his powerful aid.

His final production in this country will be published on Saturday. It is entitled, "Mr. COBBETT'S LAST ADDRESS to his Countrymen, previous to his Departure to America; in which his Motives and Intentions are fully stated."

We can have nothing more from his pen for three months at least, and then, if he writes, though his opinions on general subjects will be of great value, yet we must lament that he will labour under the disadvantage of being some thousands of miles from the scene where the events happen on which he writes; and that his remarks on them cannot be read by us, until a quarter of a year afterwards.

Postponing some important explanations until my next,

I remain,

Fellow Countrymen,

Your faithful Servant,

WILLIAM HONE.

Thursday, 3d April, 1817.

CONTENTS OF No. IX.

Mr. Cobbett's Horsewhipping, the Morning Post Account, and the true Account—Specimens of Representation—Edinburgh City and County—Borough of Yarmouth, and Mr. Maconochie—Mr Douglas, his Burghs, and his Wiser People of Scotland—Plympton Earle, and Mr. Boswell—Anecdote of Dr. Johnson—Mr. Maconochie, and the Tin Kettle tied, &c.—Scottish Anti-Reformists—Sentiment of Napoleon, from his Life, written by himself—Lord Chesterfield—Lord Carteret—Mr. Fawkes—Earl Grosvenor—Lord Bolingbroke on the Consequences of Universal Corruption in England—An almost incredible Anecdote of the present Parliament.

CONTENTS OF No. X.

Mr. WALTER FAWKES, and the YORKSHIRE MEETING—The Gag Committee—The 12 Noble Men of Yorkshire—Yorkshire Addressers a Century ago—Letter from a Yorkshire Bookseller—CORNWALL MEETING—Mr. RASHLEIGH'S admirable Speech, verbatim—Lord Cochrane going to South America—Alleged Departure of Mr. COBBETT, for America—Mr. CAPEL LOFFT on REFORM.

I beg to inform Country Inquirers, who desire to have the *Reformists' Register*, that they should give their orders for it to Country Booksellers, most of whom have usually a parcel of various publications every week from their agents in town, and these town agents will procure and forward the *Register*, in their weekly parcels, regularly; but Booksellers, and persons in the country, who take the *Reformists' Register* to sell again, may have them forwarded in any way they point out, by remitting with the order, or appointing payment by some person in London, at stated periods.

W. H.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 12.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1817.

[Vol. I.

A SECOND LETTER TO MR. COBBETT'S READERS.

LORD SIDMOUTH'S LETTER

about Publications: what it is, and what it is not—Rev. ROBERT HALL, of Cambridge, on the Freedom of the Press—No more Anti-Cobbetting—Coincidences of Mr. COBBETT'S LAST ADDRESS, and my last Number—Sale at Botley—Mr. COBBETT'S last Arrangements, and last Requests—The Manchester Petition—BLANKET BEAUX of Manchester—A Father's Distraction—FAMISHING, a Poem.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

In my letter to you last Saturday, I spoke of our feelings as *Englishmen*, and of the cause of those feelings; I described two classes of people, who shamelessly and falsely call themselves *loyal*; I recommended courage and union amongst ourselves; I mentioned the emigration of capitalists to America; I remarked on the cold-blooded speculation in the *Times*, upon our *rotting*; I observed at considerable length on Mr. COBBETT'S departure; I related my last conver-

sation with him; I stated some of the cruel punishments and wrongous imprisonments inflicted by arbitrary power; I enjoined you, as I do again enjoin you, to treasure up and read all the excellent letters and advice which you will find in his *Cheap Register*; I deplored its discontinuance, and the loss of his usefulness at this time; I pointed out to your special notice, his *LAST ADDRESS*, since published under the title of Mr. COBBETT'S *Taking Leave of his Countrymen*; and, finally, I postponed something further I had to say respecting Mr. COBBETT and myself, until the present Number. Recalling, therefore, those topics of my first Letter to your recollection, I now proceed to continue what I left unfinished. Before doing this, however, I beg your attention to a publication by the Right Hon. Lord Viscount SIDMOUTH, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, of which the following is a

(COPY.)

“ Whitehall, March 27, 1817.

“ MY LORD,

“ As it is of the greatest importance to prevent, as far as possible, the circulation of
“ BLASPHEMOUS AND SEDITIOUS pamphlets and writings,
“ of which, for a considerable

“ *time past, great numbers have*
 “ *been sold and distributed*
 “ *throughout the country; I have*
 “ *thought it my duty to consult*
 “ *the law officers of the Crown,*
 “ *whether an individual found*
 “ *selling, or in any way publish-*
 “ *ing such pamphlets or writings,*
 “ *might be brought immediately*
 “ *before a Justice of the Peace,*
 “ *under a warrant issued for the*
 “ *purpose, to answer for his con-*
 “ *duct. The law officers having*
 “ *accordingly taken this matter*
 “ *into their consideration, have*
 “ *notified to me their opinion,*
 “ *that a Justice of the Peace may*
 “ *issue a warrant to apprehend a*
 “ *person charged before him*
 “ *UPON OATH with the publi-*
 “ *cation of LIBELS of the na-*
 “ *ture in question, and compel*
 “ *him to give bail to answer the*
 “ *charge. Under these circum-*
 “ *stances, I beg leave to call your*
 “ *Lordship's attention very par-*
 “ *ticularly to this subject; and I*
 “ *have to request, that if your*
 “ *Lordship should not propose to*
 “ *attend in person, at the next*
 “ *General Quarter Sessions of the*
 “ *Peace, to be holden in and for*
 “ *the county under your Lord-*
 “ *ship's charge, you would make*
 “ *known to the Chairman of such*
 “ *Sessions the substance of this*
 “ *communication, in order that*
 “ *he may recommend to the se-*
 “ *veral Magistrates, to act there-*
 “ *upon in all cases where any per-*
 “ *son should be found offending*
 “ *AGAINST THE LAW, in*
 “ *the manner above mentioned. I*
 “ *beg leave to add, that persons*
 “ *vending pamphlets or other*
 “ *publications in the manner*
 “ *alluded to, should be consi-*
 “ *dered as coming under the*
 “ *provisions of the Hawker's and*

“ *Pedlar's Act, and be dealt with*
 “ *accordingly, unless they show*
 “ *that they are furnished with a*
 “ *license, as required by the said*
 “ *Act. I am, &c.*

“ SIDMOUTH.

“ *To his Majesty's Lord Lieutenant*
 “ *of the County of _____.*

I hear a great deal more im-
 portance attached to this com-
 munication than it really de-
 serves. It has been called a *Pro-*
clamation, and some of the news-
 papers, according to their diffe-
 rent views and *interests*, have
 given titles to it which would
 induce some people to think,
 that they themselves really be-
 lieved we were hereafter only to
 read and write what may be
 agreeable to his Majesty's Minis-
 ters. Now, this is a *letter*, a mere
letter, nothing but a *letter*, and in
 no way whatever concerning us,
 the People; *unless, indeed, it was*
written for the very purpose of
being read by us, and then, to be
 sure, the end is so far answered.
 Though it is directed to the Lord
 Lieutenants of Counties, request-
 ing them to acquaint the Chair-
 men of the next General Quarter
 Sessions of the Peace with *its*
substance; yet, not only the Chair-
 men have been made acquainted
 with the substance of it, but here
 we have it at full length in all the
 newspapers.

Still, however, this *letter* is
 nothing to us; we have nothing
 to do with it: *The REFOR-*
MISTS' REGISTER is no *pro-*
mulgator of LIBELS. It would,
 as the *letter* says, be *offending*
against the law, to be so. I did
 not need the *letter* to tell me that;
 having ever been well convinced
 that obedience to the laws is neces-

sary to the safety of the commonwealth. If we think a law improvident, inexpedient, positively bad, and mischievous, our legal constitutional course is to endeavour to get that law put out of existence by another law. If we think Ministers unwise, weak, foolish, unfit to regulate the concerns of this great nation; then we will petition for their removal. If we think the House of Commons is so constituted as to require Reform, and that we ought to be fully, fairly, and freely represented in that House—and all this we do think—then we will petition for Reform. If it be affirmed, that we, the *Commons* of England, ought not to be represented in *our own House*, we will prove that we ought to be. If it be denied that Annual Parliaments were the law of the land, we will show, that Parliaments not only *met* annually, but that Parliaments were *elected* annually, accordingly to law. If it be denied that it is proper to canvass, and examine, and reprobate the conduct of Ministers, we will show that the errors of the ablest and wisest Ministers have been so investigated, condemned, and remedied; and that incapable and wicked Ministers have, by force of public opinion, been displaced and punished. All this we will prove to have been done by our ancestors, and be prepared like them to do. We Constitutional Reformists care not for the open circulation of a *letter* by one public officer, a *Secretary of State*, addressed to another public officer; a *Lord Lieutenant*, calling upon him to tell a third, a *Chairman of the Quarter Sessions*, to instruct a fourth, the *Magis-*

trate under him, that it is the opinion of a fifth, a *Crown Lawyer*, “that a Justice of Peace may issue a warrant to apprehend a person charged before him, upon oath, with the publication of ‘LIBEL;’” this is no concern of *ours*; for *we* are not, nor will we be, *libellers*. I shall not waste one of my columns to inquire upon what grounds this opinion of the law officers of the Crown is founded. We are legally and constitutionally, openly and unceasingly, and against all the arts of influence, and threats of corruption, seeking to obtain Reform, and therefore are the last men likely to be seditious libellers. We are political dissenters from the establishment, ‘more sinned against than sinning.’ We bear and forbear. We are compelled to bear with the taunts and abuse of those who, being within the pale of privilege, smite us upon one cheek; and we forbear, whilst they insist on smiting us upon the other. We are struggling for emancipation, and they for power; we for right, and they for might; but as unconstitutional power, and illegal might, must in the end be overcome by knowledge and wisdom, so we patiently persist, with the sure and certain hope of victory.

Lord SIDMOUTH’S *letter* says, that a Justice of Peace may hold a person to bail who is *charged upon oath* with publishing a *libel*; now, as I said before, I will not inquire whether such a holding to bail be or be not a *legal* measure; but I do affirm, that neither so charging a person upon oath, nor holding him to bail, *makes* him a *libeller*. A person may be so charged on oath, and so held

to bail, and be no more a *libeller* than Mr. CHAPMAN of the Treasury is Mr. PITT; notwithstanding Mr. MURRAY, a police officer, affirms that Mr. CHAPMAN is Mr. PITT, and is ready to *charge him upon oath* with being Mr. PITT. It will not be a very easy thing to get respectable persons to act upon this opinion of the law officers of the Crown. A man moving in any thing of decent society, however weak his intellect, or perverted his mind, or however instigated, will scarcely venture to swear himself in as an *informer*, and that, too, at the risk of having his *charge upon oath* rejected by the Magistrate; for Lord SIDMOUTH's letter simply says, that a Justice of the Peace *may*, not that he *shall*, issue his warrant to apprehend the person charged; so that there may be a great deal of *loyalty* wasted, and nobody be the better for it, except the Justice's clerk, who gets a shilling for the oath; nor anybody the worse for it, except the *informer*, who gets the title for his trouble, and is laughed at for ever.

If Lord SIDMOUTH's *letter* was designed to be a *private circular* of instruction to the Lord Lieutenants; the Noble Secretary of State is under little obligation to the *ardent mind* of the worthy Lord Lieutenant who has published it. But really there is no knowing exactly in what light to look at the *letter*. If it be circular, *written for the express purpose of being printed* in the newspapers, then it is another affair altogether; and my Lord SIDMOUTH—having taken his chance of having the *letter* re-

viewed, will not be disappointed if the reviewers are not all of one mind. For myself, as far as this sheet extends, the letter will have all the circulation I can give it; and as it will thus be read by many thousands of persons who would not otherwise see it, one object of its being written will be answered. There is something whimsical about the letter. His Lordship, with the assistance of Lord CASTLE-REAGH, got the personal safety act of the People suspended; extended the personal safety act of the King to the Prince Regent, and made *that* perpetual; revived two acts for preventing the seduction of sailors and soldiers, and made their provisions perpetual also; and obtained an act for more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies: yet, with these acts at his back, it seems the Noble Lord wishes to make himself still stronger by this *letter*. I remember, about sixteen years ago, when the Noble Lord was plain Mr. ADDINGTON, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that under the alleged apprehension of French invasion, he brought in a bill to compel all who were not volunteers, to go into the *levy-en-masse*, and thus forced every man in the kingdom to be a volunteer. On this occasion a caricature appeared, representing, without much regard to perspective, France and England, with the channel between; the Noble Lord stood on the shore at Dover, whilst NAPOLEON, a very little fellow, popped his head over the walls of Calais, and cried, "I'm a coming!"—the Noble Lord exclaimed to himself, with great

fear and trembling, "Lord have mercy on us!" but bawled out, in the same breath, "Who's afraid!" NAPOLEON called again, "I'm a coming!" the Noble Lord again ejaculated, "Lord have mercy upon us!" and roared out still louder, "D——n me, who's afraid!" The immense array of soldiery behind his Lordship; part of a certain apparatus used in medical application, depending from his coat pocket; the rueful dismay of his countenance; his knick-knock knees; and an enormously large sword in his hand; most laughably contrasted with the pert, make-believe, threatening little figure on the other side. The Noble Secretary's *letter* has a sort of *Lord ha' mercy on us* bravery in it, and forcibly brings the caricature to my recollection.

Extreme horror of public discussion is founded in weakness. The Rev. ROBERT HALL, of Cambridge, in his *Apology for the Freedom of the Press*, remarks, that Government being an institution purely human, one would imagine it were the proper province for freedom of discussion, in its utmost extent. It is surely just that every one should have a right to examine those measures by which the happiness of all may be affected. The controul of the public mind over the conduct of Ministers, exerted through the medium of the press, has been regarded by the best writers, both in our country and on the continent, as the main support of our liberties. While this remains, we cannot be enslaved; when it is impaired or diminished, we shall soon cease to be free.

Every thing (says Mr. HALL)

that is really excellent, will bear examination, it will even invite it; and the more narrowly it is surveyed, to the more advantage will it appear. Is our Constitution a good one, it will gain in our esteem by the severest inquiry. Is it bad, then its imperfections should be laid open and exposed. Is it, as is generally confessed, of a mixed nature, excellent in theory, but defective in its practice; freedom of discussion will be still requisite to point out the nature and source of its corruptions, and apply suitable remedies. If our Constitution be that perfect model of excellence it is represented, it may boldly appeal to the *reason* of an enlightened age, and need not rest on the support of an implicit faith.

Government (Mr. HALL observes) is the creature of the People; and that which they have created, they surely have a right to examine. The great Author of Nature having placed the right of dominion in no particular hands, hath left every point relating to it to be settled by the consent and approbation of mankind. In spite of the attempts of sophistry to conceal the origin of political right, it must inevitably rest at length on the acquiescence of the People. In the case of individuals, it is extremely plain. If one man should overwhelm another with superior force, and after completely subduing him under the name of government, transmit him in this condition to his heirs, every one would exclaim against such a piece of injustice. But whether the object of this oppression be one, or a million, can

make no difference in its nature; the idea of equity having no relation to that of numbers. Mr. BURKE, with some other authors, are aware that an original right of dominion can only be explained by resolving into it the will of the people, yet contend that it becomes inalienable and independent by length of time and prescription. This fatal mistake appears to have arisen from confounding the *right of dominion* with that of *private property*. Possession for a certain time, it is true, vests in the *latter* a complete right, or there would be no end to vexatious claims; not to mention that it is of no consequence to society where property lies, provided its regulations be clear, and its possession undisturbed. For the same reason, it is of the essence of private property to be held for the sole use of the owner, with liberty to employ it in what way he pleases, consistent with the safety of the community. But the right of *dominion* has none of the qualities that distinguish private possession. It is never indifferent to the community in whose hands it is lodged; nor is it intended in any degree for the benefit of those who conduct it. Being derived from the will of the People, explicit or implied, and existing solely for their use, it can no more become independent of that will, than water can rise above its source. But if we allow the People are the true origin of political power, it is absurd to require them to resign the right of discussing any question that can arise either upon its form or its measures, as this would put it forever out of their power to revoke

the trust which they have placed in the hands of their rulers.

If it be a crime (Mr. HALL continues) for a subject of Great Britain to express his disapprobation of that form of government under which he lives, the same conduct must be condemned in the inhabitant of any other country. Perhaps it will be said, a distinction ought to be made on account of the superior excellence of the British Constitution. This superiority I am not disposed to contest; yet cannot allow it to be a proper reply, as it takes for granted that which is supposed to be a matter of debate and inquiry. Let a government be ever so despotic, it is a chance if those who share in the administration are not loud in proclaiming its excellence. Go into Turkey, and the Pachas of the provinces will probably tell you, that the Turkish government is the most perfect in the world. If the excellency of a constitution, then, is assigned as the reason that none should be permitted to censure it, who, I ask, is to determine on this its excellence? If you reply, every man's own reason will determine, you concede the very point I am endeavouring to establish, *the liberty of free inquiry*: if you reply, our rulers, you admit a principle that equally applies to every government in the world, and will lend no more support to the British Constitution, than to that of Turkey or Algiers.

An inquiry (says Mr. HALL) respecting the comparative excellence of civil constitutions, can be forbidden on no other pretence, than of its tending to sedition and anarchy. This plea,

however, will have little weight with those who reflect to how many ill purposes it has been already applied; and that when the example has been once introduced, of suppressing opinions, on account of their imagined ill *tendency*, it has seldom been confined within any safe or reasonable bounds. - The doctrine of *tendencies* is extremely subtle and complicated. This dread of certain opinions, on account of their *tendency*, has been the copious spring of all those religious wars and persecutions, which are the disgrace and calamity of modern times.

The real danger to every free government (Mr. HALL remarks) is less from its enemies than from itself. *Should it resist the most temperate Reforms, and maintain its abuses with obstinacy, imputing complaint to faction, calumniating its friends, and smiling only on its flatterers; should it encourage informers, and hold out rewards to treachery, turning every man into a spy, and every neighbourhood into the seat of an inquisition, let it not hope it can long conceal its tyranny under the mask of freedom. These are the avenues through which despotism must enter; these are the arts at which integrity sickens, and freedom turns pale.*

The Reverend Mr. HALL, a clergyman, a man of great learning and talent, was not ashamed to utter these sentiments before all men; and I remember, though I was very young at the time, that when he did so, in the year 1793, they were entertained with suitable respect. They are fully as applicable now as they were

then; for we have seen—oh that great men would be wise, and counsellors get understanding!—we have seen that knowledge has made its way, broken down its barriers, overflowed, and fertilized every mind in its progress; that, similar to water, it has an upward as well as a downward pressure; and that when applied as a power, it acts, like the hydrostatic press, with amazing force. Let authority add weight to weight, and lay heavy burdens upon truth, still its upward pressure is increased by the smallest additions to it, till the very instruments used to keep it down, are compressed and destroyed by its irresistible strength.

Having detained you, fellow countrymen, thus long with Lord SIDMOUTH's letter, which I have shown can be of no importance to us; and with the excellent opinions of Mr. HALL, which are of importance to us, because the experience of 24 years since they were written has proved them to be true; we will now return to Mr. COBBETT, whose departure has been a death-blow to some of our enemies, and a source of great gratification to others. A few scribblers, who ground their quills against the principles he advocated in the *Weekly Political Pamphlet*, fretting and fuming, and wearing them to the bare stump, for very rage and a paltry pittance, are cut off in the midst of their work. They may console themselves, if they will, with what is the fact, that their scribbling had no share in hastening his departure and their own ruin; but truth is a thing they cannot comprehend, and conscience, hanging about the neck of their

hearts, reproaches them with having been perhaps a sort of accessories to their own undoing. They have lost the dirty bread tossed to them by their niggardly masters, as a reward for their dirty labours. *Anti-Cobbetting* is all over: there will be no more printing at three halfpence a sheet, to be a halfpenny less than *Cobbett's Political Pamphlet*; no more leaving them in at coffee-houses, and on tap-room tables; no more sending them gratis to "well-disposed people," and dropping them down areas; no more coaxing, and pushing, and wheedling people to take them in, for the use of the servants and apprentices. It was all up-hill, unprofitable work, whilst it lasted; for, like Brother JACKSON, of the *Romsey Register*, they could get nobody to read them—they might be bought by the great folks, to give away, to be sure—but as to an independent journeyman, or mechanic, or handicraftsman, being enticed to purchase the *Anti-Cobbett* for three halfpence, why, it was like offering a three-halfpenny ounce of salts to a famishing man, who wanted to lay out two-pence in buying a loaf. However, it is all over now. The poor creatures who in vain beat their empty skulls for an idea, and those who most cautiously read their productions in search of one, without finding it, may alike rest in peace. The quill grinders *must* rest—their occupation's gone. By the simple process of going without food for a week, they will be qualified for coroner's verdicts of "Died—by the visitation of God!" or, if they wish to become useful at last, they may crawl out into the market-

gardeners' grounds, and hang themselves up for scarecrows.

Mr. COBBETT is by this time, probably, one fourth part of the way to the United States. His *Last Address*, his *Taking Leave* of you, my fellow countrymen, has, by this time, been in all your hands. It is just what might have been expected from his pen; and it is remarkable, that in my last Number, published on the same day, I touched on nearly the same topics, and that we treated them both alike. This is *very* remarkable. It is an instance of two persons, two hundred miles apart, writing and thinking so exactly alike, as to express themselves nearly in the same words.

In my last *Register*, speaking of the *Cheap Repository Tracts*, &c. I said (p. 326), "the general tenor of the *trash* is, 'work, if 'you can get any thing to do, 'if not, apply to the overseers, ' &c.'" Mr. COBBETT, in his *Taking Leave*, speaking of similar publications, likewise calls them (p. 9) "*trash*, with which the People are not to be amused, by a recital of the manifold blessings of a state of things, in which they have not half enough to eat, &c."

At p. 326, I say, "they look upon us as a grazier looks at his *cattle*. 'What are they 'worth per carcase? How do 'they tallow upon the caul and 'on the kidneys? What will 'they cost per head to keep? 'Are they worth keeping any 'longer? Are they worth ship- 'ping off alive?' and so forth. We are viewed, and turned over, and speculated upon, as "a kind of live *stock*, &c." Mr.

COBBETT (p. 6) says, that writers who "consider men as mere *animals*, may have had influence "in the producing this change; "and we now frequently hear "the working classes called, "the *population*," just as we call "the animals upon a farm, 'the "stock."

At p. 324, I said, that "men in "business, as manufacturers or "farmers, with large capitals at "their command, are emigrating. "Such men as these have gone, "and others are going, to culti- "vate land, and establish manu- "factories, in countries where "their skill and capital are of "more value, and can be made "more productive than in this." Mr. COBBETT says (p. 16), "at "this very moment hundreds of "farmers are actually preparing "to remove themselves and their "property to America, and many "are now upon the voyage— "with their valuable industry "and skill to add to the agricul- "ture of America."

I said (at p. 330), that we were "holding life but by *sufferance*, "and at the pleasure of Minis- "ters." Mr. COBBETT says (p. 3), had he remained in England, he should have "walked about his "fields, or slept in his bed, merely "at the *mercy* of a Secretary of "State."

There are other trains of thought and expression, in Mr. COBBETT's *Leave-Taking*, and my own *Register*, of that day, which show that persons thinking alike may write alike, without one copying from the other.

All that the *hirelings* say against Mr. COBBETT, now he is *gone*, will have no more weight than the stuff they opposed to

his arguments for Reform, when here. They exultingly announced, that his farming stock was to be sold by auction at Botley, on Monday last. They particularize his "four capital mules, "quiet in harness; 15 asses; a "mare; 2 fine colts, the one a "yearling, the other 2 years old; "rick of good meadow hay; "about 100 tons of excellent tur- "nips; lamb carriage, with 4 "good wheels, and wicker body; "a gig; 5 capital rick-staddles, on "stout pillars, and caps; cucum- "ber and melon frames, with glass "lights; 10 large framed lights "for graping; hand lights; stone "roller; &c. Also, the excellent "fixtures of the house, compri- "sing register and other stoves, "kitchen range, large copper "furnace, shelves, dressers, and "other articles;" and the mean, mindless, degraded brutes, ex- ulting in the break-up of his es- tablishment, and the separation of his family, call him a *transport*, and ask what has become of the rest of his furniture? Wretches! Why, they know that it had been removed to another farm, which he lived on, in the neighbourhood; and, that when he left *Botley* for *Catherine Street*, part of it went there. As for their rejoicing—less low feeling was not expected from their vulgar hearts.

Mr. COBBETT, before he went, took all the measures that ap- peared to him to be requisite to arrange his affairs. He empowered a person to receive into his possession all the stock of his *Register*, and the whole of *Paper against Gold*, remaining in the hands of the printers.

A gentleman whom he en-

trusted with the management of his concerns, he requested to call on his printers, for their accounts, which he required to be sent after him; and he also desired the printers to be informed, that they will be *justly paid*, before the period at which they would be settled with, had the printing been done for booksellers. In the same letter, he ordered every thing to be sold, including his library. He desired nothing more to be reserved for his own use, than a white poney, which his wife was accustomed to ride, and which had learned all his children to ride; with all his dogs, and four turkeys, which had been breeders. The whole of these he mentions not to be worth twenty pounds. A mare he orders to be returned to Mr. CARTWRIGHT. He says in this letter, that he has taken with him barely sufficient to carry him to America—he believes that his wife may have sufficient for the expenses of herself and her daughter; but if she has not, he has no doubt that her perseverance and good management will enable her to effect his wishes in following him.

Base, thoroughly base, my fellow countrymen, is that man, who would insult another under those circumstances which occasion Mr. COBBETT to leave England. No one of us, I am sure, is capable of harbouring the like feelings towards any human being, however we may dislike his politics, or his writings. But we had no right to expect better things from their pens. They imposed on their readers by giving out, that whilst

he was at Liverpool he secreted himself; whereas, the direct contrary was the fact: he was there for several days, publicly walking the streets, known to every body, and receiving every body who was introduced to him. This he did until he went on board the *Importer*, Capt. HALL, which sailed for America, on Friday, the 28th of March.

Mr. COBBETT is equally out of the reach of abuse and praise. His calumniators therefore will have their full swing of vengeance, and those who pay tribute to his merit, must bear an additional share of the odium. This we reckoned on, fellow countrymen, and therefore we shall not be disappointed. Let them gnaw their tongues for pain, and rail on. The errors of Mr. COBBETT are as much before me as before his enemies—I know them as well as they do; but I think I exercise sound practical wisdom, in affirming, that as no man's life has been laboriously spent in the service of the public, without some deviations from the exact rule of right, so, in proportion as an individual has done great service, his deviations should be viewed with tenderness. I believe that no man has more enlightened his countrymen than Mr. COBBETT; and that to his *Weekly Political Pamphlet* is to be attributed the calm sensible conduct of the People, at the present moment. Mr. COBBETT has effected so much good, that it would be unjust to dwell on his mistakes. As some one said of a deceased public character, so I say of Mr. COBBETT—"He was so great a man, that I cannot remember his faults." Had he

never written a line before or after his *letter to the LORD MAYOR*, he would deserve the thanks of his country. I have not space here to estimate the value of his writings, and if I had, I am not prepared to defend every line that he wrote, or praise every word that he said; but instead of detracting from his usefulness, by throwing a grain of dust into the balance against him, my aim will be to preserve the recollection of what he has done for us, as much as my humble ability will admit; to keep it constantly in view; to take up as much of his ground as I can; to blow a shrill blast of alarm, to cry aloud, and spare not; to fall on, and overwhelm, and put down the enemy under our feet.

This I shall prepare to do with all my heart, and with all my might; and therefore I now quote to you, part of an election speech, made by Mr. Fox, in 1796, when the Seditious Meetings Bill of that day was in force.

"In my advertisement, I have given my opinion on the present Government of this country, and of the Parliament who supported it. I will give you my opinion again as explicitly as I can. They have (what-ever might have been their views and intentions) they have been the cause of spending more of the treasure of Great Britain, and shedding more of the blood of human beings in every part of this world, than any other government that ever preceded them. With the word *humanity* in their mouths, they have filled every quarter of the earth with more misery, and, with *religion* in their professions, they have spilled more Christian blood, than any King, Prince, or Emperor, ever did, in the annals of the world! They have been the

"cause of destroying more of God's creatures than the greatest conqueror in ancient or modern history, and have lost more at the same time than any of those conquerors ever gained? This applies to them with regard to their foreign policy. With regard to their domestic conduct, it is *most infamous*. They have sent MEN to Botany Bay, contrary to law!---contrary to justice!--contrary to the principles of humanity, which ought to be the principle of all law! They were tried, indeed: but their trials were conducted in such a manner, that every lover of justice and of humanity must revolt at it in his own mind. They have spilled no blood at home, indeed, with the exception of *one of their own spies* in Scotland: but *one* of my competitors (Mr. HORNE TOOKE), told you, they made an attack on his life: they did so, and on others also. Now, I appeal to all those who hear me, whether these gentlemen themselves, whose lives were brought in question by this attack upon them from Government---whether they, I say, ever felt more than myself, or spoke more openly their sentiments, and expressed more strongly their resentment of these infamous prosecutions, than I have. I know it is the custom of the Ministerial Party to say, that I use inflammatory language to the People. If Ministers bring this country to such a state as that a *recital* of it inflames the People, it is *their* fault, and *not* the fault of those who tell the People what their condition is. I do not wish the People of England to be inflamed; but I do wish them to feel a proper sense of the injuries they have received, and to express that sense *like Englishmen*!

"The law that was passed in the last Session of Parliament has made it impossible for more than fifty persons to meet, without being subject to the interference of a Magis-

“trate. If you take my advice, this
 “law will not disturb your meeting.
 “---MEET! [*great applause.*] MEET!
 “Act in obedience to the law, which
 “does not forbid your meeting; it
 “only empowers the Magistrate to
 “commit you, if you act improperly.
 “Meet, then, I say; conduct your-
 “selves with propriety, and see whe-
 “ther any one *will dare* to oppose you.
 “Bad as this law is, by all means
 “obey it---but unite with your obe-
 “dience to this law, a determination
 “to express your opinions and senti-
 “ments of public measures and men
 “with the firmness and temper which
 “becomes freemen. By such a de-
 “meanor you will set a good exam-
 “ple to the rest of the Kingdom,
 “which must immediately have a
 “good effect, and must influence in
 “some degree the conduct of Minis-
 “ters.

“Gentlemen, I have spoken plain-
 “ly and openly to you: and I will
 “conclude with repeating, that in
 “my conscience I believe that Go-
 “vernment has been by none exag-
 “gerated. *A more detestable one*
 “*never existed in British History*; and
 “not to detain you longer, I will sum-
 “up its character in two words.
 “*This GOVERNMENT has destroyed*
 “*more human beings in its foreign war*
 “*than Louis XIV. and attempted the*
 “*lives of more innocent men at home*
 “*than Henry VIII.*

This advice, and these truths, in the energetic language we have read, must be remembered to have been delivered by Mr. Fox, who knew well what he was saying, who had been a Minister before he made his speech, and who was a Minister afterwards.

The grounds of meeting, we all of us know, are daily increasing; but all of us perhaps do not know how the enemies of Reform treat *petitioning*. You will remember that the *Manchester*

weavers met to petition, and here is a copy of their Petition, as I find it printed in *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, of Sunday, March 23.

MANCHESTER PETITION.

“The following is a copy of the Pe-
 “tition to the PRINCE REGENT, with
 “which the persons lately arrested at
 “Manchester were proceeding to
 “London:---

“*The Petition of the Undersigned,*
 “*being Inhabitants of Manchester,*
 “*in the County of Lancaster,*

“HUMBLY SHEWETH,

“That your Petitioners, before the
 “last war, neither felt nor feared
 “either difficulties or privations;
 “but during its continuance have
 “frequently experienced both, and
 “have repeatedly applied to your
 “Royal Father, your Royal Highness,
 “and the House of Commons, for Re-
 “dress; which applications, we are
 “sorry to say, have, in our humble,
 “but firm belief, not received that at-
 “tention which their importance me-
 “rited; so that now, when the waste
 “of war is over, our sufferings are
 “become both more general and
 “deeper than ever.

“This state of things we, your
 “Petitioners, attribute to the rapid
 “increase of TAXATION, which has
 “been quadrupled, together with the
 “increase of RENT, which has pro-
 “bably been doubled during the war;
 “which, together, so nearly absorb
 “the whole produce of the kingdom,
 “as to leave a quantity very far short
 “of being sufficient to keep your Pe-
 “titioners in existence, and therefore
 “their lives are now become a burden
 “and a plague to them. Your dis-
 “tressed Petitioners are further con-
 “vinced, that if the House of Com-
 “mons had really emanated from
 “and been wholly and annually ap-
 “pointed by the People at large, this
 “war, and the taxation resulting
 “therefrom, would long ago have
 “received a sufficient check, even

“admitting the nation to have sanctioned its commencement---that the laws to regulate the importation of corn, calculated to advance its price, would never have been suffered to pass---that the law of libel, which subjects the publishers of truth itself, in some instances, to great pains and penalties, thereby preventing the publication of the most important truths, could never have received the sanction of the friends of truth and of mankind---that a Bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, a Bill empowering Ministers to imprison, without proof of guilt, whomsoever they please, and for an unknown length of time---could never have passed.

“Your Petitioners, therefore humbly, but fervently, pray, that your Royal Highness will instantly dismiss from your Councils all those Ministers who have advised or devised, such cruel, and unjust measures, and call to your Councils men who are the declared or avowed friends to conciliatory measures---to Parliamentary Reform---and a general and very considerable retrenchment in every part of national expenditure. Our lives are in your hands---our happiness, in a great measure, depends on you. *If you procure adoption of measures calculated to relieve us, you may then safely rely upon our support and gratitude---without this, we can neither support you nor ourselves.* Your gracious attention to our prayers, will gain you the eternal esteem and gratitude of your Petitioners, who will ever pray.”

You will remember that these Manchester men, as related in a former *Register*, were dispersed by the military; that some of them were taken into custody; that others, with Petitions in their hands, proceeded to London, to present, or cause

their Petitions to be presented to the PRINCE REGENT; that those who were prepared for the journey had some provisions with them, and that each man carried a *blanket* to sleep on at night. Now it is not attempted to be denied that most of these persons were in very great distress; and, that considering their case not properly represented to Government, they adopted the resolution of coming to town themselves. Whether that was the right course, or not, I will not say any thing about; but it is very clear that the military thought it was not; for the *Manchester* papers say, some of the Petitioners were *sabred*. One way or other, they were stopped from coming up to London. Now, if these persons *were* distressed; if most of them *were* out of employment, and could get none; if they had been long *unemployed*, without a prospect of being speedily employed; they were objects of our sympathy and relief. There can be no doubt, too, that if they had been laughed at in their misery—if their distress had been ridiculed—if their appearing famished, and uncouthly clad, had called forth taunt, that such treatment would excite disgust in the humane of all parties; that a man who would do so, must be thought below a brute—to have a heart without feeling, and a mind of diabolical construction; that it is almost impossible to suppose such a man can exist; and yet *such* a man does exist, who *has* so ridiculed the miserable, and taunted their distress—aye, and has done it in print, too—in a newspaper. Yes, these poor un-

happy men, whom the *Manchester* papers describe, as weak and pale, and hungry, and unemployed, with their humble Petition in one hand, and with a blanket at their backs, have been taunted, wantonly, wickedly taunted, with a nick-name—the helpless wretchedness of their appearance has enabled the *Courier* to call them *Blanket Beaux!!!* Here is the Passage:—"Thanks to the Magistrates of Lancashire, and other districts, who stopped the BLANKET BEAUX in their progress to the Court of Carlton House to pay their respects to the PRINCE REGENT!" I remember no instance of refined cruelty, equal to this, and involuntarily call to recollection the sayings of the wise:—

"Behold the TEARS of such as were OPPRESSED, and they had NO COMFORTER; and on the side of their OPPRESSIONS there was POWER.—They are not in trouble as other men; neither are they plagued like other men. Therefore pride compasseth them about as a chain; violence covereth them as a garment. Their eyes stand out with fatness; they have more than heart could wish. They are CORRUPT, and speak wickedly concerning OPPRESSION."

I dare not trust myself with remark upon the passage I have quoted from the *Courier*, nor upon the shocking indifference with which that paper has treated cases of individual misery, arising out of the present state of things. I have lately become acquainted with scenes of distress, that would wring any

heart, except that of the worst-hearted man alive—the man who wrote that passage.

Hopelessness is not now confined to the humblest walks in life. As I have elsewhere observed, reflecting observers will not be surprised at the ebullitions of distraction which arise from the vast mass of existing distress. He who is completely destitute—who has fallen from comforts to bare necessities—from just enough to not quite—from that to no prospect of support at all—is a wretch without hope. He is shunned by society, and he shuns it. He is a stricken deer, from whom the sleek herd fly; the hunters are upon him, and he is without shelter or escape. To his family his face wears unusual earnestness of meaning; his lips indistinctly mutter of future welfare—that something will turn up yet—that he intends so and so. In vain are his endeavours to dispel their recklessness and despair. He goes forth in the silence of extreme suffering; he sinks upon a seat, without object or purpose; his arms drop unstrung at his side; he has neither nerves or muscles—his whole frame is without tension: his eyes glaze—he sees nothing: his tears flow cold upon his face—he has no sense of weeping: spell-bound by misery, he is unconscious of being alive: his sufferings are condensed upon his heart, and he endures the intensity of human agony. But an acquaintance-like face dissolves the charm: in an instant, and as by magic, sense and recollection return; he talks faster, and starts more subjects, and laughs louder than his visitor. These are the

bubblings of the life-blood—the hallucinations of an intolerable anguish, of which the *walk-about*s of the world know nothing. Again left alone, he as suddenly relapses into his horrible gloom. Does his wife look upon him, or a child, or one he *loves*—he starts up convulsively—a moment is sufficient to form dreadful designs—and he rushes away, to bear, afar off from those dearest to his affections, the raging conflagration of his mind. —Surely, surely, towards such men the *paternity* of government should be exercised. Is the patient pained, and in delirium from exhaustion?—the physician prescribes anodynes and nourishment; he does not wait until the frenzy becomes so alarming, as to require the strait waistcoat:—if he should, and instead of putting it on, he suffers fatal violences to be committed, the physician is answerable to the law for his misprision and neglect, and not the madman.

I have written this Number with great difficulty, in severe affliction from the sudden death of one of my children—the only one I have lost out of eight. I mention this to account for mistakes which very likely have escaped my notice.

I crave careful perusal of the beautiful Poem which concludes this sheet; and thus I tender the Author my thanks for obliging me with it.

I am,

Fellow Countrymen,

Your faithful Friend,

WILLIAM HONE.

Wednesday, 9th April, 1817.

FAMISHING.

—“ Take physic, Pomp;
“ Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
“ That thou may'st shake the superflux to them,
“ And show the Heavens more just.”

SHAKESPEARE.

Go to, ye sordid, narrow-purpos'd souls
Of titled selfishness, go to, and hug [fast,
Your lov'd possessions; see you hold them
For lo! a while, and unrespective Time
His “ dreadful summoner ” shall send, to
whom

Ye all must bow; not as ye bow and cringe
To nature's spoiler, the fear'd reveller,
Who proudly lords it over passive misery;
But in earnestness, head, heart, hand, and
soul,

And scatter'd senses, rolling in the gulf
Of vile chaotic nothingness; inert,
All, save the undying soul, that ceases not,
But lives, obnoxious to its just award.

How may you envy, then, the meanest
wretch [ously,

Whom yesterday you spurn'd, contemptu-
For poorly daring but to supplicate,

What might have sav'd his life, though
scant indeed [mal sound?

The pittance.—Hush! heard you that dis-
'Twas but the clamour-burden'd air, that
wail'd

Portentously, the troubling times, and
wretchedness

Of listless unemployed poverty.—

Nay, 'twas more; an agoniz'd poor spirit
Sever'd his o'er-strain'd heart-strings, and
did shriek

Joyous, to leave his shatter'd citadel,
Where hunger, grief, despair, and misery,
Had wrought such breaches, nature dy'd to
know !—

Here is a scene for sympathy; for rage:
Poor murder'd wretch! thou hadst a right
in life

Compascent with thyself, and surely then

Thou should'st have had the means, else
 nature toils [earth;
 In vain, to clothe with good the fertile
 She did intend thee part-proprietor,
 And sent thee in possession. If not so,
 'Twere dreadful to be forc'd unwittingly,
 Into this "breathing world," to look and
 starve
 While others feast, insatiate of satiety
 O'erclay'd; and spoil, destroy, and waste,
 when fails
 Enjoyment.

Yes, thou too drew'st sustenance
 As sweet, and hadst a soul as pure, as those
 In affluence. Thou saw'st the heav'n's
 sweet light, [beat
 And earth's fair bosom bar'd, and thy heart
 In gratitude to the great cause of all.—
 Thus far was joy. Thus far fallacious hope
 Allur'd thee on, unmark'd the narrow
 bounds
 Of human bliss. Adversity, fell fiend!
 Assail'd thy then unpractis'd step; thou
 fells't, [but death!
 And none would reach the helping hand,
 Oh! my poor country, shall it then be
 told,
 Alas! that in thy great metropolis,
 A human being died of want? oh shame!
 That such a scene should blast thy fair re-
 nown, [liberal,
 Curtail thy meed of praise, for actions
 Philanthropic, humane, and generous,
 And just! Is it to pamper titled interest,
 Whose boasted right's the cobweb tie of
 birth,
 Fortuitous, uncertain, unimprov'd,
 That thy poor citizens must suffer, e'en

To death?—then shall the dying soon be
 seen, [ously,
 Not dropping here and there promiscu-
 But in whole hecatombs, whose cries shall
 wake
 Eternal justice to avenge the wrongs
 Committed on creation; England then
 Shall mourn her faded laurels, and shall lift
 The strong, right arm of power, to drive
 Far, far away the spoiler. And for thee,
 Poor sufferer, may the eternal Being
 Heal up thy spirit, and irradiate love
 Beam on thy soul approving, as on all
 Who love their fellow-men, and honour
 Him
 Beatific, omnipotent, benign!

JUSTUS.

CONTENTS OF No. XI. is a Letter to the Readers of Mr. Cobbett's Weekly Political Pamphlet—Public Feeling—Loyalty—Emigration—Cheap Repository Charity—Rotting alive—Mr. Cobbett's Embarkation—His Address—My last Interview with Mr. Cobbett—His Importance as a public Writer—Character of his Register—His Foresight—Horrors of Captivity—The Bastille in France—Dreadful Anecdotes—Cold Bath Fields' Prison—Cruelties formerly practised there—Regret for the Discontinuance of Mr. Cobbett's Weekly Political Pamphlet.

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HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER,

AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 13.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1817.

[VOL. I.]

THE HYPOCRITES'

"REASONS FOR CONTENTMENT" EXAMINED.

Parliamentary Leisure for Sir MARK WOOD and Mr. WILBERFORCE to consult their Constituents—for Mr. CASEY, of Liverpool, to receive an Apology from Col. CAWTHORNE, M. A. now M. P. for LANCAS-TER, and formerly for LINCOLN—State of the Representation in each Place—The prevailing Distress—Specimen of a consoling Street Ballad, by Miss HANNAH MORE, in which she says,

"The Gentlefolks, too, will afford us Supplies;

*"They'll subscribe—and they'll give up
—their Puddings and Pies!!!"*

Disorderly Dying, and Dying orderly—PALEY'S "Reasons for Contentment" canted at us now—Its Falsehoods, as to the present State of the Rich and Poor—The Misery of Tradesmen and Labourers—Sir Cappel Brooke's Testimony to Englishmen being LET to the best Bidder—The Working Men of a whole Parish PUT UP TO AUCTION every Saturday Evening---The TRADESMAN'S DESPAIR---Mr. BUXTON'S Sketches of Distress---Mr. COLERIDGE'S Description of Land-Graspers and "Christian Mammonists"---The unhung Blood-Money Men---Distresses at Manchester---Hired Informers in Ireland baffled by JUDGE FLETCHER---The Examiner's Parallel between MIL-

TON and Mr. COBBETT drawn closer---MILTON'S Mock Funeral, whilst he was Secreted---Legal Opinion on LORD SIDMOUTH'S Letter---POSTSCRIPT.

THE Speaker of the House of Commons being ill, and Lord CASTLEREAGH attacked by the gout, these are deemed good and sufficient reasons for further adjourning Parliament for a fortnight. This recess allows Members of the House opportunity to consult their constituents upon future proceedings for the public welfare. Not that the Honourable Gentlemen are bound to follow their instructions; but, at any rate, their opinions are worth having. It would be amazingly droll, though, if the worthy Member for *Gatton*, Sir MARK WOOD, upon retiring within himself, should actually obey certain intimations of public duty, and divide with Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, on his forthcoming motion respecting Reform in that House; or if the *twenty* free and independent electors of the borough of *Bramber*, who have done themselves the honour of returning Mr. WILBERFORCE, on his vacating *Yorkshire*, should submit to that gentleman's conscience, the propriety of supporting Annual Parliaments, and suffrage co-extensive with direct taxation. The inter-

val will likewise permit Colonel CAWTHORNE to apologize personally to Mr. CASEY, at Liverpool, who the Honourable Member, in his place in the Honourable House, is represented to have called an "*Irish Renegade*;" certainly, a very harsh phrase from the gallant Colonel, considering who *he* is. What had Mr. CASEY done to merit such a name? An *Irish* renegade! Actually *Irish*! What a misfortune—an *Irishman*! But Mr. CASEY could not help being born an *Irishman*. The gallant Colonel should have remembered what he must hear when he goes to church, "that *we are not our own makers*," and therefore not having the liberty of being born where we please, he might have forgiven Mr. CASEY for having been born in a country, which is, somehow or other, not to the gallant Colonel's liking. Colonel CAWTHORNE will perhaps be able to explain, that he did not *mean* to call Mr. CASEY a *renegade*, that when he said so, he was merely "talking to himself." The gallant Colonel will doubtless avail himself of this interval in his Parliamentary labours, to see and explain all this to Mr. CASEY, whose high integrity and respectability were sufficiently testified to, in the House of Commons, immediately after the gallant Colonel, by virtue of his privilege, thought proper to vilify him. It will be very little out of his way to Liverpool, when he pays his respects to his constituents at LANCASTER, for which place he sits, and respecting which, Mr. OLDFIELD, in his *Representative History*, states as follows:—

"The Earl of LONSDALE has several times attempted to influence the election of Members for this town, and to add its representation to the *nine Members he sends for other places*; but generally without success.

"If the right of election for this town was in the householders, the number of voters would be 5000; as it is, the number is not above 1800, and those of the poorest order, being mostly journeymen shipwrights or cabinet-makers, *not half of whom are housekeepers or tax-payers*.

"By the charter, freemen only have a vote; but *the most glaring corruption lies in making those freemen*. A freeman's son, or a freeman's apprentice, within the borough, is entitled to take up his freedom whenever he pleases, on paying into the hands of the mayor or bailiff £1..7..6. This sum is most generally paid by the opposing candidates, and the greatest number of freemen, thus made, turns the scale of the election. Hence, as shipbuilding and the cabinet business are the only manufactories here, *he who has the most ships to build or repair, or he who will lay out a few hundreds in mahogany furniture, is most likely to carry his election!* The journeymen are at the command of their masters; they get intoxicated during the canvass; and having 5s. to eat and drink on the day of election, they give a shout, and go quietly to work again!"

It further appears, that Col. CAWTHORNE, in the year 1796,

represented the City of LINCOLN; and Mr. OLDFIELD says—

“The influence that prevails in this city is that of Lord MONSON, whose residence at Burton Hall is within two miles of the place; and that of the Earl of BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, who has also a seat in the neighbourhood. These Noblemen nominated the Members at the last general election in 1812.

“The expense of a contest here is estimated at £12,000 to each party. This arises from the number of non-resident free-men, who are to be collected from all parts of the kingdom, by the candidates and their agents; *from the sums given to the voters, which vary according to circumstances; and the enormous demands for ribbons and treating.* The dread of incurring these expenses left the electors with only one candidate at the last general election, in 1812. The friends of the Earl of BUCKINGHAMSHIRE were fearful of naming their man till the morning of election, when they proposed a gentleman who was abroad in the military service in Spain, who was *totally unknown to the people*, and unconnected with the place. It is generally understood, that if any independent candidate could have been found, he would have been chosen without opposition; but expresses were sent off to several gentlemen, and *no one could be prevailed on to encounter the danger*; in consequence of which the nominees of the two noble families were returned.”

Mr. OLDFIELD farther observes,

that “the anxiety of candidates to obtain the writs for election is sometimes so great, that *large sums* of money have been given for them, and *the best bidder* has been generally the first possessor. A gentleman in office, of great character and integrity, and on whose credit we have the firmest reliance, informed us, that he was present when *1,000 guineas were given* at the dissolution of the Parliament in 1790 *for the writ for this city.*”

And Mr. OLDFIELD also says—

“May 4, 1796. A report being made, that JOHN FENTON CAWTHORNE, Esq. a Member of this House, and Colonel of the Middlesex Westminster regiment of Militia, had been tried and found guilty by a court-martial, of several charges of embezzlement and infamous behaviour, and was sentenced to be cashiered, and rendered unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatever,—the minutes of the said court-martial and sentence being laid before the House, a motion was made, that for his said offence he be expelled this House, as an unfit person to hold a seat in Parliament.—Upon a division for the expulsion, there appeared:—

“Ayes	108
“Noes	12

“Majority for the expulsion, 96.”

The gallant Colonel being again, however, an Honourable Member of the Honourable House, his name appears in the *Royal Kalendar* for 1817, at page 63; but, though according to the old

saying, "*once a Colonel, always a Colonel,*" yet his military designation is omitted; and instead thereof, he is there denominated simply a *Master of Arts!*

The recess will be employed, too, in another manner. The smooth oily-tongued professors of good liking to the poor, as they call themselves, will be at work. They tell us that they are no politicians. No, no! not they. They are not discontented. They profess to think that Reform will not make matters better, and that things must be put up with till they mend: and then, forsooth, they desire us to recollect, that all classes are suffering; in which there is some truth, certainly; but they forget to tell us, that if all classes suffer at the same time, they do not all suffer ALIKE; and that the weakest goes to the wall, and is crushed. The press is already teeming with a due number of their persuasives to passive obedience. This very week, when tens of thousands in London are out of work, a ballad is hawked about the streets, written by Miss HANNAH MORE, to the tune of "a cobbler there was, and he liv'd in a stall," in which are the following verses.

"The parliament men, altho' great is their power,
Yet they cannot contrive us a bit of a shower;
And I never yet heard, tho' our rulers are wise,
That they know very well how to manage the skies;
For the best of them all, as they found to their cost,
Were not able to hinder last winter's hard frost.

"Besides, I must share in the wants of the times,
Because I have had my full share in its crimes;

And I'm apt to believe *the distress which is sent,*

Is to *punish* and cure us of all discontent.
—*But harvest is coming*—Potatoes are come!

Our prospect clears up; ye complainers be dumb.

"And tho' I've no money, and tho' I've no lands,

I've a head on my shoulders, and a pair of good hands;

So *I'll work the whole day*, and on Sundays I'll seek

At church how to bear all the wants of the week.

The *gentlefolks*, too, will afford us supplies;
They'll *subscribe*—and they'll give up—
their puddings and pies!!"

This is the dull lying consolation offered to the half-starved and miserable. We are already exhorted to be patient under affliction, and to bear our crosses with humility; not to murmur or complain, or be fretful; not to be irritated or angry; but to submit ourselves as we ought, to the stations allotted to us. All this will of course save our kind protectors a great deal of trouble. They think people ill-advised and discontented, who walk out of doors, and drop down, from hunger and weakness, and give up the ghost in the streets. This is not the way they recommend.—It does not meet with their approbation. They, without much labour, furbish up old stories of poor people who were so good, as to be quite resigned; who staid at home, and were visited at their own habitations, and departed this world decently, and in good order; all which saved the expense and inconvenience of coroners' inquests, and the risk of verdicts that might bring a "*slur upon the parish.*"

Shamefully unfeeling and indecent is the conduct of people of this stamp, which the following

advertisement, from the *Times*, will testify. "*Excellent Tract, for present distribution*,"—observe, for *present* distribution,—“**REASONS FOR CONTENTMENT**, addressed to the Labouring Poor of Great Britain, by the late Rev. W. PALEY, D. D.” From this *excellent* cheap tract for *present* distribution, I have selected a few passages, to show the downright *impudence* of its *present* publication. It purports to be “printed for the editor,” and the names, “HATCHARD, Piccadilly,” and “SEELEY, Fleet-street,” follow conspicuously, as booksellers, upon the title page; Mr. HATCH-

ARD being the bookseller to the *Bettering Condition Society*, and Mr. SEELEY, and also Mr. HATCHARD, being noted publishers of what are called *loyal* tracts, for *present* distribution. This *twopenny* publication was written by Archdeacon PALEY, to show that poverty is better than riches. I have put opposite to each other, the author's opinions upon the condition of rich and poor, as they will be found in the book, showing the pages whereon they are printed, and then my own remarks follow:—

THE POOR.

“Providence, which foresaw, which appointed, indeed, the necessity to which human affairs are subjected (and against which it were impious to complain), hath contrived, that, whilst fortunes are only for a few, *the rest of mankind may be happy without them.*” (p. 3.)

It is false, that whilst some have exorbitant fortunes, the rest are happy. It is so notoriously untrue, that telling us this, in the midst of desolation and ruin, printing it in a cheap tract, and recommending it as excellent for *present* distribution, is mocking the poor man's sorrow—jesting upon his misery.

THE POOR.

“It is an inestimable blessing of such situations, that they supply a constant train of employment both to body and mind. A husbandman, or a manufacturer, or a tradesman, never goes to bed at night, without having his business to rise up to in the morning; regular engagement, business to look forward to, something to be done for *every* day, some employment prepared for *every* morning.” (p. 5.)

THE RICH.

“We are most of us apt to murmur, when we see exorbitant fortunes placed in the hands of single persons; larger, we are sure, than they can want, or, as we think, than they can use.” (p. 3.)

THE RICH.

“The want of employment composes one of the greatest plagues of the human soul: a plague by which the rich, especially those who *inherit* riches, are *exceedingly* oppressed. Indeed it is to get rid of it, that is to say, it is to have something to do, that they are driven upon those strange and unaccountable ways of passing their time, in which we sometimes see them, to our surprize, engaged.” (p. 5.)

What a shameless, audacious contrast of situation. The rich *exceedingly oppressed* for want of employment! A husbandman, a manufacturer, a tradesman, *never* going to bed without having business *to rise up to!* Why did the sixty farmers, who lately went in one ship to America, leave England? What employment have the manufacturers of Manchester? What business do tradesmen now rise up to in the morning? Hundreds take down their shutters in horror of the tax-gatherers, at the mercy of their landlords, and without hope of receiving enough during the day to support their families.

THE POOR.

“Some of the necessities which
“poverty (if the condition of the
“labouring part of mankind
“must be so called) imposes, are
“not hardships, but pleasures,
“Frugality itself is a pleasure.
“It is an exercise of attention
“and contrivance, which, when-
“ever it is successful, produces
“satisfaction.” (p. 7.)

Another shocking contrast. Does the wretched editor mean to say, that frugality is a *pleasure* to men who crawl away to die in secret, because their load of poverty is greater than they can bear—because they cannot witness their families dispersed in work-houses, or perishing of hunger!

THE POOR.

“A yet more serious advantage
“which persons in inferior sta-
“tions possess, is *the ease with*
“*which they provide for their*
“*children.* All the provision
“which a poor man's child re-
“quires, is contained in two
“words, ‘industry and inno-
“‘cence.’ With these qualities,
“though without a shilling to
“set him forwards, he goes into
“the world prepared to become
“an useful, virtuous, and happy
“man. *Nor will he fail to meet*
“*with a maintenance adequate to*
“the habits with which he has
“been brought up, and to the
“expectations which he has form-
“ed; a degree of success suffi-
“cient for a person of any condi-
“tion whatever.” (p. 7.)

THE RICH.

“There is no pleasure in taking
“out of a large unmeasured
“fund. They who do that, and
“only that, are the mere con-
“veyers of money from one hand
“to another.” (p. 7.)

THE RICH.

“In what we reckon superior
“ranks of life, there is a real
“difficulty in placing children
“in situations which may in any
“degree support them in the
“class and in the habits in which
“they have been brought up
“with their parents; from which
“great and oftentimes distress-
“ing perplexity the poor are
“free.” (p. 7.)

It is so far from easy for persons in the middling ranks of life to get their children provided for, that the fact is notoriously otherwise. Men of property have, by their power, even usurped or undermined the right of the powerless to *education* for their children in national establishments. I know an instance, attended with very remarkable circumstances, of an individual with a large family, who, after long trying a great number of persons, has been utterly unable to get one of his children into Christ's Hospital, wherein Mr. WAITHMAN's persevering exertions, formerly, exposed a mass of abuse and improper management. The means even of *education* are narrowing every hour to men, who will not degrade themselves and their children for ever, by accepting it in the shape of charity. As to easy provision for them in life, it is out of the question. Parents, now living in apparent decency, have the melancholy prospect of going to early graves, consumed by cares for their offspring, without the prospect of ever seeing them wholly provided for. Let us hear no more of Archdeacon PALEY's *real difficulty* of providing for the children of those in the superior ranks of life; of its being a great and *distressing perplexity*—from which the poor are free. The rich have the means of consoling themselves for disappointment; they have *money*—and if money is unequal to answer all the wants of their families, and provide for them, they must take the advice to themselves, which Mr. MALTHUS gives to the poor—they must neither marry nor get children. At any rate, we are not under an obligation to receive the lying insults of those, who tell us our children are more easily provided for than the children of the rich. Before this sheet is closed, we shall see that it is false—every way false.

THE POOR.

“Service in England is, as it ought to be, voluntary and by contract; a fair exchange of work for wages; an equal bargain, in which each party has his rights and redress; wherein every servant chooses his master.” (p. 8.)

THE RICH.

“The connexion between master and servant, frequently leaves nothing in servitude except the name; nor any distinction, but what one party is as much pleased with, and sometimes, also, as proud of as the other.” (p. 8.)

More falsehood—wicked falsehood! Much of service in England is *not* voluntary—is *not* a fair exchange of work for wages—is *not* an equal bargain—nor can every servant choose his master. These are open bare-faced lies. Lord CASTLEREAGH himself helps me to give the lie to these assertions. His Lordship says, that landholders do not pay the labourer the wages of his labour—that they pay him only part of his wages—that to ease their shoulders, they make a pauper of him, and give him the rest of his wages out of the poor rates. So far from the labourer *choosing* his master, the correspondents of the *Board of Agriculture*, in the Report published by the Board, states the contrary:—for instance,

Mr. JOHN WRIGHT, of Kilverstone, says, "the Magistrates have constant applications from young men, that they can get no work, and have not bread to eat."

Sir RICHARD BROOKE DE CAPELL BROOKE, *Bart.* of Northamptonshire, says, "the poor are much distressed, *anxious to work*, but they can get no employment, even at very reduced wages; of course, they apply to the Overseers, who rarely have any work to set them about, but digging stone for the roads. In Desborough, and other parishes, the Overseers *let out the men* they are compelled by the Magistrates to find work for, *to the highest bidder*, or to any person who bids for them, perhaps from 2d. to 8d. per day, according to their ability to work, the parish paying the labourer the difference between what is offered for him, and the sum ordered by the Magistrates. Those who are not thus hired, are set to work in a stone pit, or perhaps are supported in idleness."

Mr. CALVERT, of Aversham, in Nottinghamshire, says, "In some parishes in this neighbourhood, a number of labourers would be out of employment, except by the following means, viz.—the Overseer of the parish to which they belong, calls a *meeting of the inhabitants on the Saturday evening, at which meeting he PUTS UP EACH LABOURER, by name, separately TO AUCTION*; and they have been *LET*, generally, at about from *Eighteen Pence to Two Shillings* per week: the farmer, or other person, finding victuals to the labourer for six days only. *I was offered one of these labourers at EIGHTEEN PENCE per week, but refused to take him; he was a stout able married man, 34 years of age: the family, if any, is of course supported at the expense of the parish. The superfluous labourers of the parishes in which I hold land, are appointed and allotted to each farmer, for a certain time, according to his rental, and to his next neighbour afterwards, around the parish; the farmer paying the labourer from 8d. to 1s. per day; and from 8d. to 1s. per day is given to him for the maintenance of himself and his family by the Overseer of the Poor!*"

Is there fair exchange of work for wages, or choice of servitude in any thing like this? Let the editor of *PALEY'S Reasons for Contentment* answer the question before he again advertises his publication as an "excellent tract for present distribution."

THE POOR.

"In the luxuries of eating and drinking, the advantage is on the side of the poor man. If something extraordinary fall in his way, he comes to the repast with appetite; is pleased and refreshed; derives from his usual course of moderation and temperance, a quickness of perception and delight, which the

THE RICH,

"Who addict themselves to indulgence, lose their relish. Their desires are dead. Their sensibilities are worn and tired. Hence they lead a languid satiated existence. Hardly any thing can amuse, or rouse, or gratify them. The epicure must be sumptuously entertained, to escape disgust."

“ unrestrained voluptuary knows
 “ nothing of. The peasant when-
 “ ever he goes abroad finds a
 “ feast.”

What dreadful trifling with distress is here! To whom is this most indecent publication fit to be at “*present*” distributed? Who is the editor of it? Let him put his name to it, that we may know him, and judge whether his intentions be as wicked as his lies. “In the *luxuries* of eating and drinking, the advantage is on the “side of the *poor* man!”—“Whenever he goes abroad, *he* finds a “feast!” Is this the “*excellent*” information “for *present* distribution amongst the poor?”—Now—when they have not enough bread to eat themselves, nor enough to give to their children, to save them from famishing—from dying:—is this the time to tell them to compare situations with the *rich*, who, when they “addict themselves to indulgence, *lose their relish*”—whose “desires are dead”—whose “*sensibilities are worn out and tired*”—who therefore lead “*a languid satiated existence*”—whom “*hardly any thing can amuse, or rouse, or gratify?*” Are the poor now to be seriously asked which are best off, themselves or the rich “*epicures*,” who, in the words of the pamphlet, “must be *sumptuously* entertained to escape *disgust?*” Oh, shame! shame! This is one of the tracts published by *Cheap Repository* booksellers, whose publications *cant*, to the distressed and indigent, about submission and humility; and who now try how far they, in their helplessness, can endure mockery, and scoff, and taunting comparison with the condition of the rich and the wealthy. Never let it be forgotten, that this goading experiment has been got up and performed by the *loyal*.

THE POOR.

“*A life of labour, such, I mean, as is led by the labouring part of mankind in this country, has advantages in it which compensate all its inconveniencies:—It supplies employment, it promotes activity. It keeps the body in better health, the mind more engaged, and, of course, more quiet. It is more sensible of ease, more susceptible of pleasure.*” (p. 13.)

To the *labourer*, or the man of *business*, every pause is a recreation. (p. 9.)

THE RICH.

“As to some other things which the poor are disposed to “envy in the condition of the rich, “such as their state, their appearance, the grandeur of their houses, dress, equipage, and attendance, they only envy the “rich these things because they “do not know the rich. They “have not opportunities of observing with what neglect and “insensibility the rich possess “and regard these things themselves.” (p. 10.)

Whatever suspends the pursuits of the man of *diversion*, distresses him. (p. 9.)

Oh falsehood, where is thy blush! Inquire of one of a multitude

of men now in business, and you will find *pause* no recreation. Go to the tradesman—the shopkeeper; get him into his back parlour, gain his confidence, talk with him about the *present pause*, his smiles will vanish from his face, as sunshine quits the field when a cloud suddenly intervenes—your words drop cold upon his heart, and his mind blazes with feverish anxiety. He will tell you of his many penniless days, of his poundless weeks, of his restless nights whilst thinking of his bills coming due, of his hoping from month to month, of trade still bad, of his affairs getting worse, of his family getting larger, of his friends getting shy, of monied people getting more selfish, of his last illness being disorder of the mind, of his wife's being still unwell from fretting at their situation, of his being unable to send a child to a country lodging, according to medical advice, &c. As his little ones enter the room, you will hear him sigh, or see him frown down a tear. He will tell you that hope has fled, that he has no prospect of things getting better, that life has no charm for him, that his family alone compels him to struggle on.

This would be the language of numerous tradesmen, if they could unbosom their pent-up thoughts and feelings. As to the journeymen and labourers, look at them, by thousands, unemployed; see if there is any *recreation* in that *pause*, which leads but to the workhouse or the grave. Compare their situations with that of the rich, as the “excellent tract for *present* distribution” recommends; compare “*every pause*” in daily exertion, the daily hopelessness of gaining daily bread, with the suspended pursuits which distress “the man of *diversion*,” and then determine if the “man of *diversion*” is most entitled to our commiseration. How cruel is this wantonness!—Again I ask, Oh falsehood, where is thy blush!

When Archdeacon PALEY wrote and published this tract, the objections urged here could not then be made to the same extent; but its re-publication *now* is wickedly bold, is infamously *daring*.---The man who, with faculties to understand the pamphlet, would deliberately read it through, and then call it an “excellent tract for *present* distribution,” is fit for deeds of black and midnight treachery. I am shocked at the meanness and the wickedness of the wretch, who thus seeks for a little filthy lucre. “*Printed for the editor*” stands in the title. Let the publishers who have consented to be tools to him, give this *editor* up; his name ought not to be concealed; it should be known forthwith, that every man who wields a pen in behalf of the People, may “lash the rascal naked through the world.”

I shall say no more upon the scandalous republication of Dr. PALEY's “*Reasons for Contentment*” at this time, and the recommendation of them as an “excellent tract for *present* distribution.” But if the sale of this tract is continued, I will print an edition of it myself, at the same price, *with notes*, which would make the Archdeacon, if he were alive, ready to knock Messrs.

HATCHARD and SEELEY's Editor in the head. It is but a few short months since Mr. FOWELL BUXTON, in an eloquent speech, at the Mansion House, on the subject of the distress in Spitalfields, described the majority of those who *pay the rates* in that district as being themselves the poor. "Till lately, perhaps," said Mr. BUXTON—and every word he uttered is applicable to the state of tens of thousands of poor-rate *payers* in other parts of the kingdom, and therefore deserving great attention—"Till lately, perhaps, they were above the level of absolute poverty—if in distress, yet not in its lowest gradations; but the hand of misfortune, which has *pressed down others*, has weighed heavily on *them*; and perhaps there is no class more distressed, more the objects of pity, than these *householders*. Great commiseration is due to those who have *seen better times*; who, struggling against the waves that threaten to engulf, can hardly resist them. Great pity is also due to those *who are obliged to support a respectable appearance, and to do so, are necessitated to curtail their food!*—*THEY pay the present rates, though with much difficulty, and with much self-denial*; but they stand so on the verge of a precipice, so on the poise of a balance, that the smallest additional weight utterly overwhelms them. Demand more than they now contribute with so much personal privation, and *they at once resign all hope*, and refuse all payment. These are our *householders*; and experience has

convinced us, that with these we have arrived at the maximum of parochial assessment; that if we increase the rates, we lessen the amount they produce; that the only consequence of such attempted advance is, that we are obliged to strike their names out of the list of those who *pay the rates*, and insert it in that of those who *receive them*."

Mr. COLERIDGE, a gentleman whom no one will suspect of assigning untrue causes for the great mass of evil, has published a "Lay Sermon, addressed to the Higher and Middle Classes, on the existing Distresses and Discontents," in which I most unexpectedly find some passages, from whence I select one or two for those whom *he*, perhaps, would call the *lower* classes. It is probable that Mr. COLERIDGE may be a little offended at seeing what he designed for minds he would call cultivated, submitted to the "reading public" at large, but I am as desirous of "sowing beside all waters" as that gentleman; and having met with a little of his good seed, he must pardon me if I drop it into good ground, where it will take deep root. Mr. COLERIDGE seems to trace much of the "existing distresses" to extreme *selfishness*: he says,—

"I fear, that the inquiring traveller would often hear of zealous Religionists who have read (and as a duty too and with all due acquiescence) the prophetic, 'Wo to them that join house to house and lay field to field, that they may be alone in the land!' and yet find no object deform the beauty of the prospect from their window or

“even from their castle turrets so
 “annoyingly, as a meadow not
 “their own, or a field under
 “ploughing with the beam-end of
 “the plough in the hands of its
 “humble owner! I fear that he
 “must too often make report of men
 “lawful in their dealings, scrip-
 “tural in their language, alms-
 “givers, and patrons of Sunday
 “Schools, who are yet resistless
 “and overawing Bidders at all
 “Land Auctions in their neigh-
 “bourhood, who live in the centre
 “of farms without leases, and
 “tenants without attachments!
 “Or if his way should lie through
 “our great towns and manufac-
 “turing districts, instances would
 “grow cheap with him of wealthy
 “religious practitioners, who never
 “travel for orders without cards
 “of edification in prose and verse,
 “and small tracts of admonition
 “and instruction, all ‘plain and
 “easy, and suited to the meanest
 “capacities;’ who pray daily, as
 “the first act of the morning and
 “as the last of the evening, ‘Lead
 “us not into temptation! but
 “deliver us from evil!’ and em-
 “ploy all the interval with an
 “edge of appetite keen as the
 “scythe of Death in the pursuit
 “of yet more and yet more of
 “a temptation so perilous [the
 “gathering up of riches], that
 “(as they have full often read,
 “and heard read, without the
 “least questioning, or whisper of
 “doubt) no power short of Omni-
 “potence could make their deli-
 “verance from it credible or
 “conceivable.”—“Often as the
 “motley reflexes of my expe-
 “rience move in long procession
 “of manifold groups before me,
 “the distinguished and world-
 “honoured company of Christian-

“*Mammonists* appear to the eye
 “of my imagination as a drove of
 “camels heavily laden, yet all at
 “full speed, and each in the con-
 “fident expectation of passing
 “through the EYE OF THE NEEDLE,
 “without stop or halt, both beast
 “and baggage!”

These are sad and solemn
 doings to reflect on. Great and
 awful consequences, such as the
 proceedings at Manchester, result
 from them. The meetings there
 to petition—the military ar-
 rests—the subsequent nume-
 rous imprisonments—arise out of
 the sweeping calamity. Want of
 employment—distress—hunger—
 discontent—loud complaint—are
 all usable ingredients to him, who
 has an interest in the manufac-
 ture of a plot. The convicted
 —the long convicted—unhung
 blood-money men, selected igno-
 rant, unemployed, and destitute
 Irishmen, as the best objects for
 seducing to commit capital of-
 fences. The villains combined
 and conspired against the poor
 unsuspecting creatures, until,
 through their wants, they had
 transformed them into criminals,
 and made sure of their blood.
 The most open and ardent are
 unsuspecting, and fall easy victims
 to the crafty; and thus may the
 distressed Manchester men, whom
 the *Courier* cruelly calls *blanket*
beaux, have been operated upon
 by blood-thirsty men. We see
 that at Lifford Assizes, only a
 fortnight ago, notwithstanding
 the evidence of Major D’ARCY, a
 Magistrate, and a wretch named
 ROWAN, supported by a confede-
 rate, five men were acquitted on
 a capital indictment, for adminis-
 tering unlawful oaths. Judge
 FLETCHER called the Grand Jury

into Court, after the trial commenced, to hear the evidence; and when the verdict was given, addressing them on its tendency, his Lordship said, "It is now for you to decide, on reflection, whether such a man shall, in future, be considered as a *peace preserver* in the county, or as a *firebrand*!" to which one of the Grand Jury observed, "I am convinced, my Lord, that this trial, and its satisfactory result, will be productive of beneficial effects." The *Dublin Evening Post* says, "The Grand Jury threw out all such other bills as were supported on the evidence of Major D'ARCY's *itinerant informers*."

For the present I dismiss the subject of national distress, on which I had intended more remark, than, from indisposition, I have been able to supply; but I must not conclude without briefly noticing the *Examiner's* comparison of MILTON with Mr. COBBETT. My doing this has been suggested by a conversation which I had with Major CARTWRIGHT, respecting Mr. COBBETT, this morning.

It is no ill compliment, certainly, as the *Examiner* observes, to think of Mr. COBBETT at the same time with MILTON. "When MILTON was abroad, and heard of the troubles of his country, he was anxious to return and share the grandeur of the danger; when Mr. COBBETT thinks he sees danger coming, he feels nothing but the thing itself, and is only anxious to argue himself to a distance from it." So says the *Examiner*; but it should be recollected, that MILTON, when in Italy, "after the

"sad news of the civil war in England recalled him," as he says, re-visited Rome for two months, passed some time at Lucca, remained a month at Venice, viewing its curiosities, went afterwards to Geneva, where he staid a considerable while, and arrived very leisurely in England about Aug. 1640, several months after the "news" reached him; which news, however, was merely of the king's intention to invade Scotland; for the civil wars in England did not commence till 1642, a year and a half after MILTON's return; from which time the Parliament had the best of the struggle, as it had from the beginning; and MILTON, with all the great and excellent men of his day, were in perfect safety.

At the Restoration, however, the reign of terror commenced; and MILTON being, for the first time, in danger from the royalists, was hurried by his friends, from his house in Petty France, Westminster, and *secreted by one of them in St. Bartholomew's Close, Smithfield, where he remained concealed, till the act of Oblivion passed*; when, not being excepted in it, he was restored to society. It is related, that more effectually to discourage inquiry after MILTON, a *mock funeral* was made for him; which, in all probability, so deceived his enemies, that, believing him dead, they did not include him amongst the persons excepted in the Act, and he thus escaped. The trick being discovered, it became an object of the king's mirth, who, it is said, "applauded his policy in *escaping* the punishment of death, by a *seasonable show of dying*." Thus, says Dr. SYMMONS, the able

biographer of MILTON—"When he could not murder, this facetious monarch could still laugh."

Entertaining great respect for the *Examiner*, I with deference submit, that the parallel between MILTON and Mr. COBBETT is closer than it imagined. MILTON, when he returned to England, from Italy, ran no personal risk; but (as the *Examiner* says of Mr. COBBETT) both MILTON and Mr. COBBETT, "when they found danger coming, felt nothing but the thing itself, and removed themselves to a distance from it."

WILLIAM HONE.

Wednesday, 16th April, 1817.

OPINION

ON

LORD SIDMOUTH'S LETTER.

[I intended to say something on the legality of the SECRETARY OF STATE'S "Circular" to the Lord Lieutenants, printed in the last Register (p. 354). The *Morning Chronicle* has saved me the necessity of writing, by an excellent Article, from which I extract the following constitutional opinion.]

A MAGISTRATE cannot legally hold a man to bail for publishing that which he may deem a seditious or blasphemous publication.

This position we have laid down, and are prepared to justify by authority and argument, while in challenging any Journalist or Lawyer, disposed to defend Lord SIDMOUTH, to maintain the contrary, we contend, that the dictum of no respectable commentator since the days of the *Star Chamber*---that the provision of no Act of Parliament, at any period, can be quoted in its favour; while a host

of authorities and precedents from the earliest times sustain our opinion. But the practice which has been uniformly sanctioned since the Revolution, furnishes a further support of that opinion. According to that practice, no one was held to bail for a libel, until a Grand Jury had found a bill against him; and such is the practice in various other cases---in perjury and conspiracy, for instance. In fact, according to constitutional principle and general practice, a Magistrate cannot hold to bail for any other offences than "treason, felony, and the peace;"---that is, a breach of the peace. This power, then, does not extend to libels, "because a LIBEL is NOT a breach of the peace; because none can be so bound, unless he be taken in actual commitment of a breach of the peace, striking, or putting some one or more of his Majesty's subjects in fear; because there is no authority, or even ambiguous hint, in any law book, that he may be so bound; because no libeller, in fact, was ever so bound; because no Crown Lawyer, in the most despotic times, ever insisted he should be so bound, even in days when the press swarmed with the most envenomed and virulent libels, and when the prosecutions raged with such uncommon fury against this species of offenders---when the Law of Libels was ransacked every Term---when loss of ears, perpetual imprisonment, banishment, and fines of 10 and 20,000l. were the common judgment fines in the *Star Chamber*---when the Crown had assumed an uncontrollable authority over the Press."*

The following observations of Chief Justice PRATT (Lord CAMDEN), in

* These reasons, which we recite from an old and eminent writer upon libels, he supports by the following authorities:---Stat. Cham. Rep. in Appendix to Vol. II. Part 2.---Rush. Hist. Collect. 20, 33, 59, 60, 70.---Stat. Tri. 297.---2 Show Rep. 471, pl. 436.---2 Lord Raym. 767.---see Salk. 101, pl. 157 ---Mod. 9 S. C.

delivering the judgment of the Court of Common Pleas, upon WILKES's Case, are peculiarly appropriate to this question:—

“ The description of a libel is, that it tends to a breach of the peace; the utmost that can be said, is, that a breach of the peace either might or might not follow from it.

“ It will be hard to contend, that that which leads only to a breach of the peace, is a breach of the peace.

“ Though I might admit, for the sake of argument, that a libel is a breach of the peace, in a large, liberal, and extensive light, yet it does not require sureties, or that a man should be bound to the peace.

“ I do not find an instance where it was determined that a libeller is bound to the peace; neither Lord HALE nor DALTON mention it; though they have mentioned 40 instances wherein sureties were required, they do not take notice of a libel.

“ DALTON instances where sureties for good behaviour may be required: he says, sureties for good behaviour may be demanded in these cases, enumerating a great number, without mentioning the case of libels.

“ When one comes to consider the nature of the case, I cannot think any thing can be more absurd than to demand security of the peace of a libeller. How is the peace broke by an inflammatory paper, from an apprehension that other persons may be excited to break the peace? It is to make him bind himself that other persons may not break the peace. After he is bound, there can be no breach of the recognition, without an actual breach of the peace.

“ In the case of the seven Bishops, indeed, three of the Judges determined that sureties of the peace may be demanded against a libeller.

“ This opinion was owing, per-

haps, to the dark insensible state of justice in those days. If you look at the trial, you will see the progress of the point; you will see that the King's Counsel first affirmed the proposition, without argument or authority, and the Court confirmed it. POWELL, the only honest man of the four, gave no opinion at all, but desired further time to consider of it.”

But the judgment of the tribunals referred to upon WILKES's case, is quite conclusive upon the question that a man cannot be held to bail for a libel; “ because (as it was well observed by the writer to whom we have already referred, and who quotes the authorities annexed in maintenance of his opinion) “ by a contrary doctrine, every man's liberty would be surrendered into the hands of a Secretary of State; he would be thereby empowered, in the first instance, to pronounce the paper to be a seditious libel—a matter of such difficulty, that some have pretended it is too high to be entrusted to a special jury of the first rank and condition; he is to understand and decide by himself the meaning of every inuendo; he is to determine the tendency thereof, and brand it with his own epithets; he is to adjudge the party guilty, and make him author or publisher, as he sees good; and, lastly, he is to give sentence, by committing the party. All those authorities are given to one single Magistrate, unassisted by counsel, evidence, or jury, in a case where the law says, no action will lie against him, because he acts in the capacity of a Judge.” *

So reasoned our ancestors, so felt Englishmen of old, before “ Jacobinism,” or any other by-word, was devised, to depreciate the language, or to discourage the spirit of liberty;

* 2 Rol. Rep. 199.—Salk. 397.—6 Mod. 46.—Ld. Raym. 468.—Bac. Abridg. 555.—14 Vin. Abridg. 579 (F.) pl. 4.

and as such objections were urged with effect against investing a Secretary of State (who is a responsible Minister, and a Magistrate also) with the power of holding a man to bail for a libel, those objections apply surely with much greater force against the grant of such extraordinary power to every ordinary Magistrate in the country.

In addition to all the authority and argument referred to, we have to observe, that neither BLACKSTONE, nor any of his annotators, all of whom are quite courtly enough, have mentioned, or even insinuated, that any such power, as that to which we allude, legally belongs to any Magistrate.

Upon what authority, then, do the legal advisers of Lord SIDMOUTH rest their opinion?—Surely they would not, at this enlightened period, rely upon the erroneous conception of Lord COKE, even as to *Star Chamber practice*, which was noticed only to be altogether discarded by the great Lord CAMDEN, in the judgment which we have quoted; or upon the opinion of the majority of the Judges, in the case of the seven Bishops, which the same eminent Judge justly attributed to “*the dark and insensible state of justice in those days.*”

POSTSCRIPT.

Notwithstanding the increased Circulation of the REFORMISTS' REGISTER, there are many Towns, and some Counties, in which it is not yet generally sold. I shall therefore be obliged to friends of the Work, residing in the Country, to endeavour to establish Agencies for it, in their respective neighbourhoods.---Generally speaking,

the persons who sold Mr. COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL PAMPHLET, will be most suitable; because, as my own principles, ever since I had the power of distinguishing right from wrong, have been those on which Mr. COBBETT conducted that Publication, and as the REFORMISTS' REGISTER is consequently continued on such principles, Mr. COBBETT'S READERS will doubtless take it in the country, as they do in London, and other parts of the kingdom, where it is known. It is now higher in circulation than any daily, or weekly, Publication whatever---it is higher than the highest of them in sale, by MANY THOUSAND COPIES, and increases every week; but the exertions of my country friends I shall still be thankful for.

Contents of No. 12.—A Second Letter to Mr. COBBETT'S Readers—LORD SIDMOUTH'S LETTER about Publications; what it is, and what it is not—Rev. ROBERT HALL, of Cambridge, on the Freedom of the Press—No more Anti-Cobbetting—Coincidences of Mr. COBBETT'S LAST ADDRESS, and my last Number—Sale at Botley—Mr. COBBETT'S last Arrangements, and last Requests—The Manchester Petition--BLANKET BEAUX of Manchester—A Father's Distraction—FAMISHING, a Poem.

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HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 14.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1817.

[VOL. I.

POLITICAL
P R I E S T C R A F T ;
AN
EPISTLE

TO THE

REV. DAN. WILSON, M. A.

MINISTER OF ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL,
BEDFORD ROW, LONDON.

Mr. WILSON'S Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance stated—He affirms that NERO was not to be resisted, without Damnation—NERO'S Cruelties—Tyranny of JAMES II.—Murders under his Orders by Bloody Judge JEFFERIES—These, on Mr. Wilson's Principle, unlawfully resisted—Rev. Mr. Murray's excellent Exposition of Romans, Chap. 13—According to Mr. Wilson, Dissenters and QUAKERS damned and saved by Act of Parliament—His Slave-making Doctrines—A JEW'S Character of JESUS—The LOYAL, a Sketch; a CITY ALDERMAN, &c.—Copy of the excellent BIRMINGHAM PETITION, verbatim.

SIR,

You have done two bad things. You have preached a bad Political Discourse, at St. John's Chapel, in Bedford Row; and you have printed it with the Queen's bookseller, in Piccadilly. This is the first time, perhaps, that a charge of bad preaching has been openly

preferred against you, and you may be a little staggered: still, I repeat, you have preached a bad discourse. But the preaching it might have been settled between your congregation and yourself, if you had not asked all the world to admire it as much as your hearers. You now, however, appear before higher and less partial judges than they who sit under your ministry at St. John's Chapel—you have put yourself upon *God and your country*, and by them you must be tried.

It is too late in the day to ask apology from a layman for scriptural quotation; and you have no right to expect it from me. If you, the Minister of St. John's Chapel, whose duty it is to understand the Scripture, and to expound Christianity, ascend your pulpit, and quote the Bible partially, for political purposes, it is the duty of me, the author of the *Reformists' Register*, to turn over the Bible, and show that you have as much misrepresented real Christianity as you have political liberty.

The *Duty of Contentment under present Circumstances*, being the title of your Discourse, I enjoin you to practise this duty, until I conclude. "But," says Paul, in the words of your text (1 Timothy, chap. vi. verse 6.), "*Godliness with contentment is great gain.*" There being very little of what I

conceive to be godliness in your Political Discourse, I further enjoin you to take "*godliness* with contentment," and it shall go hard but I prove you, by your political labours, to be a man who thinketh himself to be something when he is nothing, and deceiveth himself.

In most dangerous diseases, where the fever runs high, the skilful physician tries to abate it. I shall do this by your inflammatory discourse. *The Duty of Contentment under present Circumstances* is a modest subdued title to a piece of violent High Church Toryism. I imagined the title would introduce a sermon enjoining submission to incurable personal distress, a discourse adapted to the peculiar circumstances of certain persons under afflictions which admit of no remedy: but no, it is a high-flying political sermon, preached on the 9th and 16th of March, 1817, enjoining a *slavish obedience*, suited to no state of government since March, 1687, when JAMES II. endeavoured to introduce Papists into our Colleges, and wrote to Dr. JOHN PEACHELL, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, to admit ALBAN FRANCIS, a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of Master of Arts, *at his peril*—an order which the Vice-Chancellor refused to obey. He, silly man, lost his office for the refusal: but the Minister of St. John's Chapel runs no risk of this kind. Let us see *him* Master of a College; and if it please the PRINCE REGENT to order him to turn *himself* into a Benedictine Monk, and say Mass in the College Chapel, his principle, according to my view of it, will bear him out in complying with

the Royal order. Let us see what the Sermon says:—

"When the Apostle further commands 'every soul to be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, the powers that be are ordained of God; whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation;' what does he mean? Does he not place loyalty and good order in the state, on the footing of a divine authority? And does he not consider disobedience to the civil magistrate to be rebellion against God? Will not the Christian, then, cheerfully 'submit himself to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as supreme; or unto governors as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well?'

"The apostolical commands on this subject deserve the more implicit obedience, because they are *incomparably more easy to us than they were to the primitive Christians*. The apostles enjoined submission to civil authority when it was lodged in the hands of *pagan and cruel masters*, when persecutions raged against the infant cause of Christ, and many *plausible reasons for discontent or resistance* might have been urged. If, then, to *such a MONSTER as NERO* obedience was to be *unreservedly paid* by the primitive Christians, how much more is it to be paid by us to the paternal Christian go-

“vernment under which we
“live?”

Poor NERO!—it is a little hard to abuse him, too, Mr. WILSON.—Why call him a *monster*? If it was not only lawful to obey him when he was alive, but, as you say, to obey him *unreservedly*, it is not *loyal* in you to speak thus of *his* memory to whom the primitive Christians were so obedient. This was only a slip of the tongue or the pen, perhaps. What, abuse NERO! a regular-bred *legitimate* Emperor! against whom, if any one rebelled, damnation would, according to your principle, be his portion. He set Rome on fire, to be sure, and charged the Christians with doing it, and caused multitudes of them to be tortured and executed for it. He went on the roof of his palace, to see the city burn, and fiddled as it flamed. He beheaded Paul, and crucified Peter. He caused his own mother to be murdered, and had her belly opened, that he might gratify a very singular curiosity; and was at last killed by one of his companions. According to you, I apprehend, sir, that they who by his orders burned Rome, and murdered the Christians, and fiddled with him on his house top; they who by his orders put the apostles to death, and ripped up his mother, obeyed his orders lawfully; and the man who killed him was damned. This I apprehend to be the case. If I misconceive you, if this is not your meaning, the readers of your *Contentment* Sermon should no longer remain in error. Unless you show that this inference is not to be drawn from your doctrine of passive obedience and

non-resistance, NERO's famous acts and Mr. DANIEL WILSON's Contentment Sermon will always come into my mind at the same time, as performances of the same stamp. However:—

To get a little nearer our own times, King JAMES the Second, who is called, by ECHARD, JAMES the *Just*, because, says ECHARD, *he strictly observed his faith*,—this JAMES the Second, or JAMES the *Just*, abjured the Protestant Religion, and never read the Scriptures, says BURNET, but to make a jest of them. He seized the Customs, contrary to law. He lived in open adultery with the daughter of Sir CHARLES SEDLEY. He packed the House of Commons. After the defeat of the Duke of MONMOUTH in the West, he employed the most sanguinary miscreants in that quarter. Thirty prisoners were hanged, several days after the fight, without even the form of trial, the officers looking on from an entertainment: at every new health a prisoner was hanged up, whilst the guests, observing the shaking of their legs, ordered the music to play to what they called the dancing. The bloody JEFFERIES and four other judges, were still more cruel and merciless. BURNET says, JEFFERIES's behaviour was brutally disgusting, beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized nation; “he was perpetually either drunk or in a rage, liker a Fury than the zeal of a judge.” He required the prisoners to plead guilty, on pretence of showing them favour; but he afterwards showed them no mercy, hanging many immediately. He hanged in several places about 600 persons,

This JAMES the *Just* had an account of JEFFERIES's proceedings sent to him daily, which he took pleasure to relate in the drawing room to foreign ministers, and at his table, calling it JEFFERIES's *campaign*. Upon JEFFERIES's return, he created him a Peer of England, by the title of Earl of FLINT. During these *Bloody Assizes*, the Lady LISLE, a lady of exemplary character, whose husband had been murdered by the STUART party, was tried for entertaining two gentlemen of the Duke's army; and though the jury twice brought her in not guilty, JEFFERIES sent them out again and again, until, upon his threatening to attain them of treason, they pronounced her guilty. JEFFERIES, before he tried her, got the King to promise he would not pardon her, and she was murdered—the King only changing her sentence from burning to beheading. Mrs. GAUNT, a widow, near Wapping, who was a Baptist, and spent her time in acts of charity, was tried on a similar charge. She hid one BURTON, who having heard that the King had said he would sooner pardon rebels than those who harboured them, accused his benefactress of saving his life. She was sentenced to be burned, and suffered with wonderful constancy. The excellent WILLIAM PENN, the Quaker, told BURNET, that he saw her die. She laid the straw about her for her burning speedily, and behaved herself so heroically, that all melted into tears. Six men were hanged at Tyburn, on the like charge, without trial. At length, the bloody and barbarous executions were so numerous, that they

spread horror throughout the nation, and let all people see what might be expected from a reign which seemed to delight in blood. England was an *Acal-dema*:—the country, for 60 miles together, from Bristol to Exeter, having a new and terrible sort of sign-posts or gibbets, bearing the heads and limbs of its butchered inhabitants. Every soul was sunk in anguish and terror, sighing by day and by night for deliverance, but shut out of all hope by despair.

These are some of the acts done by or under the authority of JAMES II. in whose reign, and that of his brother CHARLES II. no less than *sixty thousand persons* were prosecuted for their religious opinions; 5000 of whom died in prison: whilst Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL, ALGERNON SIDNEY, and some of the best men in England, were consigned to the scaffold, under the forms of law, and perished by the hands of the public executioner.

JAMES the Second's reign was put an end to, by several English lords and gentlemen fetching the Prince of ORANGE, with an army, from Holland. On the King being informed that the Prince was coming, he turned pale, and for a while remained speechless and astonished. "May one not now imagine," says OLDMIXON, "the injured ghosts of RUSSELL, SIDNEY, BAILLIE, CORNISH, and the hecatombs in the West and in Scotland, haunted his dreams amidst the extremity of his distress and despair; that now, his bloody whippings, his dungeons, his intolerable fines, his violations of oaths and laws, were like so many vultures to his tortured soul."

“If to such a monster as *NERO*, obedience was to be “*unreservedly* paid,” as you say it was, then the bloody *JEFFERIES* escaped damnation, by unreservedly obeying the cruel mandates of *JAMES II.* I ask, what became of they who put an end to tyranny, by calling in *WILLIAM III.*; of Lord *SOMERS*, and such men as him; of the seven Protestant Bishops, who refused to read *JAMES’S* Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, though its real design was to establish Popery as the religion of the state; of the whole Convention Parliament, who seated *WILLIAM III.* on the throne; and, in fact, of *WILLIAM* himself? Have *they* all “received unto themselves damnation?”

Not to trifle upon the point, I tell you, Sir, I feel ashamed and disgraced, by living in the same city with you who preach, and with the people who calmly listen to this *slavish* doctrine, which I think is entirely exploded by the Rev. Mr. *MURRAY*, of Newcastle, in his Lectures. He was well read in the Scriptures. Though he needs no praise from me, I do him no discredit, by affirming that *his* Bible was not one of those which *open of themselves* at the 13th chapter of Paul’s Epistle to the Romans. From his important remarks on that chapter, I extract as follows:—

“Self-defence is an unalterable law of nature, which the gospel has not set aside; nor does it appear that it could be set aside, without making the religion of Jesus Christ a system of slavery.

“As this is a point that *can only be determined by scripture*, and is of great importance to our

holy religion, I shall consider it at some length, and appeal to the judgment and candour of all my readers, whether or not I have done it justice. I must, at the same time, crave, that every one, in considering this subject, will set aside all opinions whatsoever, and let the words and sense of scripture have their full weight. There is a passage which has been much improved by those that imagine that believers of the gospel are, by the apostles, enjoined to yield a passive obedience, and that is in Romans xiii. 1. which our version reads, ‘Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God to thee *for good*. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger, to execute wrath upon the head of him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.’ With all due respect to our translators, and other learned men, I will affirm, that this is rather a *paraphrase* of the translators, than a *translation* of the text. From the very genius of the Greek language, it is manifest, that *ἐξουσίαι υπακούσαι* do not signify *all sorts* of au-

thority, but only such as *protect* men in the enjoyments of their just rights and privileges; and these words ought to be read literally, *protecting authorities*, or *excellent authorities*.—ἐξουσία, in its very first signification, signifies *just and lawful power*, or *authority*, and can never be applied to tyrants and oppressors, without abuse. *υπερεχω* signifies to *protect*, or to be eminent, and is here understood in that sense, as in other Greek authors.—Homer makes use of *this* word in *this* sense, when he describes Agamemnon addressing the Greeks, when the Trojans were advancing against them, [Iliad iv. ver. 249.] ‘Will ye tarry,’ says he, ‘till the Trojans advance, to know whether Jupiter will protect you?’ Ὀφρα ἰδῇ αἰεὶ ὑμῶν ὑπερχὴ χεῖρα κροῖων. This apostle makes use of this word, Phil. iv. 7. to point out the excellency of the peace of God, καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τῶ θεοῦ ἡ ὑπερχουσα πάντα νεν, *And the peace of God which passeth all understanding* shall keep your hearts.—This same apostle, in the first chapter of this epistle, makes use of this same word, to signify excellency, or what is more excellent, or better; ἀλλήλους ἡγαυμένοι ὑπερχουσίας, *let each esteem others better than themselves*. It does not appear from this passage, that there is any command to be subject to any powers, except such as excel and protect their subjects. But, let us read the whole paragraph, without any paraphrase in the translation, and see how it will prove non-resistance. ‘Let every soul be subordinate to the authorities protecting them; for it is not authority, if not from

God. But these that are authorities under God, are appointed. Therefore, he that resisteth the authority, resisteth the appointment of God, and they that resist shall receive judgment to themselves. For rulers are not a terror of good works, but of evil. Will you not fear authority? Do good, and you shall have praise from it; for he is the servant of God for good. But if you do evil, fear, for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is a servant of God, a revenger for wrath to him that doeth evil. Therefore, it is necessary to obey, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake. For this cause pay you tribute also, for they are the servants of God waiting continually for this very thing. Render, therefore, to all their due, tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.’ Can any words make the subject more plain, that it is the appointment of God, and the ruler answering the character here given him, that lays the obligations upon Christians to obey him. If the people who bring Romans xiii. 1. as a proof of mere passive obedience to all sorts of superiors, will please to read the text carefully, the arguments they use will vanish, whether they will or not. It is plain to a demonstration, that, as the apostle does not here appoint any particular form of government, so he says nothing of the present rulers, but recommends subjection to governors in general, and that from the consideration of the divine institution of their office, and the advantage

thereof to mankind, when right administered. To resist such governors *as answer the end of their office*, and the apostle's representation, is, no doubt, a great crime, and deserves a proportionable punishment, called here *ῥημα*, both in this life, and that which is to come. But the resisting of tyranny and tyrants, falls not under the sentence of the apostle. *This text says nothing to the case of tyrants, but really EXCLUDES THEM, as being another sort of creatures from what he describes*, and the very reverse of that character which he gives the ministers of God, to whom he requires subjection. To put this matter beyond dispute, let us suppose *NERO* here understood, as the advocates for this doctrine must mean, if they mean any thing, and try how nicely the text runs when thus applied?

"I enjoin, that every soul (Christians as well as others) be subject to the higher powers, for the powers that be are ordained of God. *NERO* (particularly at the head of the Roman empire) is so, and whoever resists him, shall receive damnation, for he is *not a terror to good works* (murdering and persecuting the good) only to *evil*. Do well, and you have nothing to fear from *NERO*, for he is the minister of God *for good*, a revenger, to execute wrath upon evil-doers; so that it is your duty to be subject to *NERO*, not only for fear of punishment, but from conscience, and the fear of God. You ought to support him in all his power and dignity (*which he so well employs*), paying him such tribute as he demands, as is due to him;

for he is *GOD's minister*, continually attending on this very thing, carefully and watchfully discharging the duties of his office, *PROTECTING all his subjects, restraining the injurious, defending the innocent, in every way promoting the good of the community*. This must be the sense of the apostle, otherwise, the arguments on the other side are void of all meaning, and are nonsense. Now I leave it to any person of common sense to determine, what a reflection it is upon the apostle to make him speak in this manner? What would the *Romans* think of the *Christians*, when they heard them propagating so zealously, a doctrine, upon the pain of damnation, which they had condemned in the Senate of Rome, when, by an act of the same, they (the *Romans*), condemned *Nero* as a *tyrant*, for his murders and barbarities. Could they have said any other thing, than that Paul had espoused the cause of a *murderer*, whom they had, by the Roman laws, condemned, not only as unworthy to *rule*, but as unworthy to *live*? I must truly say, that it is contrary, both to the reading and interpretation of the apostle's words, to father upon him the doctrine of non-resistance; for, as to passive obedience, it is an absurdity; there can be no such thing existing in the rational world.—It belongs to *stocks and stones* to obey passively; for no minds can yield obedience but from the heart. When a man is passive, he yields no obedience. But I think it may, with better reason, be concluded, from the apostle's words, that neither *Christians*, nor any persons else

are bound to submit to unjust or tyrannical rulers, but, on the contrary, if they do, they are doing all that is in their power to prostitute the ordinance of God, and giving the apostle openly the lie.

"They are not at all authorities appointed of God, according to the apostle, if they are a terror to good works, and a praise to evil; for the authorities appointed by God are appointed for this end. And the authority that does not answer this end, is not an authority that is lawful to obey. In such a case, the threatening should be read backwards; namely, he that resisteth not the power shall receive (*κεῖμα*) judgment. If any persons were to read a Greek classic, as these advocates for passive obedience read the New Testament, they would be posted up as enemies to true literature and common sense, by all the literati in the three kingdoms. The apostles have nowhere affirmed, that Christians, at the pleasure of despots, were to surrender their liberties more than others, who were fellow-citizens with them, in the same country. If both the rulers and the rest of the subjects differ with them, they have no other shift but to remonstrate against their oppression, suffer, or forsake the country. They are not to seek to be masters, but to continue in subordination: but while the other subjects agree so far as to maintain the same civil rights, and meddle not with one another's religion, they may both lawfully resist a supreme authority that seeks to enslave them. They are not bound by Christianity to part with any rights

which the laws of nations give them, provided they can preserve them consistently with those laws, and the doctrines of the divine word. There are *some religious professors*, who pretend to be more strict than others, with regard to the New Testament practices, who take the first opportunity of joining in the oppressive measures of the powers that be, and, by that means, *free themselves of persecution, by raising the hue and cry against others*. These persons not only think it their duty to give oppressive powers all their assistance to take away the lives of others, and rob them of their natural and civil rights, but sound the trumpet of persecution against them, under the character of *rebels, hypocrites, and enemies to truth and government*. Their testimony for the kingdom of Christ is so managed, that, by pretending an opposition to the kingdoms of this world, they are always first to give the leading powers thereof their assistance against those that oppose them in their arbitrary measures and schemes, and by that refined species of hypocrisy, preserve themselves from the strict observation of the ruling powers. All *this sycophant trimming* they endeavour to father upon Christ and his apostles, and, by this profession, *cover a very ill-natured and cruel disposition, against those who are zealous for the rights of mankind, OF ALL DENOMINATIONS.*"

If the Rev. Mr. MURRAY's translation and interpretation of these celebrated passages of *Paul's Epistle to the Romans* be correct, there is an end to all argument

upon it; and you will be reduced, Sir, to some other authority for your *slave-making* doctrine.

Looking at this doctrine as applied to the *Dissenters* and *Independents*—to they “who,” poor old THOMAS DE LAUNE says, “desire none to be their proselytes, any further than they give scripture and reason for it; resting very confident, that if they could prevail with people equally to hear both sides, and diligently to examine the merits of the cause, their churches would every day gain more ground amongst all wise men”—applying it to them—to they who do not obey—who openly do not conform—who care no more for King George III. as head of the church, than they do for the King George on Bloomsbury church, as head of the steeple; I ask you, Sir, how they stand, with regard to non-obedience and damnation? What, for instance, is the situation of the Quakers, who, for a century, in spite of imprisonments and whippings, and transportings and hangings, resisted even acts of Parliament, by refusing to conform to them? Did they receive unto themselves damnation for their non-conformity and resistance? If so—as their very resistance, formerly, obtained the repeal of some laws, and the enactment of other laws, to sanction it—and as the Quakers are now a legally constituted society, with their principles unchanged—then the Quakers of the present day are saved by the resistance, for which their ancestors were damned; and thus, I take it, according to your notion, time and an Act of Parliament may convert

the damnation of one generation into the salvation of another.

The upholders of passive obedience and non-resistance to arbitrary and illegal power, have in all times brought ruin on themselves, by their slavishness. It is to resistance—to the resistance of CRANMER, and RIDLEY, and LATIMER, sealed by their blood, that you owe the liberty of preaching non-resistance in a Protestant place of worship. By resistance, our forefathers gained for us our Constitution, which is itself a union of resisting forces. By resistance alone can it be maintained from encroachment and violence. Our liberties were the fruits of a series of resistances; but in the history of our country, which is a history of resistance upon resistance, there is no trace of the doctrine of non-resistance having been preached, until bad men conspired to rob the People of some right, or abridge their liberties. You, Sir, a preacher of non-resistance, are Chaplain to an English Nobleman; but your doctrine, which is worthy of a Turkish Mufti, would recommend you to the sublime favour of the Dey of Algiers. As I conceive its meaning and application, the veriest wretches who desolated the world from the time of Christ, if they wore crowns, or were called kings, or magistrates, or rulers; or in short, all who had power—all the bloody tyrants who persecuted the Christians, with NERO, to whom you say unreserved obedience was to be paid—who were at length resisted and put down for their crimes, and cruelties—all these master-spirits of wickedness were

ordained of God, and the Christians who resisted them received to themselves damnation. But this is the doctrine of tyrants alone. The man who holds it is a slave. I say, he is a SLAVE. He may be called a *good* man—a *well-meaning* man—one of the *weak brethren*: but whether he be pastor, or whether he be hearer, they who enforce the doctrine, and they who believe it, are slaves—ALL SLAVES.

I shall here say no more on passive obedience and non-resistance, than that it will be happy for the Government, for the country, for the People, for all ranks and conditions, if it never more be mentioned. It sets men thinking upon nice points, and on extreme cases, and particularly when volunteered from the pulpit. What occasion had the congregation of St. John's Chapel, Bedford-row, to be enjoined to passive conduct, by the Earl of GALWAY's Chaplain? *They* are not an assemblage likely to become "riotous or routous." Their circumstances in life are above all temptation to violence, and therefore I imagine you to carry your notions of unconditional submission so far as to mean that the measures of administration, and the mal-practices of Ministers, however gross, are not to be scrutinized. Archbishop LAUD preached this doctrine, and instigated King CHARLES to acts of arbitrary power, till the whole nation was in open resistance—till LAUD himself saw the King's adherents gradually destroyed, and the breach between the King and the People so widened, by his prompting the King to reduce

his tyrannical notions to practice, that he brought CHARLES's head to the block, after first losing his own. I enjoin you, Sir, to remember the fate of this meddling priest. All high-churchmen, when they get power, ruin the cause they espouse. They take their stand, as you do, on sacred ground, and cry out "murder," as soon as we venture to look at what they are doing. They forget, or rather, they never knew, the *character*, and despise the precepts of HIM who went about doing good, preaching peace on earth, and good will towards men—who was the great opposer of the wickedness of the priests, and the corruptions of their government. A sensible Jew once said to me, "Sir—He (Jesus) is admired and revered by a few amongst us [the Jews] who think for ourselves. He lived at a time when our priests introduced a multitude of ceremonies and traditions into our books and worship, and exacted implicit obedience from the people, whom the priests kept in ignorance, and led passively obedient. Jesus was the great leader of the opposition to their tyranny in our Sanhedrim. He was"—[Here he compared him to a great Parliament character in England.] "Now, though Jesus was the friend of the people, such an one as they never had before, yet the priests, working on their blindness, made them believe he was their enemy, and raised such an outcry, that, without difficulty, they got the very people he meant to serve, to be most violent against him. He was sacrificed

“to the rage and hatred of our
 “priests. They detested his at-
 “tempting to enlighten the peo-
 “ple, and he perished. As I
 “tell you, Sir, a few amongst us,
 “from what we read of him in
 “our archives to have been, be-
 “lieve he would have been our
 “benefactor: but our *priests*—!”
 And so it has been all along. Hap-
 pily, however, priestcraft is de-
 clining; and of all priestcraft,
 political priestcraft is hated the
 most; because, from *bloody BON-*
NER to Bishop *HORSLEY*, *political*
priests have been the greatest
 enemies to the People.

Finding that I shall not be
 able to include all I have to re-
 mark and state respecting your
 Political Sermon in this sheet, I
 shall observe only on one or two
 points in your Introduction,
 which is as follows:—

“The Author of the following
 “plain Discourse is aware that some
 “apology may be necessary for the
 “publication of it. He would,
 “therefore, simply observe, that he
 “thought, that at the present junc-
 “ture of affairs, when *seditions* persons
 “were industriously employed in *ex-*
 “*citing discontent* amongst his fellow-
 “country-men, it became him not
 “to resist the *united request* of the
 “*respectable persons* who urged him
 “to commit it to the press. He has
 “done so, in the hope that, under the
 “blessing of God, it may possibly con-
 “tribute in common with the nu-
 “merous other publications which
 “have appeared in *the same cause*,
 “to confirm in the minds of *consi-*
 “*derate persons*, those principles of
 “CONTENTMENT AND LOY-
 “ALTY, which form *a main hope*
 “of our country in this moment of
 “distress and trouble.

“The subject was originally treated
 “in two Sermons, which he has

“thrown into one, in transcribing
 “his manuscript for the press.

“Chapel Street, Bedford Row,
 “April 2, 1817.”

“Request of friends” is a very
 poor, though a very old reason,
 for appearing in print; but in this
 case, I believe it is the best of the
 two you offer. To confirm the
 considerate is not very requisite;
 in as much as consideration tend-
 eth to confirmation. The whole
 need no physician; but they that
 are sick—the inconsiderate, the
 unreflecting, the thoughtless, re-
 quire confirmation. Alas, Sir, the
 most thinking are not amongst
 the most *loyal*. The “LOYAL”
 are a race of men fast wearing
 away; they carried a great deal
 of sail, with shifting ballast; they
 used to infest our coffee-houses,
 and strut about our streets, boast-
 ing of their attachment to govern-
 ment, and of being loyal men, and
 good churchmen. I recollect, a
 very short year or two ago, these
 gentlemen were in shoals; they
 would march up to you, with
 their hands in their breeches
 pockets, chinking their cash with
 a most assuring look of superi-
 ority and glee, and a complexion
 that denoted a free indulgence at
 the dinner table, and the bottle
 afterwards. We were saluted
 with a “Well, Sir! What news?”
 “What, you are quite down in
 “the mouth, eh! What, croak-
 “ing, croaking! This is the way
 “with you Jacobins, you pantile-
 “shop-men. Never *contented*.
 “Why you look like a methodist,
 “or a presbyterian parson,
 “always in the *dismals*—telling
 “us *this won’t last*, and *that*
 “*won’t last*; and yet you see it
 “does, eh! Oh, never fear my
 “boy; it will last your time and

" mine, and that's enough for us.
 " Come, come, pluck up, and be
 " jolly! Don't be humbugging
 " about the taxes, and the debt,
 " and the sinking fund, and all
 " that. Its all nonsense, you
 " know. Let's beat that rascal,
 " BONEY, and we'll show you
 " what we'll do. Why, I've just
 " been down to the Treasury; and
 " Mr. ——— tells me that * * *
 " * * * *, &c. &c. There's
 " nothing like being LOYAL,
 " my boy; how can you expect
 " to *do* any thing, if you are not
 " LOYAL? I just met Tom So-
 " and-So; he's got into a good
 " thing. He's gone partners with
 " Such-a-one, forging French
 " ship-licences, and getting mo-
 " ney like dirt: they made £4000
 " last week. Your'e a clever fel-
 " low, you should hit upon some-
 " thing of that sort. When I was
 " going to the Treasury, I saw
 " Alderman ——— coming away.
 " Oh, he's a deep one! I re-
 " member him when he was a
 " cheesemonger's boy, up by the
 " Minories, and used to carry a
 " butter tray on his head—there's
 " a fellow for you—that shows
 " you what LOYALTY is. I
 " thought he'd been after some-
 " thing, he look'd so knowing;
 " and so up he came—for he and
 " I are very thick, we'd a con-
 " tract together last year; he *did*
 " me in it, but I scraped his pate
 " for it afterwards, and we're very
 " good friends *now*—up he comes
 " to me, and he says, 'My dear
 " fellow, I've been down to the
 " Treasury, about that contract
 " I took last month—I've been
 " obliged to cry off, and forfeit.
 " What a shocking thing, isn't
 " it? They won't let me go for
 " less than the full penalty, *five*

" 'thousand—a heavy sum, in
 " these times, you know.' So I
 " said, 'Come, come, that's not
 " amiss; I warrant you'll get
 " double by it, or you wouldn't
 " be off.' He asked me what
 " I meant? I just gave him a
 " look—he understood me, and
 " laugh'd. Oh, he's a deep one!
 " Now I'll tell you how he's done
 " that. He put in for the con-
 " tract to supply * * * *. There
 " were a great many tenders,
 " but he named a very low sum
 " in his, and it being the lowest,
 " he got the contract, and was
 " bound in the usual bonds to
 " fulfil his engagement by yes-
 " terday, or forfeit a penalty of
 " £5000. Well! this is two
 " months ago; and ever since he
 " has been buying up the whole
 " of the article in the market, so
 " that nobody else can sell to
 " Government; and now he for-
 " feits the £5000.—You see how
 " it is—Government *must* have
 " the goods, and he's the only
 " one that can supply 'em.—
 " He'll have a fresh contract, *at*
 " his own price, and it is sup-
 " posed he'll make £20,000 by it.
 " That's the way, my boy! Oh,
 " he's a capital fellow—a very
 " LOYAL man—one of the first
 " in the City—a *good* man, Sir—
 " not a better man on 'Change.
 " I say—talking of 'Change, puts
 " me in mind—you remember
 " old *Thing'embob*, there, in the
 " Alley—the poor old buck's
 " quite done up. He was obliged
 " to *waddle* for his differences,
 " and there wasn't a soul *up stairs*
 " would write a line for him.
 " At last he was quite in the
 " way, crawling about to one and
 " another, and we got him down
 " as a Special Jurymen. The old

“ animal’s picking up a little now,
 “ and quite *chirrupy*. I went into
 “ a public parlour the other
 “ night, and the old boy’s back
 “ was to me; and there was he,
 “ wondering how it was people
 “ could not get to be Special
 “ Jurymen; informing the com-
 “ pany he had been on four
 “ causes that day, and had his
 “ guinea in each; and like a fool
 “ as he was, he told a queer stick
 “ in the room, he’d put him in
 “ the way of getting on the list;
 “ but I suppose he’ll *take care* of
 “ himself, if he does.—Lord, I
 “ remember how the old fellow
 “ used to *get on*—just when the
 “ war broke out. He was then
 “ in his prime. There wasn’t a
 “ good thing going, but what he
 “ was *in*; and then how he *liv’d*—
 “ like a Prince, Sir; kept his
 “ country-house, and servants in
 “ livery, with a curricule and sad-
 “ dle horses. Why, I remember
 “ when Lord ——— and Sir
 “ John ———, and a whole
 “ squad of West-Endians used to
 “ dine with him two or three times
 “ a week. He was a most ser-
 “ viceable man to Ministers; and
 “ for LOYALTY—why he beat
 “ all hollow; only let an oppo-
 “ sition man come in his way, and
 “ he’d blow him out of the water!
 “ There’s his friend, the *Colonel*,
 “ that I saw you talking to t’other
 “ day, *he* has managed pretty
 “ well—a man of great influence
 “ at the War Office; his brother’s
 “ in the House, comes in for a
 “ Treasury borough; the *Colonel*’s
 “ a Commissioner of ———, with
 “ a snug £350. a year, and gets a
 “ deputy for £20.; there are ten
 “ commissioners, and the deputy
 “ attends, and does all the
 “ duty; they only sign their

“ names to some papers now and
 “ then; the *Colonel*’s just got
 “ one son coming from the Uni-
 “ versity—he has made him a
 “ parson—Lord ——— promised
 “ him a living, as soon as ever he
 “ took orders; then there are two
 “ sons in the navy, one on half-
 “ pay in the army, and another
 “ at Woolwich—all provided for,
 “ well taken care of; and the
 “ *Colonel* longs for nothing but
 “ a war. As to Jack What-d’ye
 “ call-’em, he has turned out a
 “ precious *rip*, a rogue, a com-
 “ plete *rascal*. He owes me £30.
 “ and I suppose I shall never see
 “ 30 pence. He was always a
 “ poor crawling mortal, what they
 “ call sober and honest, but no
 “ *pluck*, except in his own way.
 “ He let a fellow take him in for
 “ all he was worth, and now he
 “ is gone to the *Bench*; his wife
 “ died since he was there; and
 “ as for his children, somebody
 “ sent ’em home to his father, who
 “ is nothing but a clerk in some
 “ factory. So you see how it is,
 “ eh! If he’d taken my advice,
 “ and staid with the little mer-
 “ chant in Billiter Lane, he would
 “ have done very well; but he
 “ was so cursedly scrupulous,
 “ that he would not put up goods
 “ for foreign orders, if they did
 “ not answer in quality to sam-
 “ ple; so he threw himself out
 “ with his principal, or he might
 “ have got in the firm—he was
 “ always a *flat*. I’ll take care
 “ and not help such poor crea-
 “ tures as him again.—Well, this
 “ is a long gossip; you must
 “ come down, and stop some
 “ Sunday. We are a set of jolly
 “ dogs in our neighbourhood—
 “ two or three that you know—
 “ all LOYAL, though—and we

"spend the day quite *orthodox* ;
 "go to church in the morning,
 "dine at each other's house in
 "turn, have a complete jollifi-
 "cation to wind up, and come to
 "town cool and fresh on Monday.
 "That's the way to live ; not
 "going about as you do, with a
 "countenance as long as a
 "tailor's pattern book, and
 "squaring every little thing as
 "even as the bits of cloth. I'm
 "glad to see you well—good by.
 "How's your wife?—good by."

Perhaps this sketch is a little too large, but it's quite to the life. I perceive, however, that I have not left myself room here for any thing respecting the *sedition* persons who you say are employed in exciting discontent, or the *respectable* persons who urged you to print your Political Discourse. I must insert the Birmingham Petition—the *excellent* Birmingham Petition; which, both as to matter and style, is incomparably better than your Sermon, as I persuade myself even you will think too, when you read it.

In my next *Register* I shall consider the *Contentment under present Circumstances*, which you recommend ; I shall show what those circumstances are ; and if I can find space, I shall insert an address to your congregation ; which, if it does not make them better, will not make them worse ; and will at least inform them of some things they never heard from their Minister.

With all respect for your private virtues, but with thorough hatred of your pulpit politics,

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

WILLIAM HONE.

Wednesday, 23d April, 1817.

BIRMINGHAM PETITION.

To the Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESS AND PETITION OF THE DISTRESSED MECHANICS OF BIRMINGHAM.

WE, the undersigned inhabitants of the town of Birmingham, beg leave to approach your Honourable House, and to inform you of our forlorn and miserable situation.

Accustomed from our earliest infancy to habits of continual labour, we have never been forward to obtrude our humble interests upon the public attention, but we have always placed confidence in the wisdom and justice of Parliament, and of our country ; nor should we now have been induced to prefer our complaints, but our misery is greater than we can bear, and we are compelled to make known our distresses to your Honourable House.

We are in distress, and in our misery we call upon our country for relief.

We ask no more than your Honourable House will acknowledge that good citizens have a right to expect. *We ask no favours. We only ask to have it placed in our power to earn honest bread by honest labour.* We only ask to be permitted to give to our country the benefit of our labour, and to receive in exchange the scanty comforts necessary for the support of life. Our wants are only food and clothing, and shelter from the elements. *Never before have we known the time when the labour of an Englishman could not procure him such humble comforts as these.* Nor can we now believe that his labour is of less value than formerly. In all former times, the labour of an Englishman could produce a sufficient quantity of the good things of life, not only for his own maintenance, but to provide an ample remuneration

to his country, and to his employers. And we presume to believe, that the labour of an Englishman is still competent to produce a far greater quantity of the good things of life, than his humble maintenance requires. But some cause, which we cannot understand, has deprived industry of its reward, and has left us without employment and without bread, and almost without hope. We have no longer any demand for our labour, nor any bread for our families. Our life has become useless to our country, and burdensome to ourselves. It would be better for us to die than to live, for then we should hear no more the cries of our children. Our hearts would no longer be wounded by the sight of sufferings which we indeed share, but which we cannot relieve.

We implore your Honourable House not to misunderstand the expression of those bitter sufferings which we endure. Hunger, and poverty, and distress, have, indeed, changed all things around us, but they have not changed us. They have not changed that devoted loyalty which, as good subjects, we feel towards our King; nor that true English spirit, which binds us to the Constitution, and to your Honourable House.

Many of us have not had any kind of employment for many months, and few of us have more than two or three days' work per week, at reduced wages. The little property which we possessed in household furniture and effects, and the small hard-earned accumulations of years of industry and care, have been consumed in the purchase of food: and we are now under the necessity of supporting our existence by a miserable dependance on parochial charity, or by soliciting casual relief from persons scarcely less distressed than ourselves.

In the midst of these painful sufferings and privations, our friends and neighbours tell us that we must wait, and hope for better times. We beg leave to inform your Honourable

House, that WE HAVE WAITED, until our patience is quite exhausted: for whilst WE WAIT WE DIE.

Upon all former occasions of distress in any branch of trade, it was always found that some other channels of industry existed, through which the honest labourer could obtain his bread; but now we find all other descriptions of labourers equally distressed with ourselves. A general calamity has fallen upon the whole nation, and has crushed the happiness of all. We would, indeed, indulge the hope that our sufferings are peculiar to ourselves, and may have been occasioned by the cessation of the war expenditure among us; but on whatsoever side we turn our eyes, if we look to Manchester or to Glasgow, to the crowded city or the peaceful village, from one extremity of our country to the other, we can perceive nothing but an universal scene of poverty and distress. *The sighs and the fears, and the convulsive efforts of suffering millions too plainly convince us, that some general and universal cause must have operated in producing such general and universal misery.*

We implore your Honourable House to remove that cause, whatever it may be.

And we cannot but think that your Honourable House can remove it. Or if its roots are so deeply hidden, that no human wisdom can discover them, or so strongly fixed, that no human strength can remove them, we must then consider our sufferings as a visitation from Almighty God, to which we must dutifully bend; but in that case, we entreat your Honourable House will adopt measures for the whole nation to humble itself in mortification and prayer, in order to propitiate the divine justice, and avert those heavy calamities which afflict us.

But we cannot but think that these calamities originate in natural causes, which it is in the power of human wisdom to discover and to remove.

We cannot but think that in a great

nation like this, the means of existence must exist for ALL. We cannot but think that in a country abounding with every blessing, and with every production of agricultural and mechanical industry, some means may be devised, by which the blessings of Providence may be distributed and enjoyed---by which the productive powers of industry may again be brought into action, and the honest labourer may again be enabled to earn an honest bread by the sweat of his brow.

We humbly pray that your Honourable House will take into consideration our distressed condition, and adopt such measures as in your wisdom may be deemed necessary for the relief of ourselves, and of our suffering country; and, as in duty bound, we shall ever pray, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

Notwithstanding the increased Circulation of the REFORMISTS' REGISTER, there are many Towns, and some Counties, in which it is not yet generally sold. I shall therefore be obliged to friends of the Work, residing in the Country, to endeavour to establish Agencies for it, in their respective neighbourhoods---Generally speaking, the persons who sold Mr. COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL PAMPHLET, will be most suitable; because, as my own principles, ever since I had the power of distinguishing right from wrong, have been those on which Mr. COBBETT conducted that Publication, and as the REFORMISTS' REGISTER is consequently continued on such principles, Mr. COBBETT'S READERS will doubtless

take it in the country, as they do in London, and other parts of the kingdom, where it is known. It is now higher in circulation than any daily, or weekly, Publication whatever---it is higher than the highest of them in sale, by MANY THOUSAND COPIES, and increases every week; but the exertions of my country friends I shall still be thankful for.

THE REFORMISTS' REGISTER will, every half-year, have a TITLE-PAGE, with a COMPLETE INDEX of reference to its contents, and bind up into a Volume, as large in size as a Volume of the best edition of Hume's History of England, or Gibbon's Rome. But a volume of the REGISTER will contain more than double the quantity contained in a volume of these works, and be at *one half* the price; so that the Reader will have, at the end of every year, Two VOLUMES, abounding with sound political information, on subjects in which he himself, and his children, and his country, are deeply interested; and the contents of these Two VOLUMES, which he obtains by an easy purchase of *Two-pence a Week*, and which do not cost him NINE SHILLINGS, will be equal to the contents of Four volumes of Hume's History of England, which will cost *One Pound Twelve Shillings*.

**** Applications for the REFORMISTS' REGISTER should be made to the different persons who sold Mr. COBBETT'S Weekly Political Pamphlet.**

Country orders addressed to Mr. HONE, 67, Old Bailey, with remittances, or appointing payment in London, and mentioning the conveyance parcels are to be sent by, will be punctually executed, and bills and placards to hang at doors and shop windows enclosed.

The Reformists' Register is charged *Twelve Shillings* per HUNDRED, or 5l. 10s. per THOUSAND.

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Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 15.]

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1817.

[VOL. I.

POLITICAL PRIESTCRAFT,

CONTINUED,

IN ANOTHER EPISTLE TO THE
REV. DAN. WILSON, M. A.
MINISTER OF ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL,
BEDFORD ROW, LONDON.

Mr. WILSON'S Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, from Romans, Chap. XIII., confuted—The Doctrines preached by Dr. Sacheverel—Disavowed by Parliament, who impeached and punished him for them—Opinions of Ministers of State against the Doctrines—The Brunswick Knights of Norwich embrace them—Their Procession from the Rampant Horse, to meet their President, returning from the Regent's Levee—The Loyal Norfolk Declaration, signed by 142 of the Church Clergy, out of 512 Subscribers—Proposal for the Cure and Cure of the Rampant Knights—Droll Supposition respecting the 258 Knights Rampant, and the Stagirians---Exhortation to Mr. Wilson to recant.

SIR,

By the stir amongst your hearers, I discover that some of them are glad I addressed you in my last REGISTER; they say, *a word spoken in due season, how good is it!** whilst others are very much offended. To the one I observe,

* Prov. xv. 23.

in all sincerity, I had rather that you had dealt faithfully, than that I should have occasion to reproach you; and the other I request to recollect, that if there be offence, I am not the man *by whom the offence cometh*.*

The oftener I think on the slavish doctrines of your *Contentment Sermon*, I am the more confirmed in believing that they should be followed up and exposed. They might be passed over in the discourse of a weak curate, before the 'squire of the parish, and a congregation of simple rustics: but you, whose audiences are respectable, both from opulence and rank; you, whom dissenters leave their meeting-houses to hear, and whose pulpit, it delighteth even bishops to honour; you are exalted above the common class of preachers, and fill too large a place before the public eye, to escape remark: when *you* print a Sermon, it comes from one having authority. To save, then, your congregation and your readers from the errors of the doctrine you preach, from the perniciousness of your authority in print, I again address you in all honesty of purpose.

With you, Sir, as a gentleman, or as a Christian teacher, I have nothing to do. I mean, that I have no right to meddle with

* Matt. xviii. 7.

your private affairs, or with your religious opinions. But you have forgotten a certain injunction, *let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth.** You have been “down into the city and preached POLITICS.” Some of my readers, Sir, are your hearers; I never addressed them on religious topics, and they little expected you would preach politics to them. You, Sir, have begun, and I must go on. You have trenched upon my ground; I, in return, must occupy a little of yours. You have taken up the sword of authority, and defied the armies of the Reformists. You say, that they that *resist*, shall receive to themselves damnation; and *with lying you have made the righteous sad.*† You say of us, that we work by the popular names of “petition, and reform, and re-“trenchment,” and “propose “schemes of base intrigue, and “covert insurrection;”‡ but *the mouth that speaketh lies shall be stopped.*§ Politics, in the hands of churchmen, is a two-edged sword, which they are not expert in using—and *they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.*||

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, in the year 1644, wrote a work entitled “LEX, REX: The Law and the Prince. A Dispute for the just Prerogative of King and People,” wherein he has, with great learning, wholly disproved the shameless slave-making doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. At the execrable restoration of CHARLES II. the book was prohibited, and burnt at the High Cross at Edinburgh—there

was no other way of getting rid of it—it was unanswerable. Copies still remain of it, one of which I have before me; and if you will take the trouble of examining the doctrine you have preached, it shall be at your service. In the mean time, as you ground yourself on the 13th of Romans, and as it is the fashion with High-Churchmen to admire PAUL, because they can preach him successfully to unreflecting hearers, I request your attention to something further respecting his true meaning. The late Dr. CALEB EVANS, of Bristol, wrote an excellent argument upon it, which, with Mr. MURRAY’S exposition in my last, enables me to put the question for the present to rest; unless, indeed, you revive it hereafter, and then you will find me at my post.

The doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, has been urged on Christians, by the Clergy in particular, from the example of JESUS, who wrought a miracle to pay his tax to a heathen prince—to a bloody tyrant—to TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

As a matter of *prudence*, of policy, every considerate man would do the same under similar circumstances. For should this country ever be brought into a state of subjection, even to the *Grand Turk*, and a tribute imposed upon its inhabitants, and collected by military force, if the tyrant rendered my bondage so easy as to make it tolerable, and I might hope to answer any valuable ends by living under his tyranny, I would very quietly pay the tribute.

Had JESUS never set me an

* Isa. xlv. 9:

† Ezek. xiii. 8.

‡ Sermon, p. 31.

§ Ps. lxiii. 11.

|| Matt. xxvi. 52.

example of this nature, I should no more have thought it *unlawful* to pay such tribute, than to give an highwayman my money, when, with a pistol at my breast, he demands it. Could I effectually resist this highwayman, I most certainly would do it—and sooner than submit to the *Grand Turk*, if there was any prospect of my successfully resisting him, I would willingly risk my life and all I possess—nor can I see how, as a Christian, such conduct would be unlawful. PAUL, the great apostle of the Gentiles, insists on the privilege of a Roman; why, therefore, may I not plead, or even fight, should there be a necessity for it, in vindication of the privileges of an *Englishman*? Unless it is *sinful* to fight at all, which Quakers believe, but which you do not, it cannot be sinful to fight in support of our just *rights*, our *inalienable* privileges. But should these privileges be irrevocably lost, and arbitrary power established, no doubt it must be not only lawful, but it will be *necessary* to submit to that power, till an auspicious hour arrives, in which some hope may dawn upon us of being able to recover our liberties. And such a submission as this, is all the submission the example of JESUS can be supposed to countenance.

The kingdom of CHRIST was *not of this world*—it was no part, therefore, of his design, either to support or destroy any particular form of civil government. Without doing this—without taking upon him, either in an ordinary or extraordinary way, to overturn the *Roman power*, how would he avoid paying the tribute in ques-

tion? But if you would from hence infer, that it is *unlawful* to fight in support of our just rights and privileges, you must suppose it to be equally unlawful to fight *for* Government, as, when we are oppressed by it, to fight *against* it. The only question on the subject of *resistance* is, whether we resist a *lawful* or an *unlawful* authority; if a *lawful* authority, our resistance is *unlawful*; but if it be an *unlawful* authority we resist, our resistance is glorious, though if there be no prospect of success, it may be rash and imprudent, and a quiet submission more eligible.

The orthodoxy of the doctrine is further attempted to be established, by the insinuation, that it is the *loyal* doctrine of JESUS himself, countenanced by his *precepts* as well as his *example*. The passage produced to prove this, is taken from Matt. xxii. 16, &c. “Is it lawful to give tribute to CÆSAR or not?”—“Render therefore unto CÆSAR the things which are CÆSAR’S,” &c.

In this passage, to avoid giving a direct answer to an ensnaring question, CHRIST calls for a Roman penny, and upon observing that it had CÆSAR’S image and superscription upon it, tells them that they certainly *might* render, or that it was undoubtedly *lawful*, that is, there was no *sin* in it, to render unto CÆSAR the things that are CÆSAR’S. But does he say *one word* to determine whether it was *lawful* in CÆSAR to usurp dominion over them, and to impose tribute upon them; or whether it would be *unlawful* in them to *resist* this usurped power, should a fair opportunity offer for that purpose? It might as

fairly be concluded, that if our Lord had determined that it was lawful to give a highwayman our money, that it must therefore be unlawful to resist a highwayman, or to *refuse* him our money whenever he saw fit to demand it.

But the grand plea from Scripture, is taken from Rom. xiii, &c. 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation. *For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil.* Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God to thee *for good.* But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger, to execute wrath upon the head of him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake."—"Render therefore to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom," &c.

There are but few seem to have been aware of the inconvenience of interpreting these Scriptures in the most absolute sense, and have limited it to obedience in *lawful* things, "which whosoever resisteth, resisteth the ordinance of God, and shall receive to himself condemnation."—By which it is supposed possible for the *supreme power* to act *unlawfully*; and by our obedience to this power being limited to lawful

things, it is plainly admitted, by necessary implication, that when the supreme power acts *unlawfully*, it may be *resisted*, without resisting the ordinance of God. And who is to be the judge in this case? If it be answered, the *supreme power*, your *limitation* of obedience to that power in *lawful* things, is nugatory, and means nothing. You cannot suppose a culprit to accuse and condemn himself. On the other hand, if *the people* are to judge when the supreme power acts unlawfully towards them, there is an end of the argument. They cannot *resist* the supreme power, without at least supposing themselves *oppressed* by it. So that from these concessions, either expressed or implied, the supreme power may be resisted in certain possible cases, without resisting the ordinance of God, or incurring damnation. Should it be replied, that by *lawful things* are meant all those things which are *not contrary* to the express law of God: I answer, is there any rapacity—is there any injustice—is there any tyranny, but *is contrary* to the express law of God?

Should it be still argued, that though it be not lawful for the supreme power to oppress and play the tyrant; yet it is *lawful*, and *therefore* we ought to *submit* to oppression: I answer, it may not only be lawful, but *necessary* to do it; because it may be out of our power to do otherwise. There may be cases, in which it may be highly *prudent* to let a man that has "*taken away our coat*" unjustly, "*take our cloak also,*" rather than contend with him. But surely CHRIST's advice

was never intended as an universal rule, and to be understood as binding upon the conscience upon every occasion, without exception. Indeed, to suppose it *unlawful* to resist a power acting *unlawfully*, whenever it is in our power to resist it effectually, is to suppose it *lawful* to countenance and encourage, as much as in us lies, what is *unlawful*.

Supposing God to have designed man for a state of society, and that no society can subsist without government; nor government without subordination and magistracy; then magistracy is the ordinance of God, and those who refuse to obey lawful magistrates, who despise dominion, and who speak evil of dignities, were the very people PAUL had in view, when he enjoined in the manner he does, submission to the higher powers.

Full of pride and conceit, these persons imagined, that having assumed the profession of Christianity, they were too great and important to be subject to the dominion of heathen magistrates, if to any at all. Now, in opposition to such destructive notions, PAUL lets them know, that they were bound to "submit to the higher powers, not only for wrath, but conscience-sake." Not only from a fear of punishment, but from a principle of duty to God. "Whosoever resisteth the power," says PAUL, that is, in lawful things, "resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation:" that is, shall be condemned and punished for their resistance. He then sets before them the grounds and reasons of that submission to magis-

tracy which he had enjoined upon them. "For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil: the ministers of God to thee FOR GOOD." "Wherefore" (the connexion of his reasoning is admirable), "ye must needs be subject." "For this cause pay you tribute also, for they are God's ministers;" meaning thereby, though they are but men, and appointed to their office by men, and supported in it by men, yet, when legally invested with authority, they are to be considered as his ministers for good, and be supported accordingly, as "attending continually upon this very thing." "Render therefore to all their dues," as good members of society, as friends of order and good government, for conscience-sake, or in obedience to the supreme authority of God, whose will it is, that you should obey and pay tribute to your lawful magistrates;—"render tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear." PAUL does not take upon him, in the least, to determine to whom tribute was due, or what quantum of tribute might be due; but only enjoins the conscientious payment of what was due, according to the nature of the government under which they lived.

But would, or can, any one, from these general injunctions of obedience to magistrates, as the powers that are "ordained of God,"—FOR GOOD, remember—infer the duty of absolute submission, or of non-resistance, and passive obedience, to WHAT-EVER the supreme power may require of us?

We are exhorted by PETER, 1 Eph. ii. 13. "to submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake;" whether it be "to the king as supreme," or unto inferior magistrates sent by him. Now in this passage, government itself, with respect to the particular form of it, as well as the specific laws enacted by it, is considered as the ordinance of man, and submission to the king as supreme, as well as to inferior magistrates, appointed by and under him, is represented as submission to the ordinance of man. This submission is, however, enjoined upon us, because it is the will of God, (see v. 15.) that we should submit to lawful authority, as being not merely the ordinance of man, but ultimately, as PAUL very properly styles it, the "ordinance of God for GOOD." In the lawful discharge of the trust committed to the prince, a resistance of such power, is a resistance, therefore, of the "ordinance of God." But will this prove, that powers that be really act lawfully, or that they are ordained of God to exercise a power that was never entrusted to them?—a power, which those over whom they are desirous of exercising it, judge would be for their destruction, not for their good?—the destruction of that which is infinitely dearer to them than their lives—their liberties. And can it be proved from Scripture that they ought, that they are, in duty bound, passively to submit to such a destructive power as this? No. It might as well be proved, that the powers that be, here in England, have a right from Scripture, and might lawfully, if so they

pleased, annihilate the rights of all the People of Great Britain, and convert our present limited monarchy into an absolute tyranny, or what is worse, into a degrading and brutal despotism, under the forms of liberty.

Every GOOD government is of God. Nor will personal vices, nor slight errors in the administration of government, justify our resisting them. But if the powers that be should attempt what they have no authority, either from God or man, to be, not ministers for good, but ministers for evil, the very same reason binds us to a resistance of them, as would otherwise engage us for conscience-sake to obey them.

What is the origin of POWER? Is the power of governors from God, or the People? You, Sir, I presume, with other advocates for the doctrine of passive obedience, say from God. Now it is granted, that all power must be ultimately from Him, because it is "in Him we all live, and move, and have our being." But the real question is, whether it be immediately from God, or immediately from the People? If you say it is immediately from God; I call on you to produce the charter, by which he hath ordained that particular form of government which is established in Great Britain, and according to which, even pot-boilers in some boroughs have a voice in the legislative body. To establish the privileges of our pot-wallpapers, as they are called, by a jure divino, will be a great exploit indeed! When this is done, I shall then call on you to point out the particular place in these heaven-descended charters, which ordained

the arbitrary monarchial governments of the Continent, particularly that of Spain, under FERDINAND the Beloved. In short, I call on you and your fellow-advocates, to favour the world with a copy of *all* those extraordinary charters, by which the several infinitely diversified forms of government which prevail throughout the world, are established by *divine right*. It will be necessary to be informed, too, whether these *divine charters* allow the supreme power to rule *only* according to the several forms of government *now settled*, or whether they impart also to the several powers that be, a *discretionary absolute power to ALTER* the form of government when they please, and to mould it according to their own fancies. Whether they authorize the powers that be, to rule with the sceptre of *righteousness* only, or exchange it whenever they think proper, for the *iron rod of oppression*.

But till these charters are produced and duly authenticated, I shall take the liberty of considering every *particular form* of government, and consequently the nature and extent of the power entrusted to those who have the management of it, as derived *immediately* from the *People*; that to the *People*, therefore, they are accountable for any breach of their *trust*; and that as they have no power whatever, but which the *People* directly or indirectly gave them, the *People* are consequently no longer bound to submit to their power, than whilst it is exercised *lawfully*, or in such a manner, and upon the whole, for those

purposes of *general good*, for which this power was first given them.*

Every civil government, unless it be established by a *divine charter*, must be founded upon *mutual compact* betwixt the Prince and the People, the governors and the governed. There is no medium. Either the supreme power under every particular form of government in which it subsists is *immediately* from *God*, or it is *immediately* from the *People*. If immediately from *God*, show us the *charter* establishing it. If from the *People*, let us know what authority the governors have to go *beyond* the power entrusted to them, more than the *People* have to *refuse obedience* to them in the exercise of *that power* with which they are legally invested. What authority the governors have to *oppress*, more than the *People* have to *rebel*.

The Constitution under which we live, it is well known, is a *limited monarchy*. The King, as first Magistrate, has his *prerogatives*; the Nobles have their *pre-*

* "According to the opinions of some, concerning the origin of government, government is not the creature of the People, or the result of a convention between them and their rulers: but there are certain men who possess in themselves, independently of the will of the People, a right of governing them, which they derive from the deity. This doctrine has been abundantly refuted by many excellent writers. (See particularly LOCKE, and Dr. PRIESTLY on Government.) It is a doctrine which avowedly subverts civil liberty; and which represents mankind as a body of vassals, formed to descend, like cattle, from one set of owners to another, who have an absolute dominion over them. It is a wonder, that those who view their species in a light so humiliating, should be able to think of themselves without regret and shame."—

rogatives; and the People have *theirs*. Now, what right has the first Magistrate to *his* peculiar prerogatives, more than the Nobles and the People have to *theirs*? What right has the King to invade the prerogatives of the Nobility, more than the Nobility to invade the prerogatives of the King; or what right have either King or Nobility to invade the prerogatives of the People, even of the *pot-boilers*, more than the People have to invade *theirs*? If it be said, the *supreme power* in every government must be lodged somewhere, and this power must be *omnipotent and uncontrollable*, I allow it. But the glory of Englishmen is, that by the English Constitution, *THE PEOPLE* have never parted with this power.

Should a bill pass both Houses of Parliament, and receive the royal assent, and it would then have the fullest *form* of law, enacting, that for the future the King should be *absolute*, and that the Houses of Lords and Commons should no longer retain a place in the Legislature; would this be *LAW*? Would this be binding upon an Englishman? You might as well suppose, that if a *trustee* was to give away or sell an estate which was confided to his management, for the benefit of orphan children, who were unable to manage it themselves, the estate would not be recoverable, nor such a villain punishable; but that his act in alienating the estate, ought to be tamely submitted to for *conscience-sake*, because he was *trustee* for these children, empowered to act for them, and might therefore, perhaps, out of the abundance of

his hypocrisy, plead, that *he thought* it would be *BETTER* for the children to be without the estate than with it. When the People are so besotted as to submit to such doctrine as this, they will deserve to be called, as they have been, *beasts*, &c. for they will forfeit all claim to the character of *Rationals*.*

Before you can establish the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, you must prove from scripture, that *absolute power*, that is, *tyranny*, is conferred upon all those in every kingdom, who have the government in their hands, by an *immediate grant* from God. You must show that not only that power is not communicated from God to the People,

* "Government is in the very nature of it, a *trust*; and all its powers, a *delegation* for gaining particular ends. This *trust* may be misapplied and abused. It may be employed to defeat the very ends for which it was instituted, and to subvert the very rights it ought to protect. A *Parliament*, for instance, consisting of a body of representatives, chosen for a limited period, to make laws, and to grant money for public services, would forfeit its authority by making itself perpetual, or even prolonging its own duration; by nominating its own members; by accepting bribes; or subjecting itself to any kind of foreign influence. This would convert a *Parliament* into a *conclave*, or *junto*, of self-created tools; and a state that has lost its regard to its own rights, so far as to submit to such a breach of trust in its rulers, is enslaved. Nothing, therefore, can be more absurd, than the doctrine which some have taught, with respect to the *omnipotence* of Parliaments. They possess no power beyond the limits of the trust, for the execution of which they were formed. If they contradict this trust, they betray their constituents, and dissolve themselves. All delegated power must be subordinate and limited. If *omnipotence* can with any sense be ascribed to a Legislature, it must be lodged where all legislative authority originates; that is in the People. For *their* sakes, Government is instituted, and theirs is the only real omnipotence."

PAICE on Civil Liberty.

and from the People to the Prince, whereby he becomes greater than any one of his subjects; but that *independently* of them, he is superior to them all, "and receiveth his power so *immediately* from God, as that there is no recipient between God and him, to convey it to him;" and consequently, that he is in no respect accountable to the People for the use or abuse of his power; but that they, *like tame beasts*, indeed, are obliged to submit to his pleasure, he being accountable to none but God.

What astonishment must it excite in the minds of real friends of the just prerogatives of the King, to observe, that under the specious pretence of zeal for the British Constitution, and duty to the King at the head of it, you, and other high church *divine right* Tories should continue to advance long exploded doctrines; doctrines, which if true, would overturn the Constitution from its deepest foundation, drive the King from his throne, and condemn the Revolution of 1688, under King WILLIAM III. as a most daring, though successful invasion of the *prerogative of God*, and of the *unalienable rights* of a *divinely anointed* tyrant. Doctrines which would have advanced the *Stuarts* upon the ruins of the race of *Brunswick*. Doctrines which have been solemnly impeached by all the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled; solemnly condemned by the very *Bishops* themselves, and the whole House of Peers: in a word, doctrines which have long since received their mortal wound, by the writings of LOCKE, HOADLEY, and

other great writers; and which every true friend of his country might have hoped were buried to rise no more.

These, Sir, are the grounds whereon Dr. CALEB EVANS, and all who think with him, reject the slavish doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, as wholly untenable, even from your favourite 13th chapter of *Romans*. I say your favourite chapter, because all the advocates of tyrannical power, from the first Pope who claimed infallibility to the infamous SACHEVEREL, and from SACHEVEREL to yourself, all of you make the great stand on this chapter. Now, then, let us see what you will do, when the ground is taken from under your feet. Oh! let us hear no more of it, but *confess your faults, one to another*,* and instead of preaching *yourselves*, preach your *Bible*, in all faithfulness. You have taken to lecture us Reformists, and you must be lectured in turn. You impute principles and motives to us, which we deny, and we have a right to scrutinize yours. You are the steward of your congregation, and it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful.† Do you, Sir, I ask, preach the Bible, or do you preach *yourself*? Do you tell the People, that the Bible is the rule of life? Do you implore them not to rely on what you say, but to *try* your sayings by the *Bible*? Do you tell them that it is their duty not to be satisfied with what they hear, but that meditating and reflecting thereon, they ought, with all patience, to turn over and search the Scriptures, and dili-

* James v. 16.

† 2 Cor. iv. 2.

gently inquire *are these things so?** Did you exhort them to do this, when you preached your *Contentment Sermon?* Ours is an age of Bibles, and a land of Bibles, and few more than yourself, Sir, have laboured to make it so; but a man may be *clad with zeal as with a cloke*,† and yet *what profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboureth*,‡ if he *multiplieth words without knowledge?*§ I would rather believe this to be your case, I would rather discover that you had never reflected on PAUL's injunction as to rulers, than believe that you recommended the odious doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, after reflection. And here it may fairly be asked, what are your *reasons* for preaching such doctrines at *this time?* Be candid at once, Sir, and confess that it was *designed*, before the sermon was preached, that it should be *printed*; and let us know whether your *motives* are *of the earth, earthy*.|| If they are, I exhort you, Sir, to forego all such considerations. Give up all thoughts about the *powers that be*. Think nothing about *pleasing them*. They that are in power never rule the People so much to their minds, as when they get priests to ride them. An independent man will neither make himself, nor be made, a tool for political purposes; and you, Sir, especially, should shun not only the danger, but the imputation. Preaching before the Regent, either in ordinary or extraordinary, is not to be desired by him who wishes to deal faithfully

with Royal and Noble hearers, to give *good measure, pressed down, and shaken together*.* Church *livings*, with large endowments, are not to be coveted by those who have the cure of souls with large *livings* already. I exhort you, Sir, to abandon all *supposing that gain is godliness*.† I remind you of your text, that "*godliness with contentment is great gain*." For we brought nothing into "this world, and it is certain "we can carry nothing out, and "having food and raiment, let "us be *therewith CONTENT*." Give up *political* preaching, Sir, until you have further studied *Christian politics*. The politics of our present rulers, and Christianity, are as an image, composed of clay and fine gold; the one all baseness, the other all purity.

High church-politics are frightful and alarming; they have often set the nation in a flame, when preached by proud aspiring self-willed men. Such a man was Dr. SACHEVEREL, who, in the year 1709, preached a sermon, enforcing your doctrines of passive obedience, and non-resistance; contending therefrom, that the Revolution of 1688 was a damnable rebellion, and they who effected it rebels. SACHEVEREL was impeached for his inflammatory sermon, and Mr. EYRE, the *Solicitor-General*, in his speech declared, "that *resistance* "was the necessary means used "to bring about the Revolution; "and it carries a high reflection "upon our great and glorious "*deliverer* (WILLIAM III.), to say " (as SACHEVEREL did), that he "disclaimed *resistance*." Sir JOHN HOLLAND, *Comptroller of the*

* Acts vii. 1.

† Isaiah, lix. 17.

‡ Eccl. iii. 9.

§ Job, xxxv. 16.

|| 1 Cor. xv. 47.

* Luke vi. 33.

† 2 Tim. vi. 5.

Household, also defended *resistance*; and Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, then *Treasurer of the Navy*, an authority I presume you will not find fault with, said "The very *being* of our present Government is the *resistance* that was necessarily used at the Revolution. If *resistance* be in no way safe to be allowed them, all the great privileges enacted in the Petition of Right are mere pretences. The doctrine of unlimited *passive obedience* is calculated for absolute power," &c. General STANHOPE quoted GROTIUS,* to show that "the People may resist tyrants, and assert their liberties." The Earl of WHARTON said, "The doctrine of passive obedience, as preached by the Doctor, was not reconcilable to the practice of churchmen." Doctor HOOPER, Bishop of Bath and Wells, allowed the right of *resistance*; but, said the Bishop, "the People should be kept from the knowledge of their right." OLDMIXON here shrewdly inquires,† "Of what use is that right to them, if they know it not? Is a man the richer for having a treasure hid in his house, if he knows not what it is, nor where it is?—In truth, Bishop HOOPER, and other Bishops, did take all possible care to keep people in ignorance, with respect to the duty they owed to their country;" and the Duke of ARGYLE clenched the whole, by saying, "The CLERGY, in all ages, have delivered up the rights and liberties of the People, and preached up the King's power, in order to govern him; and

"therefore they ought not to be suffered to meddle with politics."*

Whilst SACHEVEREL's trial proceeded, *High Church mobs* paraded the streets, and attended him every day, as he rode to the House in a tawdry glass chariot. There had not been such a rascally crew seen together, says OLDMIXON,† since the days of JOHN BALL, the priest, who was hanged for WAT TYLER's rebellion. The Papists mingled with them, and they burned several meeting-houses, and committed great devastation amongst moderate Churchmen and Dissenters. At length SACHEVEREL was suspended from preaching for three years, and his sermons enforcing passive obedience and non-resistance were burned by the hangman, at the Royal Exchange.

Here you see, Sir, that your doctrines of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance* were declared illegal by both Lords and Commons; that a Church of England Clergyman was punished for preaching those doctrines; and consequently, that *non-obedience* and *resistance* to arbitrary power were sanctioned by Parliament. The monster NERO, to whom you say obedience was to be unreservedly paid,‡ would have stood a bad chance of receiving obedience here, in 1710, from any but such men as Dr. SACHEVEREL. OLDMIXON, commenting on the proceedings respecting him, says,§ "If we look back into the LAUDIAN times, we shall find the *High Church Clergy*

* De Jure Belli et Pacis.

† Seq. to Stuarts, p. 437.

* Deb. in Parl. 1710.

† Seq. to Stuarts, p. 434.

‡ Sermon, p. 27.

§ Seq. to Stuarts, p. 436.

“to be just such men as SACHEVEREL; and”—I entreat *you*, Sir, to notice what he says—“if that *odious party* should be in being in the *next age*”—our own age, *your age*, Sir—“if that *odious party* should be in being in the *next age*, posterity will find them as turbulent, as troublesome, as wicked, and as dangerous, as was this *incendiary*, calling himself an Ambassador of Christ; and will not take it ill that they are warned to be *on their guard against them* ;”—that is, *we*, in this age, are warned against those who preach passive obedience and non-resistance now, as SACHEVEREL did *then*. I, for one, accept this warning, and I repeat what I have endeavoured to prove, that these doctrines are odious, detestable, and *wholly unsanctioned* by Scripture; and are rejected by the best men, as degrading and hateful to all who are not slaves.

The LAUDIAN times, which OLD-MIXON speaks of, are coming again, pretty quickly. You, Sir, have treated us with passive obedience, and non-resistance, in the pulpit at London, and some disciples of the doctrine are enforcing its practice at *Norwich*. These worthy personages are the KNIGHTS OF BRUNSWICK, who, in December last, transmitted a declaration to Lord SIMMOUTH, Secretary of State for the Home Department; in answer to which, J. BECKETT, Esq. Under Secretary of State, acquainted the said *Knights of Brunswick*, that his Lordship *could not hesitate to applaud their principles*,*

These *Knights*, forsooth, being thereunto duly encouraged by the amiable condescension of the Noble Secretary of State, to whom they returned a letter of thanks, in a *round robin*, signed by all the *Knights Members*—these magnanimous *Knights*, flushed with their successful attack upon the Secretary of State, whom they had injected with a due sense of their *loyalty*, determined to administer a sufficient quantity to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. They came to this wise and glorious determination, whilst smoking their pipes at the sign of the *Rampant Horse* public house, in *Norwich*, where they hold their Chapters—their Installations—their Collar Days—and their Grand Meetings. They are a sort of club of *Odd Fellows*:—not that they wear masks, with queer out-of-the-way faces, made to imitate brute beasts, such as bears or baboons, or oxen, or other frightful or savage countenances. No, they have no occasion for disguises of that kind, to look like fools. They edify each other with select portions from the famous *Address or Declaration* of the Duke of BRUNSWICK to the People of France, about four-and-twenty years ago, wherein he preached the duty of *passive obedience and non-resistance*, as if he had the Court exposition of the 13th of *Romans* by heart, and enforced it at the end of the bayonet, by the threat of burning and destroying every place in France which resisted the progress of the allied troops. These bold *Brunswick Knights* of *Norwich*, are well versed in all this kind of learning. Whe-

* Cobbett's Register, vol. 32. p. 67, &c.

ther they wear the *Brunswick uniform*, or not, I have no positive information, though it is very possible they may;—if they do, they are, indeed, a very solemn band of *Knights*, all dressed in black, with Death's heads and cross-bones on their foreheads; and when sitting round the table, at the *Rampant Horse*, look like so many coffins set up on end, with the lids off. The President of this grave assemblage, an apothecary, surgeon, or man midwife, was despatched by the ghostly band to London, to go to the PRINCE REGENT'S Levee, and astonish him with an address of loyalty from the *Rampant Horse*, in the name and on behalf of the said *Knights*, and of two other equally intelligent and important bodies, called STAGORIANS, who met at the *Rampant Horse*, for that purpose; to whom the said *Knights*, it appears, decreed the honour of a sitting; and who were "*associated and affiliated with them.*" Strange as it may seem, yet it is not more strange than true, that the Norwich paper states, that, "At the Levee, their *President* was introduced by Lord Vis. SIDMOUTH, and Lord LAKE, when His Royal Highness was graciously pleased to receive the Address in a most marked and condescending manner, on which occasion the President had the honour of kissing His Royal Highness's hand."

How all this happened, I cannot tell; but I suppose that it will be a precedent, and is indeed a sort of coaxing invitation for Addresses to Carlton House from all the drinking clubs and smoke shops throughout the

United Kingdom; particularly as the Address is actually published in the London Gazette, of last Saturday, and is there described as having been signed with 258 names. I do not see, as these *Knights* of the *Rampant Horse* and the *Stagorians* have sent their Chairman to Court, why the *Good Fellows* under the Sun, at the *Pony*, in Warwick Lane; or the *Counsellors under the Cauliflower*, in Butcher-hall-lane; or the *Codgers*; or the *Lumber Troop*; or the *Free and Easy Johns*; or all the *Free and Easies* throughout the country, may not send their Chairmen to the Regent, with humble and dutiful Addresses from their respective Societies in General Meeting assembled: nor why the *Wolves*, at the *Coal-hole*; or the *Grand Master* of the *Knights* of the *Black Jack*, in Portugal Street; or the Chairman of the "Everlasting Society of *Eccentrics*, who meet 365 times in the year, at the Sutherland Arms, in May's Buildings, St. Martin's Lane," and who were Subscribers under that name to the Loyal Fund at Lloyd's, should not also go to Court, with the President of the *Cat and Shoulder of Mutton Club*, bearing humble and dutiful Addresses. Sure I am, that the said Addresses would read as elegantly as the Address of the smoke-shop *Knights of Brunswick* and *Stagorians* does in the London Gazette of last Saturday, where, as I said before, it stands printed, and that very conspicuously, with other loyal Addresses and Declarations from Counties and Corporations, and even with Addresses from the Bishops and

Clergy. But if the drinking clubs and smoking clubs in London should think proper to imitate the *Knights of the Rampant Horse*, at Norwich, I advise them not to go too far in their imitations; for it appears that the proceedings at the *Rampant Horse* being adjourned into the open air, the *Knights* have actually seen some service.

The Norwich account of the affair I allude to, is given in a London newspaper, thus:—

“THE BRUNSWICK KNIGHTS.

“A society, entitled the Brunswick Knights of Norwich, has been lately established in Norwich, which, like the ORANGE SOCIETIES in Ireland, has excited a little jealousy in its affectation of superior loyalty and devotion to the Throne. At the Levee held at Carlton House, on Monday, a dutiful and loyal Address from these Brunswick Knights was presented to the Prince Regent, by their President, Mr. FAYERMAN; of whose return to Norwich, *functus officio*, the Norfolk Chronicle gives the following account:—‘It being resolved by the Brunswick and Stagorian Associations of this city (Norwich), to form A PROCESSION of the members, with a band of music and colours, and to set out from the Rampant Horse Inn, to meet the President, Mr. A. T. FAYERMAN, on his return from presenting the Address of Congratulation to the Prince Regent, they carried into effect their plan on Tuesday night last, with intention to honour him for his great exertions in the noble cause for which they stand as champions. The harmony and conviviality of the Meeting were completely outraged by an assembled mob, who broke the windows of Mr. Simmons’s house at Prussia Gardens, and tore up several of the shrubs: volleys of stones

and bricks were also thrown at many of the members who were on horseback; and as THE PROCESSION passed into the city, these lawless acts were considerably aggravated by other personal attacks, and several panes of glass were broken in Mr. FAYERMAN’s house, Red Lion Street. Amongst the persons injured, one man in particular, of the name of Barnes, is now confined to his bed. The Magistrates at length ordered out the Police, who soon restored tranquillity.”

Now, Sir, to be grave, I very seriously ask you, where these LOYAL proceedings of the *Knights of the Rampant Horse* are likely to end? You must remember, that the establishment and meetings of such associations as these in Ireland have occasioned murder and bloodshed every year in that country. You, Sir, in your sermon,* talk of men, who “the moment any gloom hangs over the public mind, thrust themselves forward into an odious notice, and bask and frolic in the tears and miseries of their fellow-creatures;” and you say, that “they work by the popular names of petition, and reform, and retrenchment.” Well, Sir, there is a gloom over the public mind now; a great gloom; a terrible gloom; and this great and terrible gloom extends even to Norwich; and I ask you, Sir, who there “bask and frolic in the tears and miseries of their fellow-creatures?” Are there no “tears and miseries” there, while the *Brunswick Knights* and the *Ancient Stagorians* hold their carousings and junkettings at the *Rampant Horse*. Were there no “tears and miseries,” when the half-witted doldrums, thinking

* Page 31.

they were not *big* enough to be seen, put themselves on horseback, to *bask and frolic* in a procession, and meet their man-midwife, or surgeon, or whatever he is, who had left his business at Norwich, to go to London, for the purpose of administering their *little nostrum* to the Prince Regent? Were there no "tears and miseries" *there*, when these *Knights Rampant*, on horseback, "in long order, go" to bask and frisk on errands, signifying nothing; and yet these *Knights* talk of us, who support "Petition, Reform, and Retrenchment," exactly as you do, Sir. I ask, who were the baskers and frolickers in the "tears and miseries" of the people, on the procession day of the *Knights Rampant* at Norwich? I will whisper one word to you, Sir. There is no better way of turning petitioners into rebels, than by forming associations of such drivellers as these. They mock affliction, they taunt misery, and they goad distress to commit violence.

These *Knights* of the *Rampant Horse* have promoted, in every possible way, the Declaration of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Freeholders of Norfolk, in opposition to the county Address; and when I tell you, Sir, by what description of persons it is very numerously signed, you will not be surprised that it contains such sentiments as these:—

"We do NOT think that any portion of the distresses of the times is imputable to misconduct or impolicy on the part of MINISTERS!!!

"We do NOT regard the suspension of the constitutional privileges

"of the subject as ANY INFRINGEMENT of the permanent liberties of the country!!!

This *Declaration*, in opposition to the sense of the county, after being left about—for a fortnight—a whole fortnight—at inns, taverns, and coffee-houses, and at poor subservient printers' shops, and every place where the *Rampant Knights* could get it in for signature; at last, at the end of a fortnight, got 512 names to it, beginning with the Earl of ABERGAVENNY, who is Recorder of Harwich, and holds the place of Patent Inspector of Prosecutions at the Custom-House, with a salary of £2000. per annum; and out of the 512 subscribers, there is nearly one third with *clerk* written against each! aye! no less than ONE HUNDRED and FORTY-TWO of the *Church Clergy*, out of this 512, have signed the LOYAL Declaration. Now, Sir, you are not surprized at its sentiments—*Passive obedience and non-resistance FOR EVER! Hurrah! Hurrah!! Hurrah!!!* The Ministers *for ever!—hurrah!* The Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—*for ever!—hurrah!* Well done, my *Rampant Knights!* halloo—halloo on—till ye are hoarse. When ye have done, I request that your *President* will whip out his *steam*, if he bleeds cattle, and has it about him, or, if not, his *lancet* will do, and take a quart of blood from each of ye, and then clap ye up in the Lunatic Asylum, with a certificate of insanity, in which he may include his own name or not, as he pleases. This I recommend, as necessary to the *peace* of the county. *Stagorians* and

KNIGHTS OF BRUNSWICK, indeed! Why it's lucky ye happen to be on the *right* side, because if ye were going on at this rate on the *wrong* side, ye would stand a chance of commitment to some distant gaol, one of which I could mention, where, within an hour after your arrival, every man Jack of ye would have his head shaved; ye would then be stripped stark naked, your clothes be put into a hot oven, lest there should be vermin about them, and with the same precaution, yourselves be tumbled into a cold bath—each of ye be then dressed in party-coloured close waistcoats and trowsers, one side blue and the other side yellow; and thus clad as Sadler's Wells clowns, and bald as cootes, ye would be put into solitary cells, looking more like 258 JOEY GRIMALDIES, in disgrace, than so many *Rampant Ancient* **KNIGHTS OF BRUNSWICK** and **STAGORIANS**, practising *passive obedience and non-resistance*.

To be grave again, if I can—and, in my next, I will duly apologize for not being always grave—I conclude with solemnly protesting, Sir, against the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, which are declared by the convivial **KNIGHTS OF BRUNSWICK**, at the *Rampant Horse*, to be their bond of union, and are solemnly preached by you at St. John's Chapel, Bedford-row. My humble endeavours ever have been, and will be, in direct opposition to slavery

of all kinds; I hope yours will take the like direction. Recollect the numerous injunctions to self-denial and contentment which you have submitted to your congregation, and apply them to yourself. Abandon the hateful principles I have endeavoured to expose, and honestly confess your error. This will insure you the approbation of the wise and good, of all persuasions; and put it out of the power of those to censure you, who imagine motives from conduct, and who are apt to apply on certain occasions the following lines:—

“What makes all doctrines plain and clear?

“About two hundred pounds a-year:—

“And that which was prov'd true before,

“Prov'd false again? Two hundred more.*

There is much for your consideration in the present sheet, and I have still more to say, which I reserve for my next. For the present I add no more.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

WILLIAM HONE.

Wednesday, 30th April, 1817.

* HUDIERAS.

POSTSCRIPT.

Mr. SOUTHEY, and Mr. W. SMITH; Mr. WRIGHT, and the LIVERPOOL INFORMERS; are, as the Reader will see, necessarily deferred, until my next Letter to the Rev. DANIEL WILSON, this day week.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 16.]

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1817.

[VOL. I.]

TO THE

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

MY ARREST on Three Judge's Warrants ---- THREE EX-OFFICIO INFORMATIONS filed against me by the Attorney-General---My REFUSAL TO PLEAD to them---My Commitment to Prison-----TITHES.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

I WROTE my last *Register* at home, in the midst of my family. Since then the reign of terror has commenced, and I now write from a prison. I am the first object selected by the Attorney-General, Sir WILLIAM GARROW, as a victim and an example. He has filed three *Criminal Informations* against me, and, assisted by the Court of King's Bench, put me into confinement. The reader shall be circumstantially informed how this has been effected.

On Saturday last, in the afternoon, not having been out during the whole of the day, I left home about half-past four o'clock. On my return, I purchased two articles from the Catalogue of Mr. MAJOR, bookseller, in Skinner Street—one of them written by SAMUEL JOHNSON, in the year 1692, entitled, "*An Argument,*

proving,—1st. That the People of England did actually abrogate or dethrone King JAMES II. for Misgovernment, and promoted the Prince of ORANGE in his stead;—2dly. That this proceeding of theirs was according to the English Constitution, and prescribed by it." Just before I got to Fleet Lane, in the Old Bailey, walking towards my own door, I opened this pamphlet, to look at it. At the corner of the lane, two men rushed upon me, and one taking hold of me, said, "You are my prisoner—I have a Judge's warrant against you." I was at that moment reading these words in the pamphlet:—"Shall a poor pickpocket or a highwayman be hanged for a little loose money, and these whole-sale thieves, who strip a nation of their lives, liberties, and estates, and all they have, not be looked after?" I shut too the pamphlet, and putting my finger between the leaves, that I might not lose the place, said to the man, "Very well; walk home with me, and I will go with you."

Officer. "No, I shall not suffer you to go home."

Myself. "We are going past the door. You will surely step in with me, and let me speak to my wife."

Officer. "No. You must go with me."

Myself. "Why did you not call upon me at home? Why take me in the street?"

Officer. "I did not expect to find you at home."

Myself. "I am almost constantly at home; I am very seldom out; I have not been out the whole of the day, till lately."

Officer. "I did not call, I tell you, because I did not expect to find you."

Myself. "Well, I am willing to go with you; but I of course wish to apprise my family of what has happened."

Officer. "I tell you, I shall not let you go home—the bail is very large—you must not go home at all."

Myself. "What has the bail to do with my going home, or not going home? Go along with me; I shall not detain you, or run away from you."

Officer. "It does not signify, you shall not go home."

Myself. "Very well. Do as you please. I am in your power. Where are you going to take me to?"

Officer. "Here is the Judge's warrant——Lord ELLENBOROUGH's warrant. Read it."

Myself. "No, not here. I will read it at the place you take me to."

Officer. "No—read it at once—here it is."

Myself. "There is no necessity for it now, in the street."

Officer. "Yes—you had better read it here."

Myself. "Very well."

[I stood against a post, and having read the warrant, returned it to him. It was dated April

28th, five days before, and signed *Ellenborough.*]

Officer. "Then now go with me."

Myself. "By all means.—Where are you going to take me to?"

[We now crossed the way, towards Newgate Street.]

Officer. "To a lock-up-house."

Myself. "Whose?"

The officer named one or two near the Bank. I objected to going to a lock-up-house in that direction; telling him, I preferred Horwood's, in Chancery Lane, or some other, towards Temple Bar, it being nearer to my friends.

Officer. "I will take you to the Compter, if you do not choose to go where I tell you."

Myself. "I am in your power, and therefore you will do with me as you please."

A coach being called, I got in, and the officer followed. He then told me he should take me to the Judge's chambers; and the coach was ordered to drive to Chancery Lane. As it passed my own house, I desired it might stop there, for a person to step out to me; and my wife coming to the coach door, I put my head out of the window, and whispered her that I was in custody by a Judge's warrant, and would send to her when I knew how I was to be disposed of. As the coach drove along, the officer told me, that there were other warrants against me, but they were not given to him; and I might be bailed by Lord ELLENBOROUGH before 8 o'clock that evening. The coach stopped at Serjeant's Inn Coffee-house, and he inquired from the coach win-

dow, of the people round the door, for Mr. GIBBONS, the head tipstaff: he said, in a most important tone of voice, "Tell him 'I have got HONE.'" Mr. GIBBONS not appearing, we remained seated in the coach. I reminded the officer, that if I was to be bailed, no time should be lost. Mr. GIBBONS not appearing, we got out, and found him in Serjeant's Inn. He desired I might be conducted into the Coffee-house, telling me there were other Judge's warrants issued, and I could not be bailed that night. On arriving at the Coffee-house, the officer said he should take me to WILSON's lock-up-house, in Warwick Court, Holborn. I reminded him of the date of the warrant, and inquired why I was not taken four days before? He said he could not tell. Soon afterwards Mr. GIBBONS came in, and gave private directions to the officer. I informed Mr. GIBBONS I was very anxious to give bail that night. He said it was impossible; that there were two other warrants, and there must be 48 hours' notice of bail; that I must for the present go with the officer, and he would call on me himself at half-past eight, and tell me every thing. I requested a person in the room, who knew me by sight, to acquaint my wife that I was taken to WILSON's lock-up-house, in Warwick Court, Holborn, and then retired with the officer, who called in another to his assistance, and carried me to Mr. HEMP's, No. 19, Serle's Place, Carey Street, and there left me. Mr. GIBBONS did not come as he promised. At length a person arrived, who fetched a ticket-

porter; and I wrote my wife a note, requesting her to send some one to me from home, immediately. She did so; and I found she had despatched messengers both to Serjeant's Inn Coffee-house, and WILSON's, without being able to gain tidings of me. It was now between 9 and 10, and I sent this person to Mr. GIBBONS, and a ticket-porter with a note to a friend, Mr. GIBBONS sent me word, *nothing could be done that night*, but he would see me in the morning. My friend informed me that he was so engaged he could not come to me. I wrote to another friend, but before my messenger could return, it was 11 o'clock, at which hour Mr. HEMP's house was closely shut up, and every person retired to bed. I had previously inquired at Mr. HEMP's, if I could have a copy of the warrant, which had been left at Mr. HEMP's, and was informed that I could not be furnished with it *there*. Shortly after I was shown to my bed room, the person who kept the door of the house, undressed himself for the purpose of sleeping in another bed, in the same room.—He asked if "*my crime was very great?*" I answered by inquiring, why he put the question? He said, "Be-
"cause they," (meaning the officers) "are so very strict in their orders about you." I laughed at the poor fellow's good-natured sympathy, and satisfied him I had not been guilty of murder. The next morning (*Sunday*), Mr. GIBBONS called, and told me he had two other warrants against me, for libel; but he could not recollect on what specific charge, or the amount of bail required;

he said, that in all probability I should be removed to the King's Bench the following day. I told him, that by being kept ignorant, not only of the charges, but of the extent of bail required, and by the mode and time of my arrest, I had been prevented from procuring or giving notice of bail the evening before, and begged he would inform me in the morning what the charges were, and the extent of bail. In the course of the day, my wife came to me, and I concerted with her what appeared proper to do. This arrangement was frustrated by what happened the next morning. As soon as breakfast was over, two persons delivered the tipstaff's authority, in writing, to Mr. HEMP, requiring me to be surrendered to their custody, for the purpose of being taken to Westminster, to plead. I had not even time allowed me to collect together some papers which I received from home the day before, and left them behind me in charge of a gentleman, unfortunately detained at Mr. HEMP's for debt, who very kindly offered to put them up for me, which he did, after I was gone. I was hurried off so quickly, that to despatch a messenger to my wife, or any friend, to acquaint them of this sudden proceeding, was impossible: being put into a coach, I was rapidly driven down to Westminster, placed on the floor of the Court, and after some routine business, called on to plead immediately to *three Criminal Informations*, which I had never before heard of.

What then took place will appear from the following statement, which I have drawn up

from recollection, assisted by the reports in the newspapers.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL moved that WILLIAM HONE be called upon to plead to a criminal information filed against him, for publishing *The late JOHN WILKES's Catechism of a Ministerial Member*, adapted to the present times; being a parody upon the Catechism, with intent to scandalize and bring into contempt the Book of Common Prayer, and the Church of England, as by law established.

Mr. HONE appeared in Court, in custody of the tipstaff.

Mr. HONE immediately addressed their Lordships, observing, that before the information and libel were read, he wished to submit to the Court, that he had been illegally detained in custody since Saturday night, when he had been apprehended on a Judge's warrant, without having power to give notice of bail; and that he was now brought up to plead, without a moment's previous notice, without knowing what the information was with which he was charged.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. You had better hear the information read, and afterwards you will have an opportunity of stating, particularly whatever you may think fit to complain of to the Court.

The first count of the information was then read, reciting the whole of the tract alluded to, which has been so long before the public; and when the Officer of the Court came to a certain whimsical part of it, the Attorney-General apologized to their Lordships, by stating that he had refrained from bringing this libel

before the Court sooner, that their ears should not be offended by such vile blasphemous libels.

Mr. HONE observed, that the publication of the alleged libel had been long suspended: and was about to reply further to what had fallen from the Attorney-General, but was restrained by the Court.

The MASTER then proceeded in reading the remainder of the first count. He told the Defendant, there were other counts, varying the manner of the charge, and then called upon him to plead guilty or not guilty.

Mr. HONE stated to the Court, that he was only apprehended on Saturday night, and, *by the mode of arrest*, had been prevented from either giving notice of bail, or even procuring bail. He understood, also, there were other warrants out against him, and having been brought into Court without a moment's notice, he had had no opportunity of advising with any person as to what course he ought to pursue. He did not know what was in the information.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL observed, that if the Defendant wished for time, no objection would be made.

Mr. HONE. I want nothing but *justice*.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. You are not required to plead immediately; you may *imparl* to the next term.

Mr. HONE. I wish to have advice what step I shall take. I have not had a moment to consult with any friend.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. Do you claim *imparlance* to the next

term? You must make your election.

Mr. HONE. My Lord, I do not know what *imparlance* is; that is, the legal effect of it.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. It is a liberty not to plead until next term.

Mr. HONE. I do not know that so much time is necessary: I am not desirous of at all impeding the course of justice.

The COURT then informed the Defendant, that a shorter time would be allowed him, if that were necessary: he might be brought up again on that day se'nnight.

Mr. HONE said, that provided he were furnished with a copy of the information, he should no doubt be prepared to plead by to-morrow morning.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL. I have already stated, that the offence with which this person is charged, is the printing and publishing of a wicked and blasphemous libel. He is now called on to plead either guilty or not guilty to that charge; and his pleading either one or the other will not prevent him from withdrawing that plea, and substituting any other, on a future occasion. But he has no right to a copy of the information, till he has pleaded.

Mr. HONE said, that it was impossible for him to answer on the sudden, when he was so unprepared.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. The time of the Court must not be occupied in vain discussions. If you want time, you may have until next term; or a shorter time, if you think that sufficient. If you now plead not guilty, it

will not prejudice you; because, on application at a future time, you may be allowed to retract that plea, and to plead otherwise. The Court, of course, cannot decide now *what would be the result of that application*; but, *in all probability*, you would be allowed to retract your plea. In the mean time, if you wish for a copy of the information, your attorney may obtain it at the proper office.

MR. HONE. I have no attorney, my Lord. In the first place, I submit that the whole of the information has not been read to me—

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL then said, that he should move that the whole of the information be read; and if the Defendant did not afterwards plead, he should apply to the Court that he be committed.

MR. HONE stated that he did not wish the remainder to be read: he only wanted a copy of it.

The COURT. You may have a copy upon the usual terms at the Crown-Office, after you have pleaded.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL now moved that the remainder of the information should be read. The Defendant was charged with printing and publishing a blasphemous libel, and the only question propounded to him now was, whether he was guilty or not? Surely he could have no difficulty in giving an answer, yes or no.

MR. HONE. The consideration is, whether this is a libel or not.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. We can't go into that now.

The MASTER now proceeded in

reading the remainder of the information, and had advanced some length, when he was again interrupted by the Defendant, who stated that he had no wish whatever that the public time should be wasted in reading the remainder of the information; for after it had been finished, he should then persist in his request for a copy.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. The Court has no power to give it to you. We have no funds out of which to pay for it.

MR. HONE assured their Lordships, that he had no funds either.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. The Court cannot make a law for you, which does not exist for the rest of His Majesty's subjects.

MR. HONE. There may be parts of the information to which, upon due consideration, I may plead guilty, and to the rest not guilty.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL. You cannot plead in part; you must plead to the whole.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. You may certainly plead to a part, or to the whole, as you think fit.

MR. HONE. Then I submit, with the utmost deference, that this is a still stronger reason for my claiming a copy of the information, that I may consider it, and determine the nature and extent of my plea to it.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. If a copy of the information were given to you, by the same rule every person charged with a crime might claim a copy of the indictment. [Here MR. HONE bowed assent to the propriety of every person charged with crime urging such a claim.] Such a claim has never before been pre-

ferred, that I know of, and certainly such a claim has never been allowed. There cannot be one law for you, and another for the rest of His Majesty's subjects. The Court is willing to grant every reasonable indulgence, if you wish for time to make up your mind as to your plea.

The MASTER proceeded, and read the remainder of the information.

Mr. HONE. I appeal to your Lordships, as men, whether I, a man, or yourselves, in my situation, subject to human infirmities, could be expected to remember the different counts in this information, and all their technical charges, and varied allegations, with such a power of recollection as to be enabled to say to which to plead guilty to, and to which to plead not guilty.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL. The Defendant has been told what course he may pursue, but he declines to adopt it. If the Defendant does not plead, I shall move that he be charged with another information.

Mr. HONE. If there are others, I am certainly most anxious to know all the charges the Attorney-General has against me; that is a piece of justice that I expect of the Attorney-General.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL then made his motion; and the second information was read. It charged the Defendant with printing and publishing a blasphemous libel, entitled, *The Political Litany*, to the great displeasure of Almighty God, scandalizing the Service of the Church of England, as by law established, and bringing into contempt and ridi-

cule a part of the Service in the Book of Common Prayer, called the Litany.

The information being in part read, Mr. HONE said, will the Court permit me to sit, whilst the remainder of the information is reading, as I am unwell—I am much disordered.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. NO!!

The MASTER now finished reading the information; and called upon the Defendant to plead *guilty* or *not guilty*.

Mr. HONE. My Lords, I submit the same application to the Court, as in the last case.—I ask for a copy of the information.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. We can only give you the same answer as we did before.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL then charged a third criminal information against him, for printing and publishing another blasphemous libel, entitled, *The Sinecurist's Creed, or Belief*; tending to scandalize and bring into contempt another part of the Service in the Common Prayer, entitled, the Creed of St. Athanasius.

Mr. HONE gave no interruption to the reading of this information; but when it was finished, he renewed his application for copies. He stated, that the Court had informed him that they had no fund out of which they could pay for these copies. Funds were found he said to pay his Majesty's Attorney-General for filing these informations, and he should think that he (an humble individual or Defendant), against whom they were filed, might be supplied with copies out of the same funds.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL now

moved that the Defendant should be committed.

Mr. HONE. My Lords, your Lordships inform me, that I may plead guilty to part, if I choose; but I submit that it is not in the power of human nature, wishing to do justice, as I do, to determine, from barely hearing these very long informations read, how to proceed—how so to plead. It is not, with me, a mere question of what form of words I am to plead in; but because I would conscientiously, and standing before God and man, say whether I were guilty of a libel or not, according to my conscience, if I really understood the informations. I don't suppose that there ever was an instance known, of a man taken into custody so recently as I have been, and having three criminal informations filed against him, being called on to plead to them suddenly—without a moment's notice of such informations having been filed. I do therefore implore, and I demand of this Court (if I may use that phrase, meaning it in no improper or disrespectful sense), copies of these informations; and whether his Majesty's Attorney-General file three or three hundred informations, or whether I sink on the floor of this Court, through weakness, whilst hearing them read, I still persist in my demand, because I think it founded in justice.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL. The course now pursued is as old as the Court itself. The number of informations against a publisher, depends on the extent of his practice in publishing seditious or libellous works. I shall content myself with again moving

that the Defendant be committed.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. Let the Defendant be committed till the first day of next Term.

Mr. HONE again complained of the manner in which he had been detained in custody, and was explaining.

The COURT. The present is not the time for the agitation of that question.

Mr. HONE desired to know for what, and how he stood committed? but the Court remained silent, and he was removed out of Court by the tipstiffs.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH stated, that though the Defendant was now committed to the first day of next Term, yet he would be liberated, in the interim, on putting in sufficient bail.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL. Perhaps your Lordships would intimate to the Defendant what bail will be required.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. For the first libel the Defendant must be bound himself in £200., and two sureties in £100. each—the same security must be given in the second—and, in the third, himself in £100., and two sureties in £50. each.

Mr. HONE being recalled into Court, was informed by the Master of the extent of bail required.

Mr. HONE. My Lords, I request to have copies of the warrants on which I was apprehended.

Mr. Justice BAYLEY. *The Court has no power to grant them.*

TIPSTAFF. You will have that in the Copy of Causes.

Mr. HONE then withdrew in custody of the tipstiffs.

After these proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, I was taken to the King's Bench Prison, in St. George's Fields, where I bespoke the "Copy of Causes," which the tipstaff told me, in Court, would contain copies of the Judge's warrants, whereon I was arrested. The Copy of Causes has been furnished me.— It contains *no* copy of the Judge's warrants; and on application to the office of the Marshal of the prison, I am informed, the warrants are not lodged with him; but the Copy of Causes is a most important document.

I.

Monday next, after One Month from the Feast Day of Easter, in the Fifty-seventh Year of King George the Third.

London—The KING against WILLIAM HONE (*for the late JOHN WILKES's Catechism of a Ministerial Member.*)

THE DEFENDANT being brought here into Court, in custody of one of the Tipstuffs of this Court, is charged with the Information filed against him in this prosecution for certain misdemeanours in printing and publishing certain impious, profane, and scandalous Libels: And having heard the same read, he is asked by the Court, here, whether he be guilty of the premises thereby charged upon him or not? Whereupon he PRAYS A DAY to answer thereto: And it is granted to him by the Court, here: And *the said Defendant having no bail*, is committed by the Court, here, to the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea of this Court, FOR WANT OF BAIL, *for his pleading within the first Eight Days of the next Term*, to the said information, and personally to appear in this Court, upon the return of the postea, in case he shall be convicted, and so from day to day; and not to depart this Court, without

leave; to be by the said Marshal kept in safe custody until he shall be from thence discharged by due course of law.

On the Motion of Mr. Attorney-General.

By the Court.

II.

Monday next, &c.

London—The KING against WILLIAM HONE (*for the Sinecurist's Creed.*)

The like Rule.

On the Motion of Mr. Attorney-General.

By the Court.

III.

Monday next, &c.

London---The KING against WILLIAM HONE (*for the Political Litany.*)

The like Rule.

On the Motion of Mr. Attorney-General.

By the Court.

And is detained for no other cause, as appears by the books.

R. HILL,

Clerk of the Papers of the King's Bench Prison.

6th May, 1817.

Now *these* Rules of Court state what is not the fact. I did *not* pray for time till the first day of next term, to plead. I prayed *no* day to answer. I craved a copy of each information, as each was read to me, and on each a copy was denied me. I *refused* to plead, *until I had a copy*. I respectfully, but *peremptorily*, refused to plead, and stated *why* I refused to plead. When the first information was read, I told Lord ELLENBOROUGH and the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, if a copy of it was given me, I would plead the next morning. I did not then

know that there was more than that one information against me; but could copies of the whole three have been made in the course of half a dozen hours, I would have pleaded to the whole three the next morning. When the ATTORNEY-GENERAL told me, if I wished *for time*, no objection would be made, I said, "I want *nothing* but JUSTICE." Lord ELLENBOROUGH proposed, that I should pray for time till next term. I told him "so much time was not necessary"—that "I was not at all desirous of impeding the course of justice." His Lordship then proposed, "that day se'nnight." I shortened *that time*, till the next morning, *provided I had a copy of the information*. I claimed copies till the last moment I remained on the floor of the Court, wholly refusing to plead till I had them, and declining all offers of time; when Lord ELLENBOROUGH said, "Let the Defendant be committed till the first day of next term," I bowed to him, looked him in the face, and inquired, aloud, "My Lord, *for what* am I committed?—*How*, and to what end, do I stand committed?" Lord ELLENBOROUGH looked at me, reclined backwards, and made me no answer, nor did the other Judges make answer; and I knew not *why* I was committed, that is, *for what purpose* I was committed. I therefore *repeated my desire to know this*, till the tipstaffs took me by the arms, and forced me off the floor of the Court. The three Rules of Court therefore state what is not true. I appeal to Sir WILLIAM GARROW himself—to every counsel—to every solicitor—to every person

present in Court, whether I craved any thing but copies of the informations—I craved this, and this only. I was committed by the Court itself, till the first day of next term, wholly and entirely against my wish and will. The three Rules of Court, therefore, state what is not the fact; and these *untrue* statements appear on the books of the King's Bench Prison, and on the records of the Court of King's Bench, as the *true* grounds of my committal!

My arrest, which suddenly tore me from my family—these proceedings of the Court—the inconveniences I experience in this place—prevent me from being able to say more this week, than, that as to the charge of *blasphemy*, I despise the aspersion. I despise it, and will *refute* it.—*This I pledge myself to do*, and to do it triumphantly—to the confusion and dismay of my enemies.

The *grounds* of my refusal to plead to the *three ex-officio* informations, filed against me by the Attorney-General, until I had copies, and other matters connected therewith, must stand over till next week. In the mean time, I content myself with saying, that these grounds, and the *untrue* statements in my commitments, are of infinite importance to my countrymen. In my next, not wholly forgetting the Rev. DANIEL WILSON, I shall go into the subject, and relate some particulars, which, for the reasons just mentioned, I cannot do here.

WILLIAM HONE.

KING'S BENCH PRISON,
Thursday, 8th May, 1817.

* * * *To numerous Inquirers, I beg to state, that the EX-OFFICIO INFORMATIONs are filed against the PARODIES only, and are wholly unconnected with the REFORMISTS' REGISTER, which will be written and conducted by me here, and published as usual.*

TITHES.

TITHES being at this time the subject of much remark and consideration, especially in the City of LONDON, my Readers will thank me for presenting them with the following article:---

TITHES;

A LECTURE

TO

LORDS SPIRITUAL,

BY THE LATE

REV. JAMES MURRAY,

OF NEWCASTLE.

"But the tithes of the children of Israel, which they offer as an offering unto the Lord, I have given to the Levites to inherit: therefore I have said unto them, Among the children of Israel they shall have no inheritance." Numb. ch. xviii. 24.

As the Levites were not allowed to buy lands and hereditary possessions, they were thereby prevented from being covetous; and as the tithes were competent for their maintenance, they sought no more, nor aimed any higher. Were all the priests in England forbidden, by an express law, to purchase lands or estates, upon pain of losing their livings, it would prevent, in a

great measure, that ruling spirit of covetousness which prevails amongst them. The priests and Levites depended entirely upon Providence, and their livings increased or decreased according as the divine bounty favoured the nation. It was contrary to the law of God, and the constitution of that nation, for any of the Jewish clergy to interfere in secular affairs. It would make a strange catastrophe if such a law were made in England. My Lords, you would be obliged either to part with your patrimonies as landholders, or give up your claim to the patrimony of the church, which would be a severe trial to many dignified clergymen.

But what I intended to consider on this subject, is the doctrine of tithes, as practised in the Church of England. In a former discourse it was observed, that tithes are not held by a divine right, and it was hinted, that they are not consistent with the spirit and genius of our free constitution. That they are now confirmed by Acts of Parliament of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; by William and Mary, and George I. is not denied; but it will be allowed, that all the laws which have been made during the reigns of those princes, are not exactly consistent with the original and fundamental laws of the kingdom. Some complainant Parliaments have passed bills, which have been formed into laws, that have done little honour to the legislature. Henry VIII. could demand of his Parliament what he had a mind; and it was well known, that what he ordered with respect to tithes,

was what the Pope had done before him; and his new laws of decimation differed nothing from those of Rome, except that he claimed to himself what formerly was given to the Pope. The favourable acts, which after princes have passed in behalf of the clergy, concerning the tithes, were passed into laws, to oblige them to make them hold their peace, and to prevent them from interfering with matters of state, which they were always ready to do when they were not taken notice of: but such laws, instead of being constitutional deeds, were only prudential temporary acts, which the wisdom of Government may alter without affecting the constitution. They have no more relation to the constitutional laws of England, than some people may think the late Dog Act has. It is not supposed by any, that all the different Acts of Parliament which the two Houses contrive when they meet, and persuade the Sovereign to sign, are always consistent with the fundamental laws of these realms. Many of them are temporary expedients, designed to answer the present purposes of Government, and are often repealed, when they are not found to do good by their continuance. And why may not the laws concerning tithes be altered, when they are found to injure the various improvements in agriculture which are carrying on in the nation. As an evidence that the Legislature did not consider tithes as the sole property of the church, there are 3000 parishes whose tithes are inappropriate, and in the possession of laymen, who perform no church duties,

nor pay any salary, except what they please. Henry VIII. was allowed by his tractable Parliament to give the tithes to whom he pleased; so he gave them to his favourites, whether clergy or laymen, according to his own will and pleasure; and they are standing nearly in the same situation he left them. The fundamental laws of the English constitution would not be affected, supposing that all the tithes in the nation were given up for some other consideration; and that instead of receiving them in kind, a certain *modus* might be received in lieu of them, which would answer all the purposes for which tithes in England were intended. It is an indisputable point, that tithes were once upon another footing than they are now; for they once belonged to the church, and were applied to religious purposes: but when Henry VIII. differed with the Pope, His Majesty thought proper to take more than the third part of all the tithes of the nation into his own possession, and retailed them out in gifts to his friends and favourites. Thus the foundation of tithes, though secured by Act of Parliament, appears a little unconstitutional. Your Lordships know, the royal grants are not legal tenures. The royal mind may change, and then *nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, is a known maxim, and may be applied to tithes as well as soccages. If the King cannot alienate, as some late court maxims seem to intimate, what was once the property of the crown may be recalled; and why may not these tithes, which were given away by former princes, be

again resumed by their successors? This is, perhaps, what the clergy would desire; for in such a case they would be more likely to return all back again to the church, when they come into the hands of him who is head thereof. But as there has been such a tergiversation in disposing of tithes, it would argue, that there were no fundamental laws with regard to their being received in kind. The rights of the church are secured by *Magna Charta*: but the question is, whether tithes in kind, or tithes at all, be her right? For it appears unreasonable that the church should have so much land of her own, and at the same time have a claim for the tenth part of the produce of what belongs to every other person.

This provision, which is made for the church by tithes in kind, cannot certainly be the intention of the constitution; for it cannot be supposed, that, for the sake of supporting one body of men, a bar should be put in the way of national improvements, which tend to the advantage of all ranks. No Act of Parliament was ever intended, however some of them may be expressed, to put a stop to improvements in agriculture, in which the real strength of the nation consists:—nor can we suppose that our laws can refer to objects, which the Legislature, who formed them, did not so much as conceive would ever exist. The industry of farmers has produced what none of the Parliaments which enacted laws concerning tithes ever imagined would exist in Great Britain:—and it is cer-

tainly unreasonable, that industrious men should sink their money and bestow their labour on others, who are at no expense, to carry away the tenth part of their profits. But even the tithes are far from satisfying the avaricious desires of the clergy; for besides tithes in kind of every thing the earth produces, which is profitable, they exact a tax from both the living and the dead. Church fees must be paid, both by those who go to church and those who do not. For marriages, funerals, and Easter reckonings, the clergy receive near another tenth of all our substance. You are, my Lords, much obliged to Popery for your large endowments. The whole form of your church emoluments, as well as a great part of your worship, are the manufacture of the man of sin. The Jewish clergy, from whom the Roman church and your's would make us believe you take your pattern, had no such privileges as you enjoy: they had no other inheritance except tithes, nor were they allowed to buy lands, or interfere in secular affairs; and every third year they were obliged to divide with the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow; but after you have divided all the tithes among yourselves, you saddle the public with a poor-rate into the bargain. You ought certainly to supply the poor with the tenth part of the nation's substance. Instead of this, the very poorest ranks of people are obliged to contribute to the luxury of the clergy. Every poor day labourer, with a small family, must pay for his own head, and every one in his house,

provided they be sixteen years of age, though they should borrow the money, or their family starve. This is hard, my Lord, very hard; and you ought to consider it.

But suppose you have some patched-up human laws for your tithes, and some other customary offerings, it is unfair to receive wages when you do not work. You ought certainly to do some good for your money. It is true, you sit in Parliament; but the priests who first received tithes did not aspire so high; they did not meddle with civil affairs. The matters of the Lord and those of the King were in those days kept distinct.—But as the Jewish dispensation is finished, it is amazing that you, who pretend to be Christians, should still retain the Jewish system. Why do you not pursue it throughout, and offer sacrifices, as the priests of the law did? You would have a right to the fat, as they had, if you performed their service; but you can eat the fat, and do no service at all, which is highly unreasonable.

It appears something strange, that a Protestant Church should claim the privilege of laws which were intended to establish the Church of Rome. Henry I. Edward III. and Henry VIII. ratified no laws in behalf of the church, but with a view to support perfect Popery. It is not a little suspicious in your characters, my Lords, that you should insist on the execution of laws for the payment of tithes, which no Protestant can execute without first turning Papist. There is not, at this day, a Protestant church under the protection of any govern-

ment which holds tithes upon the tenure of Popish laws, as your church does; nor do the clergy intermeddle in state affairs, or have any share in the civil government of the nations where they reside. In Denmark and Sweden, the clergy assemble in Parliament, but do not meet as Lords Spiritual along with the Temporal Lords; their business is only to attend the affairs of the church, or to advise in things pertaining to religion; but they do not, in the character of Barons and Spiritual Lords, sit with the Nobles to determine in civil decisions of the legislature.

But to conclude this discourse concerning tithes, it is undoubtedly contrary to the welfare of those lands for the clergy to be rich, or to be paid with tithes in kind. They never can enjoy the love of the landed interest, while they insist upon this mode of decimation. And it must have the appearance of greediness of filthy lucre for them to prefer tythes, to the love of the people. It will be impossible for them to edify those who consider them as selfish interested men, who would not save a single soul from perdition, unless they were sure of being extravagantly paid for it.

Prudence ought to direct you, my Lords, to be moderate in this particular, otherwise I may venture to pronounce that your existence will not be long. The laity are become wiser than in past ages, and mankind are not so much priest-ridden as in former times. If the Commons and Lords in England should consider their own interest, it is easy for them to vote you into non-existence. You have only one

thing at present to save you; a number of the Nobles are your friends; and second brothers think a bishoprick a very good auxiliary to a small estate. But as religion is not fashionable, as in former times, this may also be overcome.

It will be your wisdom to be discreet in the article of tithes, and not to insist upon the rigour of the law, lest by stretching your power too far, the legislature should find reason to take it from you. There is a period approaching, when you must rank with farmers, and other poor sinners, whom ye now despise. What a mortification will it be to the gentlemen in lawn sleeves to be reduced to the level of poor country farmers, and to be obliged to answer for the abuse of the tenth part of the national emoluments. Souls, an't please your Reverences, may be edified for less money than the tenth part of the produce of the lands of England. It would certainly be better to appoint certain competent sums for the maintenance of the clergy, and dispose of all the chapter lands and tithes, to help to pay the national debt.

According to the words of the text, if you insist upon having tithes, you ought in conscience to give up all other inheritance in the nation, and make tithes serve you. The Levites had no inheritance among their brethren, but received tithes for all; they were the inheritance of the Lord, and held their livings by a charter from him, which undoubtedly was a better foundation than the charter of Ethelwolphus.

No priests in those days possessed estates of thousands and

hundreds a-year: they were all obliged to depend upon the Almighty, who only could make tithes turn to their advantage. But as Ethelwolphus has said nothing concerning clergymen having estates, nor has Ingulphus recorded any thing concerning this subject, it is supposed that his charter does not exclude Bishops from having as large temporal estates as they can procure. But this charter, as it proceeded from a source no way respectable, had never the sanction of the Parliament of England till the reign of Henry VIII. and from a very different intention from what the first charter supposes.

But what makes tithes more intolerable is, that they do not serve the church; for instead of tithes, in many places, the clergy have the whole estates, tithes and all, to support a number of men, who are of no real service to the church, having no cure of souls, nor any other office, except once a month, to preach a sermon to a few people, who are very indifferent about hearing them.

To conclude, my Lords, I can assure you, that I do not envy you your temporal emoluments; for I think that you buy them dear enough, at the expense of truth and conscience. I am sure I am not singular in my opinion; thousands of your own disciples declare as much. When you consider that there is no warrant in the Scripture for such a practice of decimation, you cannot help concluding in your own mind, that you eat the bread of violence, unrighteousness, and oppression.

TITHE-LOVING PRIESTS,

ALSO BY THE

REV. J. MURRAY.

The love of money is the root of all evil, and the passion for it prevails no where more than *near the altar*. Ah, ye priests! ye make us pay for all things; ye catch us as soon as we come into the world, and ye never lose sight of us till we return to dust. Our mothers must pay you for bearing of us, our fathers for having us baptized. When we are married, and when we are buried, *ye must be paid*. When we come into the world, and when we go out of it, ye set a price upon our heads. And did these two demands satisfy you, we might forgive you; but as long as our heads are on our bodies, we must satisfy you every year for the use of them; we may truly say all our things are yours. You must taste of all our substance: the tithe of all we have that is valuable, and suitable for you, is yours. You say *tithes* were appointed under the law for the tribe of Levi, and the sons of the *priesthood*: but remember, ye Levites, JESUS CHRIST was not of your tribe: he belonged to a tribe that did not serve at the altar; and he did not institute any priests, nor give any laws concerning *tithes*. As we are Christians, you can have no just

demands upon us; let such as observe the Jewish religion pay *tithes*, but what have we to do with the sons of Levi under the *gospel*. Gracious and merciful Saviour, thou came to set Christians free from bondage and slavery, and to give them deliverance from the law of Moses, but we are still laid under a load of slavery, that has no foundation in *thy gospel*, but is fixed upon us by that law. Thy apostles received no *tithes*, for they were *Christians*, and meek and humble like *thee*: they loved to set men free, but not to oppress them. They testified against the ceremonial law at the peril of their lives, and told Christians that it did not profit;—and to such as observed it CHRIST *did profit them nothing*. But circumstances are much altered since their time,—and we have reason to believe not at all for the *better*, but for the *worse*. It is a hard matter that Christians are still obliged to support a *Jewish priesthood* under the *gospel priesthood*! I must go far back to find this office:—there have been none since JESUS CHRIST *finished transgression, and put an end to sin*. It is an Old Testament office. Now, under the *gospel*, all the Lord's people are priests, in the language of the New Testament: *ye are a royal priesthood*. But what does it signify what the New Testament says; the *liturgy of some churches say*, we have priests, and they must have *tithes*.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 17.]

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1817.

[Vol. I.

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TO THE READER.

I HAVE been attacked with illness, and am now lying on a sick bed in this prison. My disorder was preceded by a stupor of mind, just as I was about to begin this *Register*. As my indisposition has suddenly become violent, I am unable to write.

Thursday, 15th May.

Earl GREY, in an able speech, prefacing a motion which was negatived, for a copy of the case laid before the Crown Lawyers, whereon Lord SIDMOUTH justified his *Circular Letter*, mentioned my case, as appears by the following extract from his Lordship's speech, in the *Times*:—

“ This disposition to profane *parodies* had been used for certain purposes on former occasions: and improper and profane as they were, they were pretended by some to be made in support of religion. He would recommend the Noble Lord, and the friends who surrounded him, to consider well the case of sending persons before a Magistrate on charges of this nature. This was pretty well shown in the publication called the *Anti-Jacobin*, which contained a *parody* of this description, and which the Noble Earl would take the opportunity of reading to their Lordships:—

“ Couriers and Stars, sedition's evening host,
“ Thou Morning Chronicle and Morning Post,
“ Whether ye make the rights of man your theme,
“ Your country libel, and your God blaspheme,
“ Or dirt on private worth and virtue throw,
“ Still blasphemous or blackguard, praise Lepaux !
“ And ye five other wandering bards that move
“ In sweet accord of harmony and love,
“ Coleridge, and Southey, Lloyd and Lambe, and Co.
“ Tune all your mystic harps to praise Lepaux !
“ Priestley, and Wakefield, humble, holy men,
“ Give praises to his name with tongue and pen !
“ Thelwall, and ye that lecture as ye go,
“ And, for your pains, get pelted, praise Lepaux !

" Praise him, each jacobin, or fool, or knave,
 " And your cropped heads in sign of worship wave!
 " All creeping creatures, venomous and low,
 " Paine, Williams, Godwin, Holcroft, praise Lepaux!
 " ——— and ——— with ——— join'd,
 " And every other beast after his kind.
 " And thou, Leviathan! on ocean's brim
 " Hugest of living things that sleep and swim;
 " Thou, in whose nose, by Burke's gigantic hand,
 " The hook has fixed to drag thee to the land,
 " With ———, ———, and ———, in thy train;
 " And ——— wallowing in the yeasty main,
 " Still as ye snort, and puff, and spout, and blow,
 " In puffing and in spouting, praise Lepaux!"*

* It is attempted to be denied that the verses quoted by Lord GREY, out of the *Anti-Jacobin*, and given in this paper in our report of the debate, are a parody of any part of Holy Writ; though they are allowed to bear a resemblance to MILTON'S celebrated Morning Hymn. The truth is, that so far as the verses are a parody, they are a parody both of the Bible and Prayer Book, in one; and of MILTON also, who copied, for other purposes than those of ridicule, the expressions of the sacred text. The origin of the verses, and of MILTON'S Hymn, is to be found in the 148th Psalm: this was imitated in that canticle which is now but seldom read in our churches, entitled, "Benedicite omnia opera tua;" and which stands after the Te Deum. Who can deny, that the line,

" All creeping creatures, venomous and low,
 " Paine, Williams, Godwin, Holcroft, praise Lepaux,"

is a parody of "Beasts and all cattle, creeping things and flying fowls, praise the Lord?" The iteration also of the expression, "praise Lepaux," in the place of praise the Lord, leaves no doubt of the parody. The lines about putting the hook into the nose of the Leviathan, are in allusion to a passage in Job, "Canst thou draw out the Leviathan with a hook? * * * * Canst thou put a hook into his nose?" ch. xli. b. 1st and 2d.

Now it appeared that a Mr. HONE was proceeded against for publishing some blasphemous parody; but he had read one of the same nature, written, printed, and published, some years ago, by other people, without any notice having been officially taken of it. He wished to learn what the distinction was that was to be made respecting such productions by the Government and the Attorney-General. If a publisher was now to be proceeded against for such publications, as insulting religion and undermining the safety of the state, he apprehended that the authors of the ANTI-JACOBIN, whether they were in the Cabinet or in any other place, would also be found out, and visited with the penalties of the law.—(Hear, hear!)

The verses are a Parody on the *Benedicite* in the Common Prayer Book, and are attributed to the Rt. Hon. GEORGE CANNING. I entreat the *Attorney-General*, that he will send Mr. CANNING here, to bear me company. But, alas! I have no hope of this; for Mr. CANNING is a *Cabinet Minister*, with places for himself, and pensions for his relations; whilst WILLIAM HONE is a humble bookseller, with a large family, and scarcely means to keep them.—"This comes of aping one's betters," as folks say; or, as SANCHO would observe, "What is one man's meat, is another man's poison." If the Attorney-General will not listen to my call, I invite Mr. CANNING to exchange places with me. I have really the vanity to believe, that were he in the King's Bench Prison, and I in the Cabinet, the affairs of the nation would not go on

the worse, because one Parody-maker became a Minister instead of another.

All that I ask and demand, is JUSTICE; but *things* are against me. "For many years," Earl GREY emphatically remarks in his speech, "I have seen with pain, that all things have tended to the establishment of military dominion; our habits have been entirely changed, and instead of being a pacific or naval nation, we have been gradually converting ourselves into a warlike and a military people. If the country still proceeds in this fatal course, one of two things must inevitably happen—either the People will be driven to open violence to regain their freedom, or, a military despotism will be established on the ruins of the Constitution."

On awaking this morning, and finding my fever abated, I addressed the following letter to the *Marshal* of this prison.

King's Bench Prison,
May 15, 1817.

Sir,

I have a motion to make in my case, and wishing to do this *in person*, you will oblige me by taking requisite steps for my going into Court for that purpose to-morrow.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

WILLIAM HONE.

WILLIAM JONES, Esq.

Marshal, &c. &c.

Whatever my fate may be, I am resolved to use every effort in

my present situation which may be of use to my country. I am so fatigued by writing this trifle, that I must conclude. Some excellent selections complete the sheet.

WILLIAM HONE,

P. S. I have since had an interview with Mr. JONES, the Marshal, who informs me that he never had such an application made to him before, and that he has no power to take me into Court, but by an Order of the Court; to obtain which I shall immediately write to Mr. LITCHFIELD, Solicitor to the Treasury; to Sir WILLIAM GARROW, late Attorney-General, now a puisne Baron of the Exchequer, who filed the three informations against me; to Sir SAMUEL SHEPHERD, the present Attorney-General, who prosecutes the informations; and to Lord ELLENBOROUGH, the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, where they are filed. My motion in Court will be for a rule to show cause why I should not be immediately discharged out of custody, on the ground of my committal being illegal.

Mr. JEREMY BENTHAM.

This wise and valuable man has just published a work, entitled, "*Plan of Parliamentary Reform*," in the form of a Catechism, with reasons for each article; and an Introduction, showing the necessity of radical, and the inadequacy of moderate Reform." I notice the work thus early, for the purpose of giving its first pages. I shall speedily resume attention to it.

INTRODUCTION

To Mr. JEREMY BENTHAM'S
Reform Catechism.

The following little tract was written as long ago as in the year 1809. It was offered at the time to one of the time-serving daily prints, in which other papers on the same subject had already found admittance. No name was sent with it: and, the weathercock being at that time upon the turn, insertion was declined.

From that time to the present, despair of use kept this, together with so many other papers, upon the shelf. In a state of things, such as the present, if in any, they possess a chance of finding readers.—Sad condition of human nature! until the cup of calamity, mixt up by misrule, has been drunk to the very dregs, never has the man a chance of being heard, who would keep it it from men's lips.

For a long time past had the necessity,—and not only the necessity, but supposing it attainable, the undangerousness,—of a Parliamentary Reform, and that a radical one, presented itself to any mind, if not in a light as yet sufficiently clear for communication, at any rate in the strongest colours. Long had this sole possible remedy against the otherwise mortal disease of misrule, been regarded by me as the country's only hope. Long had I beheld, and not long after did I delineate the road to national ruin, in the economy of *Edmund Burke*, adopted and enforced under *William Pitt*, by the pen of his confidential adviser *Mr.*

Rose. The first of these sketches is already before the public;* the other will soon be so.

Drawn on, in the road to that gulf, from those times down to the present,—the country, if my eyes do not deceive me, is already at the very brink: reform or convulsion, such is the alternative. How faint soever the hope of its being attainable,—I for one, under the disease under which I see the country lingering, cannot discover any other than this one possible remedy. Of the composition of it—such as in my conception it must be, to be productive of any effect—some conception was and is now endeavoured to be given in the ensuing little tract. On the subject of the necessity, more than a few introductory pages cannot at this time, and in this place, be spared. To give any adequate conception of it would require a much larger work.

For the destruction of every thing by which the Constitution of this country has ever been distinguished to its advantage, no additional measures need be employed: let but the principles already avowed continue to be avowed—let but the course of action, dictated by those principles, be persevered in—the consummation is effected.

Gagging Bills—suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—interdiction of all communication between man and man, for any such purpose as that of complaint or remedy—all these have already become precedent—all these are in preparation—all these are regarded as things of course.

* In the Pamphleteer, No. 17, for Jan. 1817.

The pit is already dug: one after another, or all together, the securities called *English Liberties* will be cast into it. With the sacred name of Reform on their lips, and nothing better than riot or pillage in their hearts, let but a dozen or a score of obscure desperadoes concert mischief in a garret or an alehouse, fear will be pretended, prudence and wisdom mimicked—honest cowards will be made to acquiesce and to co-operate by feigned cowardice:—for the transgression of the dozen or the score, the million will be punished, and from the subjects of a disguised despotism will be made such under a despotism in form, to which disguise is no longer necessary:—such is the state of things, for which it is time for every man to prepare himself.

As for the *Habeas Corpus Act*, better the statute-book were rid of it. Standing or lying as it does, up one day, down another, it serves but to swell the list of sham-securities, with which, to keep up the delusion, the pages of our law books are defiled. When no man has need of it, then it is that it stands:—comes a time when it might be of use, and *then* it is suspended.

A LECTURE TO BISHOPS.

A Bishop must be blameless—given to hospitality—apt to teach;—not greedy of filthy lucre;—not covetous.—1 Timothy, ch. iii. ver. 2.

Hospitality, my Lords, is a scriptural qualification of a Bishop; and without being given or inclined to the practice thereof, no person has a right to that

office. Φιλόξενοϛ signifies a lover of strangers, or persons who can be of no advantage by either their interest or favour to a Bishop. Its primitive signification was expressed by the practice of the first Christians, and their Bishops. When strangers came recommended by other Christian Churches to the Elders, and members of any distant Church, they were received by the overseers and members thereof, with as much love and affection as if they were residents among them: they were kept free of all expenses while they stayed, and set forward in their travels by the pastors and members of the churches wherever they came. This duty is more especially recommended to Bishops, because they ought to be examples to others to stir them up to humanity and brotherly kindness. In such a wealthy Church as that in which your Lordships have the honour to be Bishops, there is much in your power, and much to be expected at your hands. If you are Christians, hospitality will be your study; you will be given to it, and practise it constantly. It is a noble feeling, which arises from the reflection of doing good to others, especially the distressed. The chief objects of Christian hospitality are the poor; to those your Lordships ought to be kind for the sake of him who came to save them, and who, during his residence here on earth, was poor himself, and showed a peculiar regard to the poor, *that we through his poverty might be made rich.* Your Lordships must undoubtedly know that it is not hospitality to enter-

tain the rich ; and those elegant entertainments which are to be met with at the tables of modern Bishops, deserve rather the name of luxury than hospitality. It is not hospitality to entertain Dukes, Lords, and Gentlemen ; for those are abundantly able to entertain themselves. The precept extends to the poor, who in equity have a claim upon all persons of substance for supply, especially upon you who have *large benefices*, and ought, according to your profession, to live moderately. The expense of your tables and retinue is altogether superfluous ; it may waste your substance, and shorten your lives, but can do you no real service. How much more pleasure would you have in feeding the hungry, and clothing the naked !—And mind, my Lords, that he *who giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord ; and that which he giveth, he will repay him again*. If the words of our Saviour can have any weight with the successors of the Apostles, I shall set before you the true method of hospitality, as recommended by himself. *When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours ; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the blind : and thou shalt be blessed ; for they cannot recompense thee : for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.** There, my Lords, is a very simple and plain method of hospitality, which is worthy of your serious consideration ; it is reasonable and ju-

* Luke xiv. 12, 13, 14.

icious, and the authority enjoining it is of the highest nature. You dare not presume to say, that our Lord's authority is not sufficient to authenticate this practice of hospitality. Why then is it not observed by such as call themselves his disciples ? The alternative is plain ; you must either give up all claim to the character of Christian Bishops, or practise this divine scheme of hospitality. But the resurrection of the just, you will say, is long credit ; but it is sure : the word of the faithful and true Witness will never deceive. It is all you have for the foundation of your hope of salvation ; and if you rest the expectation of your future happiness upon the word of our Lord, why may you not trust him with the recompense of your hospitality ? If he shall pay you in spiritual happiness, for the good you do to his poor children, you will be well recompensed.

It is amazing, my Lords, that our Saviour has not required the smallest degree of your temporalities, without promising you better things at the resurrection of the just. The very changing of those *vile* bodies of yours, which you are so anxious to pamper in this life, will be of far more value than all your benefices, though you should part with them all ;—and to have them fashioned like to Christ's glorious body, is an amazing privilege. Ah, my Lords, we seldom hear of any of your rank engaged in this noble Christian practice. —There are many accounts of grand entertainments at your several palaces, when many Noblemen and dignified Clergymen

are present, who devour as much in one day as would supply the wants of many poor hungry Christians for a month. This, by some of your friends, is accounted hospitality; but it deserves another name. You should call it *rioting and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness*. But lest I should offend you or your friends with Scripture phraseology, I shall call it *great luxury*.—*Luxury, the bane of the age, and of which you, my Lords, are the most notable examples*. The poor, the halt, and the maimed, are cloistered up in poor houses and hospitals, as if they belonged to another class of beings, and treated with all the austerity and disrespect that ignorant overseers and haughty churchwardens please to exercise over them:—and, *Sirs*, they seldom or never have the pleasure of your visitation. There is a maxim concerning true and undefiled religion, given by an Apostle, which all Bishops ought to remember. *Pure and undefiled religion is to visit the widow and the fatherless in their affliction*; and it is added, *and to keep yourselves unspotted from the world*. Your Lordships seldom observe this maxim. It is a pity, my Lords, for it is a noble one, and worthy of every Christian's attention. It is a glorious hospitality to relieve distress, and make glad the hearts of the poor; it is God-like, and worthy of Christian Bishops. *Be ye merciful, as your Father in Heaven is merciful*. Could you desire a more excellent pattern? You certainly say, No; but why do ye not imitate it? Your religious character obliges you to the practice thereof, and your

large benefices put it in your power to do it; you are therefore inexcusable if you neglect it. But what can be expected from such poor sinners as you are, who wilfully pervert the laws of Jesus Christ, and seek after the honours of this world, and the pleasures of sense? When your Lord cometh, my Lords, all these honours will avail you nothing. You must give an account of your hospitality. You must appear not as Lords Spiritual before his throne, but as those who must give an account.

Allow me to suppose for once, that the history of your hospitality should be inquired into, what would you answer? Will it be sufficient to say, that his Grace of Canterbury always kept a good house at Lambeth and Croydon;—that his Grace of York entertained elegantly at Bishop Thorp;—that Carnham Castle was always open for Dukes and Lords;—that Bishop Aukland was a ready receptacle for Deans and Prebendaries;—and Durham Palace open to receive the Judges of assize?—You stare at the supposition!—but you will look more aghast, when you hear from the mouth of the Lord, *I was an hungry, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was naked, and ye clothed me not; I was sick, and in prison, and ye did not visit me*. Christian hospitality, or doing good to the poor, is, in truth, my Lords, the only true testimony that you, or any who profess Christianity, can give, that you love Jesus Christ. Your learned men may dispute concerning your different theories of religi-

ous sentiments; but if you are deficient in this particular, you are no more than a *sounding brass, or a tinkling symbol*; the rest of your religion is no more than a blank in the sight of the Almighty.—When you neglect hospitality, you are neither New Testament Bishops, nor true Christians. If you think this conclusion severe or unjust, I appeal to the New Testament, for the plain meaning of your Saviour's words, and those of his Apostles.—And if you say, who is to be judge of the meaning of those sacred dictates? My Lords, I could even appeal to your own judgment; but to deal fairly, I will appeal to any Bishop in England, provided he has death and the other world in his eye. Let me see a Lord spiritual on his death-bed, and I will stand by his view of the meaning of Scripture; but it is so plain, that he who runs may read it: *A Bishop must be given to hospitality.*

2. *A Bishop must be apt to teach.* According to the Apostolick sentiments, the office of a Bishop and a Teacher is all one. The Greek word signifies, one qualified to instruct, or to receive instruction;—to instruct the ignorant, or to receive advice or instruction from the members of the church. No man is qualified to be a Bishop, who is not ready to receive advice; for if he is not apt to receive instruction, he is not fit to teach others. My Lords, it is ordinarily a maxim with Diocesans, such as you, to conclude, as soon as you are installed in your office, that the members of the church are implicitly to submit to your de-

terminations; but this is to suppose, that all the rest of the members of the church are incapable to judge for themselves, and that you are lords over their consciences. Such an idea declares plainly, that you are not fit to teach; for New Testament teachers are not like schoolmasters, who teach children in things which they do not know at all; but are remembrancers, who put them in mind of what they have already an opportunity to know. No man is truly qualified for the office of a Bishop, who wants to impose his own dictates upon others, without first offering evidence and proof for his doctrine;—and even when he has done this, he has no right to say that others are obliged to receive it. He is apt to teach, who is endued with the gift of comparing spiritual things with spiritual, in such a manner as to represent to the minds of others, the plain and true spirit of Divine Revelation.

The Apostles, who must be allowed to be possessed of this qualification, did not pretend to teach dogmatically, by imposing their own opinions upon the churches; on all occasions they appealed to the writings of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and the private judgment of every individual. The Christians at *Berea* are accounted more noble than others, because they did not receive the Apostolick doctrines implicitly, but examined the Scriptures, to see if those doctrines which the Apostles taught, were consistent with what had been before written in the Scriptures. Aptness to teach, which the Apostles were chiefly endued with, con-

sisted in a readiness to show, in a plain manner, the consistency of the gospel dispensation, with the promises and prophecies which went before concerning the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The Apostles of Christ taught no new doctrines; all those truths and practices which they declared to the churches, were long before spoken of by some of those extraordinary men, whom God had raised up to inform mankind, what in some future period should be made more plain. The gospel is only a new dispensation of ancient truths, which were but more darkly revealed to the church.—And all the Bishops in England may be challenged to show any truth or doctrine taught by Jesus Christ, or his Apostles, of which there are not some hints given in the ancient Scriptures.—Our Lord and his disciples did indeed make the spirit of the Old Testament writers more plain, and showed what none before was ever able to do, namely, that what happened to him, and what was now accomplished, was the spirit and intention of the Old Testament.—The qualification of a Bishop, mentioned in the text, consisted of an ability in the teacher, to show the agreement of the writings of the Apostles, with the words of Jesus and the prophetic declarations.—And no man is fit to be an overseer in a New Testament church, who is not qualified to show the spirit and design of the Prophets and Apostles of Jesus Christ. My Lords, it is too often the case for men who assume the office and character of Bishops, to consider the benefice more than the qua-

lifications that belong to the office; and this is the reason why the churches are filled with ignorant and unlearned men; for, with all deference to your ordinations, there are many who mean to be Bishops, abundantly ignorant. Does not every Clergyman who receives Priest's orders, expect, some time or other, to wear the mitre?—There is nothing to hinder any Priest from being advanced to lawn sleeves, except the want of friends at Court.

To be apt to teach requires great skill in the Scriptures; and every Bishop must understand the word of God, otherwise he must be considered as a person who loves the benefice, but not the duty which belongs to the office.

3. *A Bishop must not be greedy of filthy lucre.* This is a negative qualification of a New Testament overseer in the Church. The Greek word *μαρξουεῖν* signifies *shameful gain*, or emoluments obtained dishonourably; such as a *Bishop enjoying a benefice by the interest of friends, without teaching those who are under his charge.* A Bishop may truly be said to be greedy of filthy lucre, when his main design is to obtain a living, without the least intention of doing his duty. But such men, my Lords, ought not to be Bishops, according to the apostolick maxim. I know that such reflections as these will sit but light upon the minds of those who are in the possession of so many thousands a year;—but you cannot always keep a hold of those wages of unrighteousness.—Your systems of sensations must soon

be dissolved, and truth and duty will appear to you in a different point of light.—It is undoubtedly mean to strive to seek after those things with anxiety, which in a few years you must be ashamed of. It argues a real forgetfulness of the life to come, for men to be striving about temporal emoluments under the cover of religious offices, which they never intend to fulfil; for a Bishop, who enjoys some thousands a year, to covet a Prebend in a Collegiate Church, where he seldom does duty, argues a prodigious greed of filthy lucre. Such gain is really shameful, and unworthy of any religious character. My Lords, it cannot be proved that the Church is one degree the better of such greedy teachers as ye are. The money which ye devour might do a great deal of service, provided it were applied to relieve the poor and the distressed: for men who have large patrimonies of their own, to thirst after gain so greedily, under a pretence of serving the Church, savours rank of unbelief and covetousness. It is impossible for any persons who believe the Bible, to go on as you do; it can be nothing but a spirit of infidelity which makes you thus pervert the Scriptures, and flee in the face of Revelation.—*A Bishop must not be greedy of filthy lucre*, is a positive maxim; and while it stands recorded in the New Testament, ought carefully to be attended to.

4. *A Bishop must not be covetous.*—The Scripture calls covetousness idolatry; and it would be very unbecoming in a New Testament Bishop to bow down to an idol. It is of small conse-

quence whether a Bishop be a worshipper of mental or molten images; an idol in the affections, of whatever quality, is an abomination in the sight of God. Covetousness in the sight of God is the same as idol-worship. Covetousness, according to the text, signifies a love of money. A Bishop should not love money, nor set his affections upon the sordid things of this world. If he has a heart disposed towards riches; if money, or the pleasures of ease, employ his affections, he is unworthy of the office of a Bishop: for how can he teach others to deny the world, if he himself is a lover of the things thereof. The heathens considered the love of money, and an anxious pursuit after worldly things, as both wicked and mean.—You know, my Lords, that Ovid calls it

———*Amor sceleratus habendi*;

which is a sentiment big with meaning.

It is a palpable sign of covetousness, for any person who enjoys a fortune of his own, sufficient to make any Christian man live comfortably, to thirst after a Church living, and undertake an office which he is not either qualified to fulfil, or never intends to discharge.—It is a proverb among the common people, that the clergy are always greedy: and, my Lords, I remember a Prophet of the Lord added the epithet of *dogs* to a set of clergy not unlike yourselves. To make you understand covetousness a little better, I shall give the Prophet's opinion at large. *His watchmen are blind: they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs,*

*they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber. Yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand: they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter. Come ye, say they, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; and to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant.**

Those clergymen thus characterized by the Prophet, were not mean men, nor insignificant country Curates, as you may imagine. They were High Priests, like you, and the very heads of the national establishment; and the Lord, by the Prophet, calls them *dumb dogs*, because they did not speak his word to the people, but lived at ease, and neglected their duty, which they were bound to perform for receiving such large perquisites. When they were living in the absolute neglect of every duty belonging to their office, they could never have enough; and every one of them was zealous in looking after his gain from his quarter. I will be sorry to say, my Lords, that these Jewish Priests were types of you; but there is certainly some resemblance, in the matter of covetousness, between you and them. They were fonder of increasing the revenues of the Church than fulfilling the offices that they were engaged to perform; they tithed every thing, but did nothing, except what they ought not to have done. Instead of watching, they slept; and when they should have fasted and prayed, they rioted in luxury,

* Isaiah lvi. 10.

and drank wine and strong drink. Covetousness is a naughty quality in any person, but it is altogether unseemly for a Bishop.

GOVERNORS AND THE GOVERNED,

(Written in the year 1792);

A Dialogue between Lord F—, just come of Age—Mr. D—, a Gentleman of Fortune—Mr. C., bred to the Law.—In a mixed Company.

Lord F. Pray tell me, you who know, what is this other book—this answer to BURKE, that I have been bored with?—Somebody wanted me to read it, but I had neither patience nor inclination. It seems from the account other people have given me, to be very seditious—I wonder they don't punish the author, who they say is quite a low sort of fellow. What does he mean by his Rights of Man, and his Equality? What wretched and dangerous doctrine to disseminate among the *Lazarroni* of England, where they are always ready enough to murmur against their betters? I hope our Government will take care to silence such a demagogue, before he puts it into the heads of the *sans culottes* in England, to do as they have done in France, and even before he gets some of the ragged rogues hanged. *They rights!* poor devils, who have neither shirts nor breeches.

Mr. D. Suffer me to inquire whether these men, whom your Lordship calls *Lazarroni*, may

not be urged to revolt by those very miseries which expose them to your contempt? and whether such extreme poverty and wretchedness does not show the necessity of some alteration in the Government where they exist? If Government be allowed to be for the benefit of the governed, not the governors, surely their complaints should be heard.

Lord F. Why, what would you have Government do? How can it prevent such sort of things? By what means can it obviate these discontents, and remove the complaints these stupid dogs make in their libellous pamphlets and papers? Would you have the Minister keep a slop shop, to supply the *sans culottes* with their necessaries gratis? [This convincing argument, which the whole company applauded with a loud laugh, gave the Right Hon. speaker such confidence in his own powers, that without permitting a reply, he proceeded.]—I insist upon it that there is no cause of complaint in this country; nobody is poor unless it be by their own fault, and nobody is oppressed: as to the common people, the mob, or whatever you please to call them, what were they born for, but to work? And here comes a fellow, and tells them about their rights—they have no rights—they can have none, but to labour for their superiors; and if they are idle 'tis their own faults, and not the fault of the Constitution, in which there are no imperfections, and which cannot by any contrivance be made better.

Mr. D. Your Lordship, whose comprehensive mind probably looks forward to the time when

you will yourself make one of that illustrious body that Mr. BURKE describes as the Corinthian pillar of polished society, has I dare say, in travelling through other countries, made the Government of your own your peculiar study; and by contrasting it with those you have seen, you have learned to appreciate its value. But although I think our form of government is certainly the best—not that can be imagined—but that has ever been experienced; I would have our boast of her excellence just—not the mere *cant* which we have learned by rote, and repeat by habit; though, when we venture to think about it, we know that it is vanity and prejudice, and not truth, when we speak of its wonderful perfection; and that even those who are its most decided partizans, are continually betrayed into an acknowledgment of its defects. BOSWELL, in his Life of JOHNSON, says, “that in the British Parliament, any question, however unreasonable or unjust, may be carried by a venal majority.” If this be so, it follows, that while the means of corruption exist to an extent so immense, there must be a venal majority; and of course, every question, however ruinous, will be carried. While this is the case, and while every attempt to remedy this *original sin* of the Constitution is opposed—though the necessity of that remedy has been allowed by the greatest statesmen of our country—while every proposal to make it *really*, what it is only *nominally*, raises a cry as if the subversion of the whole empire was intended—I cannot agree to unlimited praise;

and though I should be willing to allow that a greater portion of happiness is diffused among the subjects of the British Government, than among any other people upon earth; yet this would rather prove that their condition is very wretched, than that ours is perfectly happy. Let those who boast of the *perfection* of our Constitution, consider the dreadful contrasts in the condition of the people under it. Who can walk through the streets of London without being shocked by them? *Here*, a man who possesses an immense income, which has been given him for his servile attendance, or his venal voice—an income which is paid from the burdensome imposts laid on the people, is seen driving along in a splendid equipage, his very servants clothed in purple and fine linen, and testifying by their looks that they fare sumptuously every day. *There*, extended on the pavement, lies one of those very people whose labour has probably contributed to the support of this luxury, begging wherewithal to continue his degraded existence of the disgusted passenger, who turns from the spectacle of his squalid wretchedness. In our daily prints this shocking inequality is not less striking. In one paragraph we are regaled with an eulogium on the innumerable blessings, the abundant prosperity, of our country; in the next, we read the melancholy and mortifying list of numerous bankrupts, or unhappy debtors, &c.

To-day, we see displayed in tinselled panegyric, the superb trapping, the gorgeous ornaments, the jewels of immense

value, with which the illustrious personages of our land amaze and delight us. To-morrow, we read of a poor man, an ancient woman, a deserted child, who were found dead in such or such alleys or streets, supposed to have perished through want and the inclemency of the weather—And is it possible to help exclaiming—

———“Take physic, pomp—
“Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel;
“So shalt thou shake the superflux to them,
“And show the heavens more just.”

SHAKESPEARE.

Lord F. Well, Sir! and what then? Have we not laws by which our poor are amply, magnificently provided for?

Mr. D. That they were *intended* to be so, I believe; but how those laws are perverted, let the frequent, the meritorious, but unsuccessful attempts to amend them, bear witness. Their abuse, the heaviness with which they press on one part of the community, without relieving the other, and their tendency to create poverty by their very operation in order to reduce it, are amongst the greatest evils we complain of. But here, as in twenty other instances, every attempt at redress is silenced by the *noli me tangere*, the *touch-me-not*, which our Constitution has been made to say, and which has been echoed without inquiry by all who have either interest in preserving the inviolability even of its acknowledged defects, or who have been brought up in prejudices, that make them believe our ancestors were so much wiser than we are; that it is a sort of sacrilege to doubt the perfection of the structure they raised,

and to imagine an edifice of greater strength and simplicity. If these prejudices are enforced and continued—if every attempt to repair what time has injured, or amend what is acknowledged to be defective, is opposed as dangerous, and execrated as impious, let us go on till the building falls upon our heads, and let those who escape the ruins continue to meditate on the prodigious advantages of this holy reverence, and to boast of the happiness of being Englishmen!

Mr. C. I should be glad, Sir, since you at least seem to have none of this respect; I should be glad, if your sagacity would point out some of those other defects in the structure of the English Constitution, which doubtless you have discovered.

Mr. D. That is not very difficult; and I should begin by saying, that its very foundation is defective, from the inequality of representation, were that assertion not allowed by every one as an incontrovertible truth; and had not there been such repeated mockeries, such frequently renewed farces acted, to amuse us with the pretended efforts at a reform, which never was intended, nor can ever be carried into effect, but by the unanimous and determined perseverance of the people. To turn to another very common subject of acknowledged complaint—I mean the penal laws—laws, by which the property and the life of the individual are put on an equal footing, and by which murder, or a robbery to the amount of 40s. are offences equally punished with death. Is it possible to reflect without horror, on the numbers

that are every year executed, while every year's experience proves that this prodigality of life renders the punishment familiar, and prevents not crimes? Is there a session at the Old Bailey, where boys from 15 to 20 are not condemned?—Boys, who deserted from their infancy, have been driven by ignorance and want, to violate the laws of that society, which

“Shakes her incumbered lap, and throw them out.”
COWPER.

Why do we boast of the mildness and humanity of laws, which provides punishment instead of prevention? And can we avoid seeing, that while they give up yearly to the hands of the executioner greater numbers than die the victims of public justice in all the other European countries reckoned together, we must, in spite of our national vanity, acknowledge, either that the English are the worst, and most unprincipled race of men in Europe, or that their penal laws are the most sanguinary of those of any nation under heaven. Attempts have been made to remedy this enormity, which I cannot help calling a national disgrace; but like every other endeavour at partial correction of abuses, these humane efforts have been baffled on the usual principle, that nothing must be touched, nothing must be changed.

Mr. C. Really, Sir, you are a most able advocate for beggars and thieves.

Mr. D. At least, Sir, I am a disinterested one; for I plead for those who cannot see me—but it is not for beggars and thieves, as you are pleased to say, that I plead; it is for the honour of my

country—for the reform of the laws which occasion beggars and thieves to exist in such numbers, while we ostentatiously boast that those laws are the best in the world. Nor is it only the penal laws that seem to want alteration. From the continual complaints of the defects of our law, as it relates to the protection of property, it does not seem to deserve the praise of superiority which we arrogantly claim. We hear every day of suits in which even success is ruin; and we know that far from being able to obtain in our Courts that speedy, clear, decisive and impartial justice, which from their institution they are designed to give, a victory, obtained after being sent through them all, is often much worse than a retreat—the remedy more fatal than the disease. So conscious are even the lawyers themselves of this, that if one of them, as *may happen*, has a personal regard for his client, and is willing to wave pecuniary advantage in his favour, such a lawyer will say—“Do any thing—submit to any compromise—put up with any loss, rather than go to law.” One of our Courts is called that of Equity, where the widow, the orphan, the deserted, and the unhappy of every description—who *have money*—are to find protection and redress; yet it is too certain, that such are the delays, such the expenses in this Court, that the ruinous tediousness of a Chancery suit, is become proverbial—the oppressed may perish, before they can obtain the remedy they seek; and where, under the direction of this Court, litigated property comes to be divided, it continually happens,

that by the time a decision is obtained, there is nothing to divide. —The poet I just now quoted, says,

———“In this rank age
“Much is the patriot’s weeding hand re-
quired.” THOMPSON.

But, alas! especial care is taken, that neither reason nor patriotism shall touch too rudely.

“The toils of law, where dark insidious
men
Have cumbrous added to perplex the truth,
And lengthen simple justice into trade.”

IBID.

And yet,

“How glorious were the day that saw these
broke,
And every man within the reach of right.”

IBID.

Mr. C. As to your poets, there’s no bringing argument against their flowery declamation; fine sounding words, about rights and liberties, are imposing to superficial understandings, but cannot convince others—fine flourishing words are not arguments.

Mr. D. Nor does there need argument. What I have asserted are matters of fact, not of opinion—truths which cannot be denied, and which would require some skill to palliate.

Mr. C. As to truth, Sir, it is not always proper to speak it; nay, it is not always safe to the well-being of a state. The question, I think, is not whether a thing be exactly conformable to your Utopian and impracticable schemes, but whether it be expedient. We know that *truth is not expedient*; and that it is the business of Government to enforce obedience, without which it would not go on; not to listen to the reasoning of every wild dogmatist, who fancies himself a phi-

losopher, and able to mend what is already good—all such should be prevented from disseminating their pernicious doctrines, which serve only to make men discontent with their situation, to raise murmur, and to clog the wheels of Government.

This sentence, most consequentially delivered, was applauded by all the party; and as Mr. D. had nothing to offer against it, but *that* truth which had just been pronounced to be inexpedient, he declined the contest, saying only,—If truth is not to be spoken in a Government, calling itself free, lest it should be understood by the people, who are governed, and prevent their freely supplying the oil that facilitates the movement of the cumbrous machine—if facts, which cannot be denied, be repressed; and reason, which cannot be controverted, be stifled; the time is not far distant when such a country may say, adieu, liberty! Let our rulers therefore, if they are content to do so, begin with expelling those who dare speak truth, and are so impudent as to reason. “Tous ces gens qui raisonnent

sont la peste d'un etat.”*—With these persons, all those who *reason*, are the pests of a state.

* Voltaire.

THE REFORMISTS' REGISTER will, every *half-year*, have a TITLE-PAGE, with a COMPLETE INDEX of reference to its contents, and bind up into a Volume, as large in size as a Volume of the best edition of Hume's History of England, or Gibbon's Rome. But a volume of the REGISTER will contain more than double the quantity contained in a volume of these works, and be at *one half* the price; so that the Reader will have, at the end of every year, Two VOLUMES, abounding with sound political information, on subjects in which he himself, and his children, and his country, are deeply interested; and the contents of these Two VOLUMES, which he obtains by an easy purchase of *Two-pence a Week*, and which do not cost him NINE SHILLINGS, will be equal to the contents of *Four* volumes of Hume's History of England, which will cost *One Pound Twelve Shillings*.

** Applications for the REFORMISTS' REGISTER should be made to the different persons who sold Mr. COBBETT's Weekly Political Pamphlet.

Country orders addressed to Mr. HONE, 67, Old Bailey, with remittances, or appointing payment in London, and mentioning the conveyance parcels are to be sent by, will be punctually executed, and bills and placards to hang at doors and shop windows enclosed.

The Reformists' Register is charged *Twelve Shillings* per HUNDRED, or 5l. 10s. per THOUSAND.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER,
AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 18.]

SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1817.

[Vol. I.

MY MOTION IN COURT,

AND

THE STATE

OF THE

HONOURABLE HOUSE.

FULL PARTICULARS of my going from the King's Bench Prison, and moving the Court for my DISCHARGE, &c., with Copies of Letters, Affidavits, &c.—Lord SIDMOUTH, and the Cry of BLASPHEMY---Renewal of my Pledge to refute it---A correct and COMPLETE VIEW of the State of PARLIAMENTARY PATRONAGE and INFLUENCE, throughout the Kingdom; showing by whose Nomination and Influence 487 out of the 658 Members get into the House of Commons.

In my last Register, I stated that I should move the Court of King's Bench to discharge me out of the custody of the Marshal---that having addressed a letter to the Marshal, requesting him to take steps for my going from this prison into Court for that purpose, he informed me he had no power to take me to Westminster Hall, without an order of Court---and that, in order to effect my purpose, I intended to write to the Solicitor to the Treasury, the Attorney-General, and the Lord Chief Justice. This I accordingly did, in the following terms :---

(Copy)

King's Bench Prison,
15 May, 1817.

The KING v. WILLIAM HONE, on three Informations.

MY LORD,

I, the Defendant, having a motion to the Court, which I desire to make in person, and the Marshal of this prison acquainting me that he has no authority or power to take me into Court for that purpose, I solicit that the requisite measures may be taken for my appearance in Court forthwith.

The object of my intended motion is the immediate discharge of my person from the custody of the Marshal, on grounds which I shall submit on affidavit.

I have written to the Attorney-General, Sir SAMUEL SHEPHERD, and the Solicitors to the Treasury, who conduct the prosecutions, to the like purport.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
WILLIAM HONE.

To the Right Honourable Edward Lord ELLENBOROUGH, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.

Copies of the above letter, merely varying the style of address, being likewise sent, on Thursday evening, the 15th instant, to Sir SAMUEL SHEPHERD, the new Attorney-General, and Messrs. LITCHFIELD and HOBHOUSE, Solicitors to the Treasury, I received the following the next morning, Friday, the 16th instant, between 8 and 9 o'clock, from Mr. LITCHFIELD, who sent over one of his clerks with it.

(Copy)

Lincoln's Inn, May 15, 1817.

Sir,

Upon application to the Clerk of the Rules on the Crown side of the Court of King's Bench, you may have a Rule of Court for bringing you into Court, according to your wish. I am your obedient servant,

H. C. LITCHFIELD.

Mr. WM. HONE,
King's Bench Prison.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. JONES, the Marshal, acquainted me, that he had a tipstaff in readiness to go with me to Westminster, as soon as the Rule arrived; and very politely re-assured me, that nothing should be wanting on his part for my accommodation, whilst I remained in his custody. I had previously despatched the following letter to Mr. DEALTRY, whose name I did not then know, at the Crown-Office, agreeably to Mr. LITCHFIELD's letter, which I gave to the Messenger to produce.

(Copy)

King's Bench Prison,
16 May, 1817.

The KING v. MYSELF, on three ex-officio Informations.

Sir,

Having yesterday applied by letter to the Solicitors to the Treasury, to His Majesty's Attorney-General, and (to-day) to the Lord Chief Justice, respectively, to be brought into Court, in order to move for the immediate discharge of my person from the custody of the Marshal, on grounds which I shall submit on affidavit; I this day received a letter from Mr. LITCHFIELD, Solicitor to the Treasury, acquainting me, that on application to you I may have a Rule of Court, for bringing me into Court, according to my wish. I accordingly hereby request a Rule to bring me into Court to-morrow. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HONE.

To the Clerk of the Rules on the Crown
Side of the Court of King's Bench.

My messenger obtained the Rule at the Crown-Office, in the evening, for which he paid 7s. and I caused it to be left with one of the turnkeys immediately, keeping the following

(Copy)

Friday on the Morrow of the Ascension
of our Lord, in the fifty-seventh
Year of King George the Third.

London—The KING against WILLIAM
HONE.

IT IS ORDERED, that the Marshal of the Marshalsea of this Court, or his Deputy, do bring the Defendant into this Court on the morrow, to undergo, &c.

Side Bar.

By the Court.

As I was now going to move the Court, I prepared the affidavit on which to ground my motion; and the Court, when I was committed, having refused to listen to my complaint of undue detention, because the complaint was not stated by affidavit, I also prepared an affidavit of such undue detention, and copied them on half-crown affidavit stamps.

The following morning (Saturday, the 17th) I left the King's Bench Prison with a tipstaff. As soon as I entered the Court of King's Bench, Westminster Hall, I handed my affidavits to the Crier, who swore me thereto, and I paid him 1s. 6d. for each oath.

Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL. My Lord, I do not rise to make any motion to the Court myself, but I understand that Mr. WILLIAM HONE, who is in custody upon informations, charging him with certain blasphemous libels, has given notice of his intention to make a motion either for his discharge, or some other purpose. I am informed that Mr. HONE is now in Court, and perhaps your Lordships will hear him.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. He may as well move now.

Mr. HONE now rose and bowed. My Lords, I have to thank the Court

and the Attorney General, as well as the Solicitor to the Treasury, for the promptitude with which I have been brought into Court, to enable me to make the motion I have to submit. I perceive that the Rule for my appearance here says, "It is ordered that the Marshal of the Marshalsea of this Court, or his deputy, do bring the Defendant into this Court, on the morrow, to undergo, &c." The Rule not expressing the purpose for which I am brought here, the words "*to undergo, &c.*" imply something which I do not understand. I trust I have not incurred the displeasure of the Court, which I infer may be the case, from these words "*to undergo, &c.*"

The COURT hesitated a moment.

Mr. DEALTRY (the Clerk in Court, on the Crown side). They are words of course, mere words of form.

Mr. HONE bowed and proceeded. My Lords, I feel myself a little at a loss to introduce the motion I have to make. In requesting the attention of the Court, your Lordships will perhaps recollect, that when I was last before the Court, I complained of having been taken into custody in such a manner, and at such a time, as to prevent me from giving due notice of bail, in order to obtain my liberation in as short a time as possible, and which I submit I ought to have had the power of doing. When I stated this to the Court, I was told, if I had any complaint to make, I must do it by affidavit. I have now an affidavit in my hand. My Lords, I was taken into custody on the 3d of May, in the open street, in the Old Bailey, a few doors from my own dwelling-house, where no application had been made by the officer, and where he might have found me the whole of the week, or at any time that day; for I had been home until about half-past four o'clock, and was returning home when I was apprehended. The officer refused to go home with me to allow me to confer with my wife, and speak to my family, previous to his taking

me to the place where he afterwards did. On his proposing to take me into the heart of the City, and on my remonstrating, he threatened to take me to the Compter. I consider, my Lords, this to have been very harsh treatment to a man in my situation. I was not guilty of murder; I was not guilty of felony; your Lordships know the charge which is alleged against me. I thought it particularly harsh treatment at that time, and so I do now; I had no opportunity of seeing my wife, when I was taken into custody, except just as I was passing the door—not being suffered to enter the house. I was taken to a coffee-house, and from thence to a lock-up-house, where Mr. GIBBONS, the tipstaff, promised to come to me at half-past eight that evening. He did not come. I previously desired, both of LENNARD and the tipstaff, to know the amount of bail required; but they merely said it was large—that there were two other Judge's warrants against me, and could say nothing about the bail. Thus being taken on the Saturday evening, without knowing, or being able to learn, to what amount bail would be required, and 48 hours' notice being necessary, I was detained till Monday, without the possibility of doing any thing to effect my liberation. There was only one warrant in the possession of the officer at the time of my arrest, but when I saw Mr. GIBBONS, on Sunday, he told me there were two other warrants against me; though he could not then tell me on what charges, or the amount of bail required. Thus ignorant, I remained in custody until Monday morning, when I was brought down to this Court, and was there, by Sir WILLIAM GARROW, the late Attorney-General, charged with informations, which I for the first time heard of, and was required to plead to them. I hope, my Lords, you will see in these proceedings, that I have reason to complain of not having had the means

of giving notice of bail. Not wishing to detain your Lordships, I submit my affidavit.

I then handed up the affidavit.

(Copy)

IN THE KING'S BENCH.

London—*The King against WILLIAM HONE, on Three Ex-officio Informations.*

WILLIAM HONE, late of No. 67, in the Old Bailey, London, now a prisoner of this Court, in custody of the Marshal of the King's Bench Prison, maketh oath and saith, that on Saturday, the 3d day of May instant, he, this Deponent, was arrested in the Old Bailey, in the open street, about thirty doors from your Petitioner's residence, by an officer named LENNARD, and another man, by virtue of a warrant then produced by LENNARD to this Deponent, dated the 28th day of April last, and purporting to be signed by the Right Hon. LORD ELLENBOROUGH, Lord Chief Justice of this Court, directed to Mr. GIBBONS and another tipstaff; and that this Deponent, upon being carried to Serjeant's Inn Coffee-house, Chancery-lane, was informed by Mr. GIBBONS, that there were other Judge's warrants against this Deponent, and that therefore Deponent could not be bailed that night—that 48 hours' notice of bail would be required; but that he would call on Deponent where he would be in custody, at half-past eight the same evening, and inform Deponent further. Deponent was thereupon carried by LENNARD and an assistant to HEMP's lock-up-house, in Serle's-place, Carey-street, and there Deponent requested LENNARD to inform him with all despatch of the other warrants, and the amount of bail required, that he might take steps for procuring bail, and giving notice thereof that night, in order that he might be liberated on Monday, which information LENNARD assured Deponent would speedily be furnished to him; and LENNARD

then departed, leaving this Deponent and LORD ELLENBOROUGH's warrant in custody of Miss HEMP. Deponent thereupon requested of Miss HEMP, a copy of the warrant, which she informed Deponent she had no power to grant. And this Deponent saith, Mr. GIBBONS not calling on, or sending to Deponent, that night, Deponent was deprived of the means of procuring or giving notice of bail for Monday; but on Monday morning this Deponent, without a moment's notice, was hurried away in a coach to Westminster Hall, and there on the instant charged with, and had read to him, and was required to plead to; *ex-officio informations*, filed against Deponent by the Attorney-General, the existence of which informations Deponent had not been informed of until they were read.

WILLIAM HONE.

Sworn in open Court, at Westminster, the Seventeenth Day of May, 1817.

By the Court.

MR. DEALTRY. My Lords, it appears that there is a little irregularity in the affidavit; it is entitled as in three informations, and has only a single stamp.

MR. HONE. I trust, my Lords, if there is irregularity, you will impute it to my ignorance, and that I may be allowed to amend it; I have every wish to conform to the usage of the Court.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. It must be set to rights.

MR. DEALTRY. You may entitle the affidavit as on one information.

I made the requisite alteration.

CRIER. You must re-swear the affidavit.

I re-swore it.

MR. DEALTRY then read the affidavit.

The affidavit was handed up to the Court, and read by LORD ELLENBOROUGH and the other Judges.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. What motion would you make?

Mr. HONE. I have to complain, that through the officers of the Court I was deprived of the means of giving bail.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. You must make some substantive motion.

Mr. HONE. I can only submit myself to your Lordships' advice in this case.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. The Court has too much to do, to become the advisers of all persons who may conceive themselves aggrieved.

Mr. HONE. My Lords, I throw myself entirely on your Lordships.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. No, we cannot do that; the Court would have too much to do, if they were to direct every person who choose to plead ignorance.

Mr. HONE. Will your Lordships say what I ought to do?

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. You must state your injury, and by whom done.

Mr. HONE. I consider, my Lord, the injury I have sustained has proceeded from your Lordship's warrant originally, and I throw myself entirely on your Lordship. For the circumstances of the injury, I submit my affidavit; and your Lordship will there see from whom I am to receive redress, if any address is allowed me. I place myself entirely in the hands of your Lordship.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. If we were to give you advice, then every subject in the realm might come here, to know what he was to do;---it is really not our business to give such advice. You must submit to make your affidavit in the way all other subjects do, and state what motion you wish to make.

Mr. HONE. I humbly submit to the Court, with all respect, that the Court is my Counsel on this occasion. I am the prisoner of the Court; I have no Attorney; I have no Counsel; I have applied to nobody. I know not, therefore, whether my remedy should be by action or motion.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. The busi-

ness of the Court must not stand still. I have told you what the proceedings of the Court are, and we must go on with other business.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH then called on Mr. Serjeant HULLOCK to go on with other business.

Mr. HONE (to Mr. Serjeant HULLOCK). Sir, I entreat pardon for interrupting you---My Lords (to the Court) I have a motion to submit to the Court, for which purpose I obtained the Rule, and of which I gave notice.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. What is it?---Now let us have a motion.

Mr. HONE. It is a motion. My Lords, when I was in the Court before, I applied for copies of the warrants---

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. Your better course is at present to state your motion.

Mr. HONE. My Lord, what I am about to say applies in the way of explanation.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. Yes; but then it must be relevant matter. State your motion in the most perfect manner you can.

Mr. HONE. I will, my Lord---relying upon the Court to be heard shortly, by way of observation, afterwards. My motion is, that I be immediately discharged out of the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea, upon grounds which are stated in an affidavit I now hold in my hand. Your Lordships will please to recollect, that when I was here last, as I was about to leave the Court, I applied for copies of the Judges' warrants, whereon I was apprehended; which copies, your Lordships informed me, you had no power to grant. Your tipstaff then said, in Court, copies of the warrants should be given me, in the Copy of Causes. I now have the Copy of Causes in my hand, without copies of the warrants of arrest, which are not deposited with the Marshal; and upon this Copy of Causes, and the affidavit I also have, I ground my present mo-

tion. This Copy of Causes purports to contain the copies of three Rules of Court, which authorize the Marshal to detain me, and are in fact warrants of committal of my person to his custody. I have always understood, my Lords, and I humbly presume, with truth, that every committal authorizing a goaler to detain a prisoner, should clearly and fully express the true grounds of his committal. If my conception is wrong, I hope that I shall be corrected by your Lordship, when I state, that I conceive such committal should distinctly express the true grounds of committal, and if it does not express the true grounds---if it assigns grounds which are untrue, then such committal is void. The Copy of Causes, on which I found my motion, states, that I, having heard the *Informations* against me read, and being asked by the Court whether I was guilty of the premises thereby charged upon me or not, did thereupon *pray a day* to answer thereto, and it was granted to me by the Court; and that having no bail, I was committed by the Court to the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea of the Court, for want of bail, for my pleading within eight days of the next term. Your Lordships will be pleased to call to your recollection, that when the *informations* were read, I applied to your Lordships for copies of them; that I did *not* require time to plead; that I did *not* pray a day to answer; but that I distinctly refused to plead—for causes assigned—until a particular thing was done which I asked. I submit, therefore, that as the law requires that the cause of a prisoner's committal should be explicitly stated, and as these Rules of Court state, as a ground of committal, what is not the fact, that I am entitled to my discharge, which I therefore accordingly move.

I then put in an affidavit, for which I have not room here. It stated the prosecution to be *on three informations*. Having only a single stamp, it was

objected to, and I was altering it as the former, by striking out those three words, and re-swearing it, when the Court addressed me thus:—

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. Not having prayed a day to plead, the Court infers that you are indifferent about the day. If you do not plead when called upon, you in fact ask further time; further time is allowed you, and you are told you may come in to plead immediately, if you have any intention to plead. After that statement; by your not pleading, you implicitly consent to imprisonment. Really, the Court cannot have its time taken up so.

MR. HONE. Really, my Lord, if your Lordship will please to recollect, I did not ask for time. I did not plead, and I stated why I did not plead. I wish to state nothing offensive; but the Court will surely remember—

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. Do you mean to plead, or do you not?

MR. HONE. I did not imagine that question would have been asked me.*

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. Then remand him.

My object in making the above motion for my discharge, was to keep the practice of the Court close; to give it an opportunity of stating the precise and real grounds of my committals, by retracing its steps, amending its error, cancelling the present committals, and adopting such other course as seemed fit to it. Certainly, my present committals, by saying I prayed a day to answer, state what is not the fact; therefore, I still contend, that they are illegal. I was preparing to go

* The *Observer* Sunday newspaper makes me answer in these words, "*I did not come here to be asked that question.*" This was *not* my answer. I have stated the answer I made to LORD ELLENBOROUGH, in the very words I used. No paper has reported my answer to begin with the impudent "*I did not come here, &c.*" except the *Observer*, and those who copied after it. I hope this was an inadvertence of the reporter to the *Observer*.

into the subject with the Court, when Lord ELLENBOROUGH, whilst I was accommodating the affidavit to the stamp, by an alteration, which did not occupy more than two thirds of a minute, ordered me to be remanded, without its having been read.

Various circumstances connected with my three prosecutions and imprisonment, render them of great public importance; I shall therefore relate every matter connected with these *ex-officio* proceedings as they occur. As to the merits of the case, they remain untouched, and for the present must. But all the hirelings, tools, and needy expectants of sops from the people in power, are eager to echo the word *blasphemy*, and bandy it about without end. Lord SIDMOUTH, the Secretary of State, both as a man and a Minister, ought to take a large share of shame to himself, for the manner in which he has used this word, considering *when* and *where* he has used it. Under his administration, I have three *ex-officio* informations filed against me, for alleged *blasphemous* libels, and am sent to prison; whilst his Lordship, in the House of Lords, repeats *blasphemy*, with all stage effect, until, during a whole debate, it is in the mouth of every speaker, on both sides of the House; and thus, by the mere sound of the word, by ringing the changes upon it, *blasphemy* is "the common cry of curs;" from one end of the country to the other. I, in prison, before either of my trials, before even I have pleaded, am, in fact, tried, condemned, and sentenced, by a common jury of fools, knaves, bigots, and hypocrites, especially impannelled, throughout the whole kingdom.

Mr. WOOLER, the editor of the *Black Dwarf*, who the Attorney General also delighteth to honour by his agreeable attentions, and whose

trial comes on, at Guild Hall, London, next week, remarking on my prosecutions for the *Parodies*, has made some excellent observations on their alleged *blasphemy*, which I am obliged, for want of room, to omit.

I have said that I will repel and refute this scandalous and senseless charge of *blasphemy*. In my present situation, with the purse of the Treasury, and all the power of an Administration, "the cut-purse of the empire," against me, I must be allowed to choose my time and place for doing it; but I *will* do it, and, I repeat it, to the confusion and dismay of my enemies.

Knowing pretty well how Sir FRANCIS BURDETT's Reform motion would be *disposed of* by the Honourable House, I determined to give as complete a view as possible of its construction, and I have done it in this sheet, *at full length*. The reader will there see how 487 out of 658 members *get in*. It is almost unnecessary to say, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT made an admirable, an unanswerable speech, which was thrown away upon the House—"It was like singing psalms to a dead horse," said an auditor in the gallery. I shall re-print Sir FRANCIS's speech in my next number, verbatim, with other matters relating to it.

WILLIAM HONE.

King's Bench Prison,

No. 12 in 4,

Thursday, 22d May, 1817.

* * I have a multitude of Correspondents to notice, which I will do by degrees.

Country Agents must send remittances, or the Register will not be sent.

A CORRECT AND COMPLETE VIEW
OF THE
PATRONAGE AND INFLUENCE
OF PEERS, COMMONERS, AND GOVERNMENT,
IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Extracted from OLDFIELD'S Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland,
1816, 6 vol. 8vo.

England and Wales.

PEERS.

PATRONS.	Nominate Members for	Influence the Return of Members for	Total.
PRINCE OF WALES		2 Plymouth	2
Duke of Norfolk	2 Steyning	2 Hereford	11
	2 Arundel	1 Gloster	
	2 Horsham	1 Carlisle	
		1 Shoreham	
.... Richmond		1 Sussex	
		1 Chichester	2
.... Grafton	1 Thetford		2
	1 St. Edmunds Bury		
.... Beaufort		1 Gloucestershire	3
		1 Monmouthshire	
		1 Monmouth	
.... Leeds	2 Helstone		2
.... Bedford	2 Tavistock	1 Bedfordshire	4
		1 Bedford	
.... Devonshire	2 Knaresborough	1 Derbyshire	4
		1 Derby	
.... Marlborough	2 Woodstock	1 Oxfordshire	4
		1 Oxford	
.... Rutland	1 Bramber	1 Leicestershire	6
	1 Scarborough	1 Cambridgeshire	
		2 Cambridge	
.... Portland		1 Nottinghamshire	1
.... Manchester		1 Huntingdonshire	1
Duchess of Dorset	2 East Grinstead		2
Duke of Newcastle	2 Aldborough (York)	2 East Retford	7
	2 Boroughbridge	1 Newark	
.... Northumberland	2 Launceston		5
	2 Newport (Cornw.)	1 Northum. Co.	
Mar. of Buckingham	2 Buckingham	1 Buckinghamshire	6
	2 St. Mawes	1 Aylesbury	
.... of Lansdown	2 Calne		2

PATRONS.	Nominate Members for	Influence the Return of Members for	Total.
Marquis of Stafford		1 Staffordshire	5
		1 Litchfield	
		2 Newcastle (Stafford)	
.... Townshend	1 Tamworth	1 Brackley	2
		1 Yarmouth (Norfolk)	
.... of Bath	2 Weobly	1 Bath	3
.... Cornwallis	2 Eye		2
.... of Hertford	2 Orford	1 Totness	3
.... of Bute		1 Cardiff	1
.... of Exeter		2 Stamford	2
.... of Northampton		1 Northampton	1
.... Camden		1 Brecknockshire	1
.... of Anglesea	2 Milborne Port	1 Anglesea	4
		1 Carnarvon	
.... Cholmondely	1 Castle Rising		1
Earl of Derby		1 Lancashire	2
		1 Preston	
.... of Pembroke	2 Wilton		2
.... of Bridgewater		1 Brackley	1
.... of Westmoreland	2 Lime Regis		2
.... of Thanet	1 Appleby		1
.... Sandwich		1 Huntingdonshire	3
		2 Huntingdon	
.... Carlisle		1 Morpeth	1
.... of Shaftesbury		1 Dorchester	1
.... Paulet		2 Bridgewater	2
.... of Bristol	1 St. Edmunds Bury		1
.... of Portsmouth		1 Andover	1
.... of Warwick		1 Warwick	1
.... of Buckingham.		1 Lincoln	1
.... Fitzwilliam	1 Higham Ferrers	1 Yorkshire	6
	2 Malton	2 Peterborough	
.... of Egremont		1 Sussex	2
		1 Chichester	
.... of Guildford		1 Banbury	1
.... of Hardwick	1 Ryegate	1 Cambridgeshire	2
.... of Darlington	2 Winchelsea	1 Durham (Co.)	7
	2 Tregony		
	2 Camelford		
.... of Radnor	2 Downton	1 Salisbury	3
.... Bathurst	2 Cirencester		2
.... of Aylesbury	2 Marlborough		4
	2 Great Bedwin		
.... of Clarendon		1 Wotton Bassett	1
.... Grosvenor		1 Chester	1
.... of Mountg-combe	1 Bossiny		5
	1 Fowey		
	1 Plimpton		
	2 Lestwithiel		

PATRONS.	Nominate Members for	Influence the Returns of Members for	Total
Earl of Beverley	2 Beeralston		2
.... of Onslow		2 Guildford	2
.... of Powis	1 Montgomery	2 Ludlow	} 5
	2 Bishops' Castle		
.... Manvers		1 Nottinghamshire	1
.... of Orford		1 Lynn	1
.... of Lonsdale	2 Cockermouth	1 Cumberland	} 9
	2 Haselmere	1 Carlisle	
	1 Appleby	2 Westmoreland	
.... of Harrowby		2 Tiverton	2
.... of Caledon	2 Old Sarum		2
.... Brownlow	1 Clitheroe		1
.... of St. Germain's	2 Liskeard		} 4
	2 St. Germain's		
.... of Mulgrave	1 Scarborough		1
.... of Bradford	1 Wenlock		1
.... of Harewood	1 Northallerton	1 Yorkshire	} 3
		1 Pomfret	
.... of Beauchamp		1 Worcestershire	1
Viscount Bolingbroke		1 Wotton Bassett	1
..... Falmouth	1 St. Michael	2 Truro	3
..... Sydney	1 Whitchurch		1
..... Middleton	1 Whitchurch		1
..... Bulkeley	1 Beaumaris	1 Carnarvonshire	2
..... Curzon	1 Clitheroe		1
..... Anson		1 Litchfield	1
Lord Clinton	1 Ashburton		} 3
	2 Callington		
.... Petre		1 Thetford	1
.... Middleton		1 Newark	1
.... Monson		1 Lincoln	1
.... Foley	2 Droitwich	1 Worcestershire	} 4
		1 Herefordshire	
.... Dynevor		1 Carmarthenshire	1
.... Somers	1 Ryegate		1
.... Dundas	2 Richmond		2
.... Yarborough	1 Newton (Hants)	1 Lincolnshire	} 4
		2 Grimsby	
.... Calthorpe	1 Hindon		} 2
	1 Bramber		
.... De Dunstanville	2 Bodmin	1 Penryn	3
.... Cawdor		1 Carmarthen	1
.... Carrington	2 Midhurst	1 Nottingham	} 6
	2 Wendover	1 Leicester	
.... Northwick		1 Evesham	1

Members returned by 87 PEERS, in *England and Wales*. only 218

COMMONERS.

T. T. Drake, Esq.	2 Agmondesham	2
Sir C. C. De Crespigny	2 Aldborough (Suffolk)	2
Mr. Ralph Etwall	1 Andover	1

PATRONS.	Nominate Members for	Influence the Return of Members for	Total
Sir Lawrence Palke	1 Ashburton		1
Lord George Cavendish		1 Aylesbury	1
Matthew Russell, Esq.	2 Bletchingley		2
Charles Palmer, Esq.		1 Bath	1
Mr. Roberts		1 Bewdley	1
J. A. Stuart Wortley, Esq.	1 Bossiny		1
Sir Charles Morgan		1 Monmouthshire	2
		1 Brecknock	
Thos. Whitmore, Esq.		2 Bridgenorth	2
..... Sturt, Esq.		1 Bridport	1
Lord Lisburne		1 Cardigan	1
Rich. Howard, Esq.	1 Castle Rising		1
John Maitland, Esq.	1 Chippenham		1
Charles Brooke, Esq.	1 Chippenham		1
The Rt. Hon. George Rose	2 Christchurch	1 Southampton	3
Henry Banks, Esq.	1 Corfe Castle		1
Rt. Hon. N. Bond	1 Corfe Castle		1
Hon. F. West		1 Denbigh	1
Edward Coke, Esq.		1 Derby	1
Joshua Smith, Esq.		1 Devizes	1
T. G. Estcourt, Esq.		1 Devizes	1
Rob. Williams, Esq.		1 Dorchester	1
Snowdon Barne, Esq.	1 Dunwich		1
Lord Huntingfield	1 Dunwich		1
Sir Edward Buller	2 East Looe		2
Sir Thomas Mostyn		1 Flintshire	1
Sir W. W. Wynne		1 Montgomeryshire	3
		1 Denbyshire	
		1 Flint	
William Rashleigh	1 Fowey		1
Sir Mark Wood	2 Gatton		2
Sir William Manners	2 Ilchester	1 Grantham	3
Edward Milward	2 Hastings		2
Lord Kensington		1 Haverfordwest	1
Mr. L. Iveson		2 Heydon	2
Sir W. P. A'Court	2 Heytesbury		2
Wm. Beckford, Esq.	1 Hindon		1
Mr. Flood		1 Honiton	1
Mr. Townsend		1 Honiton	1
R. A. Crickitt, Esq.		1 Ipswich	1
Sir. Christo. Hawkins	1 St. Michael	2 Grampound	4
	1 St. Ives		
	1 St. Ives		1
Sam. Stephens, Esq.		1 Lynn	1
Sir M. B. Folkes		2 Leominster	2
Mr. Coleman			1
Sir James Graham	1 Ludgershall		1
J. H. Everett, Esq.	1 Ludgershall		1
Sir H. B. Neale	2 Lymington		2
J. H. Strutt, Esq.		Malden	1

PATRONS.	Nominate Members for	Influence the Return of Members for	Total
Joseph Pitt, Esq.	2 Malmsbury	1 Cricklade	3
Owen Williams, Esq.	2 Marlow		2
J. F. Luttrell, Esq.	2 Minehead		2
W. Ord, Esq.	1 Morpeth		1
Sir L. T. W. Holmes	2 Yarmouth (Hants) }		4
	2 Newport (Hants) }		
Thomas Leigh, Esq.	2 Newtown (Lancas.)		2
Sir John Barington	1 Newtown (Hants)		1
Henry Peirse, Esq.	1 Northalerton		1
Albany Savile, Esq.	2 Oakhampton		2
Sir John Owen		1 Pembrokeshire }	2
		1 Pembroke }	
Hylton Jolliffe, Esq.	2 Petersfield		2
P. T. Treby, Esq.	1 Plympton		1
B. Lester, Esq.		1 Poole	1
John Jeffrey, Esq.		1 Poole	1
S. Horrocks, Esq.		1 Preston	1
Mr. Alderman Carter		2 Portsmouth	2
Miss Lawrence	2 Ripon		2
Sir Cholmondeley } Deering }	2 Romney		2
Sir G. N. Noel		1 Rutlandshire	1
T. P. Lambe, Esq.	2 Rye		2
John Buller, Esq.	2 Saltash }		4
	2 West Looe }		
G. P. Jervoise, Esq.		1 Salisbury	1
John Leach, Esq.	1 Seaford		1
C. R. Ellis, Esq.	1 Seaford		1
John Dynely Esq.	2 Shaftsbury		2
J. F. Barham, Esq.	1 Stockbridge		1
George Porter, Esq.	1 Stockbridge		1
Sir J. Cox Hippisley		1 Sudbury	1
Sir Robert Peel	1 Tamworth		1
Sir T. B. Lethbridge		1 Taunton	1
Sir Thos. Frankland	2 Thirsk		2
Hon. W. J. V. Pawlett		1 Totness	1
John Calcraft, Esq.	2 Wareham		2
J. P. Tudway, Esq.		1 Wells	1
C. W. Forester, Esq.	1 Wenlock		1
Sir M. M. Lopez	2 Westbury		2
Sir G. F. Johnstone	4 Weymouth and } Melcombe Regis }		4
Sir R. H. Leigh		1 Wigan	1
John Hodson, Esq.		1 Wigan	1
Sir H. C. S. Mildmay		2 Winchester	2
Sir Thomas Baring		1 High Wycombe	1
Sir J. D. King		1 High Wycombe	1

Members returned by 90 *Commoners*, in England and Wales only

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GOVERNMENT.

<i>Treasury</i> , 2 Dartmouth, 1 Dover, 2 Harwich, 2 Hythe, 1 Windsor, } 11
2 Hampshire, 1 Yarmouth (Norfolk)
<i>Admiralty</i> , 1 Queenborough, 1 Rochester, 2 Sandwich 4
<i>Ordnance</i> , 1 Queenborough 1

Members returned by *Government*, in England and Wales only 16

* * * *Oxford*, *Retford*, *Newcastle-under-Line*, *Totness*, *Tregony*, *Wotton Basset*, and one member for *St. Ives*, were carried against the influence of the Patrons at the last general election; but, with the exception of *Oxford* and *Newcastle*, we are sorry to add, it was not the *amor patriæ*, nor the zeal of honest independence that prevailed upon this occasion.

Oxfordshire has, since the last general election, returned an independent member, after submitting to the nomination of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH for sixty-two years.

Scotland.

PEERS.

PATRONS.

Influence the Return of
Members for

Total

Duke of Hamilton	1 Lanark County	1
..... of Buccleugh	} 1 Dumfries County	1
Marquis of Queensberry and Earl of Hopetoun		
Duke of Buccleugh and Mr. Dundas of Arniston	} 1 Edinburgh County	} 2
Duke of Buccleugh		
	1 Edinburgh City	} 2
	1 Selkirk County	
	1 Selkirk District	} 1
..... of Gordon	1 Aberdeen County	
..... of Argyll	1 Argyll County	} 2
	1 Ayr District	
..... of Athol	1 Perth County	1
..... of Montrose	1 Dumbarton County	} 2
	1 Sterling County	
Marquis of Queensberry	1 Dumfries District	1
Marchioness of Stafford	1 Sutherland County	} 2
	1 Tain District	
Marquis of Bute	1 Bute County	1
Earl of Eglintoun	1 Ayr County	1
.... of Home and Mr. Home of Widderburne	} 1 Berwick County	1
Earl of Galloway		
	1 Kirkcudbright County	} 3
	1 Wigtown County	
	1 Stranraer District	} 1
.... of Lauderdale	1 Haddington District	
.... of Kintore and	} 1 Banff District	1
.... of Fife		
.... of Seafeld	1 Elgin County	1

PATRONS.	Influence the Return of Members for	Total.
Earl of Hopetoun	1 Haddington County	} 3
	1 Linlithgow County	
	1 Stirling District	
.... of Minto	1 Roxburgh County	1
Lord Dundas and Sir William Honyman	} 1 Orkney County	1
Baroness Abercromby		1 Clackmannan County
Lord Cawder	1 Nairn County	1
Members returned by 21 Peers and Peeresses in Scotland		31

COMMONERS.

Sir George Abercromby	1 Banff County		1
General Wemyss	1 Fife County		1
Hon. William Maule	1 Forfar County		1
Charles Grant, Esq.	1 Inverness County	}	2
	1 Inverness District		
Mr. Barclay, of Urie	1 Kinkardine County		1
Sir James Montgomery	1 Peebles County		1
Sir Michael Shaw Stewart	1 Renfrew County		1
Late Lord Seaforth's Heir	1 Ross County		1
James Farquhar, Esq.	1 Aberdeen District		1
Sir John Anstruther	1 Anstruther District		1
Sir John Maxwell and	}	1 Glasgow District	1
Archibald Campbell, Esq.		1 Kinghorn District	1
General Ferguson		1 Perth District	1
Sir David Wedderburne			

Members returned by 14 Commoners in Scotland 14

Members returned by 21 Peers and Peeresses in Scotland 31

45

When the county of *Caithness* returns a Member, he is nominated by Sir JOHN SINCLAIR. The county of *Cromarty* is under the influence of HENRY DAVIDSON, Esq.; and the county of *Kinross*, of THOMAS GRAHAM, Esq.

The TREASURY have a controuling influence nearly over the whole of the Scotch representation. The late Lord MELVILLE always boasted, that he could return 39 out of the 45 Members representing the whole kingdom of Scotland! The Duke of MONTROSE is now considered as the patron-general for the Treasury of all Scotland.

Ireland.

PEERS.

PATRONS.	Nominate Members for	Influence the Return of Members for	Total.
Archbish. of Armagh	1 Armagh City		1
Duke of Leinster		1 Kildare	1
..... of Devonshire		1 Dungarvon	1

PATRONS.	Nominate Members for	Influence the Return of Members for	Total.
Marquis of Waterford	1 Colerain	1 Londonderry (Co.) } 1 Waterford (Co.) }	3
..... of Downshire		2 Down (County)	2
..... of Donegal	1 Belfast		1
..... of Headfort		1 Meath (County)	1
..... of Sligo		1 Mayo (County)	1
..... of Ely	1 Wexford (Boro.)		1
..... of Abercorn		1 Donegal (Co.) } 1 Tyrone (Co.) }	2
..... of Hertford	1 Lisburne	1 Antrim (County)	2
Earl of Ormonde		1 Kilkenny (Co.) } 1 Kilkenny (City) }	2
.... of Granard		1 Longford (County)	1
.... Fitzwilliam		2 Wicklow (County)	2
.... of Bessborough		1 Kilkenny (County)	1
.... of Shannon	1 Youghall	1 Cork (County)	2
.... of Roden	1 Dunkald	1 Louth (County)	2
.... of Longford		1 Westmeath	1
.... of Portarlington	1 Portarlington		1
.... of Farnham		1 Cavan	1
.... of Enniskillen	1 Enniskillen	1 Fermanagh	2
.... of Clare		1 Limerick (County)	1
.... of Londonderry		1 Londonderry (Co.)	1
.... of Conyngham		1 Clare (Co.) } 1 Donegal (Co.) }	2
.... of Landaff		1 Tipperary (County)	1
.... O'Neil		1 Antrim (County)	1
.... of Bandon	1 Bandon Bridge		1
.... of Donoughmore		1 Cork (City)	1
.... of Rosse		1 King's County } 1 Longford (Co.) }	2
.... of Charleville	1 Carlow Borough	1 King's County	2
.... of Gosford		1 Armagh (County)	1
Viscount Dillon		1 Mayo (County)	1
..... D'Vesci		1 Queen's County	1
..... Northland	1 Dungannon		1
Lord De Clifford	1 Kinsale		1
	1 Downpatrick		2
.... Kenmare		2 Kerry (County)	2

Members returned by 36 Peers in Ireland only

51

COMMONERS.

Wm. Brownlow, Esq.		1 Armagh	1
Mr. Cavanaugh		1 Carlow (County)	1
Sir Edward O'Brien	1 Ennis	1 Clare	2
Rt. Hon. John Foster		1 Louth	1
Mervyn Archdall, Esq.		1 Fermanagh	1
Rt. Hon. D. B. Daly	1 Galway (Borough)		1
Sir Edward Denny	1 Tralee		1
H. J. Clements, Esq.		1 Leitrim	1

PATRONS.	Nominate Members for	Influence the Return of Members for	Total.
John Latouche, Esq.		1 Leitrim	1
Mr. Smith		1 Limerick (City)	1
Mr. Cowper		1 Sligo	1
Owen Wynne, Esq.	1 Sligo (Borough)		1
Rt. Hon. Wm. Bagwell	1 Clonmell		1
Mr. Pennefather	1 Mountcashel		1
Mr. Rochfort		1 Westmeath	1
Mr. Hon. Wm. Hand- cock	1 Athlone		1
Mr. Tottenham	1 New Ross		1
Mountiford Long- field, Esq.		1 Cork City	1
Mr. Jephson	1 Mallow		1

Members returned by 19 Commoners in Ireland only 20

RECAPITULATION.

Members returned by 87 Peers in England and Wales	218
By 21 Peers in Scotland	31
By 36 Peers in Ireland	51
<i>Total returned by PEERS</i>	<u>300</u>
Members returned by 90 Commoners in England and Wales	137
By 14 Commoners in Scotland	14
By 19 Commoners in Ireland	20
<i>Total returned by COMMONERS</i>	<u>171</u>
Nominated by Government	16
<i>Total returned by Commoners and Government</i>	<u>187</u>
TOTAL.	
Returned by NOMINATION	487
Returned INDEPENDENT of nomination, <i>only</i>	171
<i>Total of the House of Commons</i>	<u>658</u>

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HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 19.]

SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1817.

[Vol. I.]

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SIR F. BURDETT'S SPEECH ON REFORM.

LORD COCHRANE.

* * The following facetious Narrative has been put into my hands from a quarter which leaves no doubt in my mind of its authenticity. Although it came late, I cannot deny my readers the pleasure of its perusal now. The subject will, I believe, be agitated elsewhere.

W. HONE.

Lord COCHRANE, shortly after his arrival from a successful cruise in the *Pallas* frigate, in an evil hour offered himself as a candidate to represent the rotten borough of *Horsham* in Parliament, of which, Mr. OGDEN, in his Representative History, says, "The Members are generally strangers, sought out by individuals, properly instructed, or recommended by the Treasury. Previous to a vacancy, these dealers in corruption endea-

“ your to find a candidate suited to
“ their purpose, as rich (and unex-
“ ceptionable) as possible, who, de-
“ positing a certain sum of money, is
“ sure of having every art and effort
“ exerted in his favour. This bribery
“ commences and continues in pro-
“ portion to the activity of the agents
“ of a third party. The mode pur-
“ sued, is that of giving to each voter
“ from five to fifty guineas, according
“ to the emergency of the contest;
“ to their wives, meat, clothes, &c.
“ &c.; and also by opening inns, for
“ which purpose, a considerable
“ number are permitted to exist.
“ The number of votes influenced by
“ these, and other private considera-
“ tions, are nineteen out of twenty.
“ The sum necessary to purchase a
“ seat may vary from two to eight
“ thousand pounds. Two attorneys,
“ who reside in the place, have the
“ entire controul of the borough.”

Shortly after Lord COCHRANE's arrival in this hopeful town, he was conducted to a person named *Townsend*, the foreman of a gang, who vend their votes in retail to the highest bidder, who may dispose of his purchase wholesale to his Majesty's Ministers, for sinecures, places, pensions, and the like; or more privately to the Treasury, for secret service money, and other pickings, well known in and about St. Stephen's Chapel.— Thus, honourable gentlemen are trained to follow the leader, to pop in Treasury ballot lists, cut and dry, nominating select and secret committees, to frame Reports, and justify the suspension of the Constitution, and the enactment of arbitrary laws, whereby the subject may be immured in dun-

geons, and deprived of pen, ink, and paper, without intercourse with any human being, *on mere suspicion!* Thus are Bills passed for purposes which must be nameless; thus the Constitution, the boast of our ancestors, is subverted---thus the freedom and birth-right of Britons, are basely bartered for gain!

Lord COCHRANE, who had been bred at sea from his youth, knew little of this traffic. He found TOWNSEND and his gang cold, suspicious, doubtful:---depending, as the gang freely confessed, on Mr. MOST to decide their wavering opinion, whom they expected to be present, *as usual*, on the day of election.

Lord COCHRANE finding that nothing could be done amongst such people without money and feasting; and having fed the LEADERS and *tithing-men* for some time, and paid them from 100l. to 20l. a-piece, the belman, with his bell, proceeded through the borough to summon the voters to the said TOWNSEND, to receive *ten pounds* each; which was attended with the usual formalities of "*O! yes!*" and "*God save the King!*" These proceedings, however, were adopted too late; for those *booked* in the interest of the candidate opposed to Lord COCHRANE, could not *conscientiously* vote for his Lordship, under any circumstances; the *nature* of their previous engagements precluding them from doing more towards his Lordship's election, than absenting themselves from the poll, *for the sum of three guineas more than that which they got for going to it.* But even this could not secure his Lordship's election. He could take a ship with less difficulty, than a seat in Parliament; his adversary was returned; and thus his Lordship's first attempt to get into the Honourable House was unsuccessful.

Not dismayed by discomfiture, on this occasion, Lord COCHRANE returned to the *charge*, at the general election, which soon after took place.

He then received the most flattering assurances of success, from the said TOWNSEND, who, by that time (in addition to his own troops), had taken upon himself the command of all the auxiliary forces, who, under various leaders, had flocked to his standard, in consequence of the proclamation of the belman.

An *avowed* agent, who was to do *nothing*, had been regularly nominated, and *due notification* thereof *publicly made*, in order to shield the *real agents* from the Bribery Acts; and, probably to secure TOWNSEND's *sinecure* Barrack-Mastership of Horse, and *sinecure* Clerkship, the thing went swimmingly on. The precaution might have been spared---one party was as deep in the mud as the other in the mire.

Lord COCHRANE, whose political sentiments were unknown, and not inquired about, having, by the proclamation of the belman, and by other means, acquired the appellation of the "*GOLDEN CAPTAIN*," now ranked in estimation next to Mr. MOST.

With such warm feelings in the breasts of the *independent* electors---for so they called themselves---their favoured candidate was solicited to meet "*his friends*" at supper on the night of the general election. O! if some of his brother naval officers had been present, how they would have envied the applause he received, though they might have been *too prudent* to have earned it so dearly. Not a hand suffered his Lordship's to escape a hearty squeeze; the females---and Honiton girls are famed for beauty---were not backward in demonstrations of esteem---laudatory songs were sung---all was hilarity and mirth! Short-sighted mortals that we are! who could have anticipated mischief lurking under such a scene? Of what materials is the heart composed, that could plot the plunder of another, under the simulated mask of friendship? And yet such scenes are not uncommon in such places!

The supper ceremony being over, and the damsels and voters thanked for their kind favours (which, though they bestowed *freely*, they did not *undervalue*) Lord COCHRANE retired, little dreaming, when he laid his head on the pillow, that the supper bills would occasion so much dispute—seeing, too, that the said TOWNSEND had in his hands a sum of money belonging to Lord COCHRANE, of which he has rendered no other account, than that it was spent at the election.

A long period had elapsed, when a gentleman, now a Member of Parliament, who had been at Honiton with Lord COCHRANE, and who had done him the favour to settle all the bills *delivered*, expressed a doubt whether the supper bills, *which had been withheld*, formed part of the *asserted* disbursements of TOWNSEND; whereupon farther inquiry was made, but neither the bills nor any satisfactory account could be obtained, assurance being given as often as application was made, that they, the *Honitonians*, deemed Lord COCHRANE'S credit as good as *gold*! And so it appeared; for when the bills at last came in, though Mr. CAVENDISH BRADSHAW, who was the other candidate, gave his supper to *half* of this rotten borough *on the very same night*, yet supper was charged for the *whole town, TAG-RAG, AND BOB-TAIL*!—those booked to vote *against* his Lordship, as well as those for him; and not at seven shillings, but at a *guinea* a head.

Astonished at so unreasonable a demand, Lord COCHRANE objected to paying more than he had stipulated, namely, seven shillings a head for his 228 voters, amounting in the whole to 79l. 16s.; but to free himself from farther trouble, he afterwards increased his offer to *half-a-guinea*, which was rejected; and TOWNSEND, who is one of those attorneys alluded to in Mr. OLDFIELD'S recent publication, was himself employed to

bring thirteen *separate* actions for the supper.

Mr. WRATISLAW, Lord COCHRANE'S solicitor at that time, to do his memory justice, uniformly advised Lord COCHRANE not to contest these claims, but to put up with the loss, adding, that he had *experience* in such matters, and knew that his Lordship would come off with the whole expenses to pay, in addition to their demand; for, to use a sea expression, they *would swear through a nine-inch plank*. And so indeed it proved, but not entirely from their conduct, but because Mr. WRATISLAW had unaccountably neglected to pay the seven shillings a head into Court, whereby his client became responsible for costs of suit, though he should prove the iniquity of nine-tenths of the demand.

Alarmed at this, yet unwilling to defeat that part of their claim which appeared just, by pleading the Bribery Act, Lord COCHRANE submitted to an arbitration, which was proposed as a means of doing justice to both parties; but these people and their attorney, as they anticipated, thus obtained an opportunity to *ring the changes* with the THIRTEEN Plaintiffs. Each Plaintiff alternately deposed, as appears by the minutes of arbitration, not only to the justice and moderation of the other Plaintiffs' demands, but that “the bills delivered were *too low*, and ought to be *doubled*.” Thus their exorbitant claims were *legally* established. Each Plaintiff, at the house of his respective neighbour publican, *heard* Lord COCHRANE order punch, wine, or some other beverage, bid his hearty friends make merry, and call for what they pleased! *Consequently* their demand was increased, and could not be limited to the sum of seven shillings.—TOWNSEND confirmed the whole, by denying that any stipulated price had been agreed to, or that the number of persons supping could be limited, though he, and others, by his orders, had *billeted* all the voters.

by *written lists*. It is not to be supposed that the nature and obligation of an *oath* was not understood---the whole town of Honiton took the *oath* against bribery at the previous election!

Persons who are acquainted with the law will not be astonished that the 79l. 16s. is now raised to 3295l. 12s. 7d., not including 730l. of his Lordship's own law expenses.—Thus increasing the original 79l. 16s. to the sum of *Four thousand and twenty-five pounds, twelve shillings and seven-pence!* to which must be added the demand of PEARCE, TOWNSEND's partner, who prosecuted Lord COCHRANE, as one of his *law* agents, although Lord COCHRANE never had the least suspicion that PEARCE was in any way connected with the law, nor did he know that he was a partner of TOWNSEND's, until THEY gave in a joint bill several years afterwards, on which, at the arbitration of the publicans', they obtained an award for ALL the items, except those which were clearly proved to have been charged for services which never had been, because they never could have been, performed!

This law bill of Messrs. TOWNSEND and PEARCE is the more flagrant, as two of the GLICK, named HAYMAN and GIDLEY, had before made out and recovered the amount of similar bills, though Lord COCHRANE, by the advice of TOWNSEND, had sent for and employed professional men from Taunton and Exeter, under the impression that there was not a person in the town of Honiton capable of writing any thing above a muster list of the voters.

To obtain the amount of these *vamped-up* demands, fourteen executions lately issued against Lord COCHRANE, who was thereby compelled to leave the question of the admissibility of his affidavit, in the Court of Admiralty, contested by Lord GAMBIER, to his counsel; for, having learned that trunks and boxes, contain-

ing valuable papers, and all the *Honitonean manuscripts*, being bribery bills and receipts, had been broken open by persons sent to enforce these iniquitous claims in his house at Hollyhill, his Lordship mounted the Portsmouth coach, from the propitious Golden Cross, and while the intruders sent by the loyal Sheriff of Hants were on the lawn, hunting FLAMING a great jack-ass, which had broken loose, he re-captured the trunks, and recovered the *Honitonean manuscripts*.

No sooner had the consequences of the chase of the *great ass* become manifest to his pursuers, by the shutting-too of the door whence they had sallied, than he who had been in possession of the *manuscripts*, set off to inform the High Sheriff that the door was shut, leaving his companion to blockade the castle, who being interrogated as to his authority, marched off. In the interim, the castle being in possession of his Lordship, a few pillows were tied together, which, with a black line—of charcoal—proceeding therefrom, were reconnoitred with due precaution by the enemy without the walls. Nothing worthy of notice occurred until the following morning, when the enemy having captured and confined the *great ass*, forced his quarters, drove him from the stall, and occupied the very ground on which he had stood.

Having thus far succeeded in taking up a position, vigorous operations were threatened, and various summonses were sent, demanding unconditional surrender of the castle; all of which were treated with the contempt in which an enemy occupying such a position should be held. He appeared, however, in force, some days after; but towards dusk drew off 24 out of 26 of his troops, leaving only two parties as a corps of observation, with strict orders not to approach the magical lines, which were supposed to connect with the said conjuror's bags.

The High Sheriff having learnt the

increased dangers of a siege, the difficulties of a blockade, and the peril to which his Majesty's liege subjects would inevitably be exposed, by an attempt to regain possession of the enchanted castle, proceeded immediately to the great city, to obtain instructions from the Court wherein the King presides---whence having returned, he called out the posse comitatus, and selected one hundred and fifty men to capture and destroy, if possible, the magical bags.

Various councils of war were held, but nothing occurred to the High Sheriff, whereby to effect so desperate a purpose. It was, however, suggested by an officer of horse, who had seen some service, that no plan was more likely to accomplish the object they all had in view, than procuring sailors, provided with long boat-hooks, to pull the magical bags through the lower embrasures; which he *hoped* might be done without much danger.

This argument had its due weight with the High Sheriff. "It was no sooner said than done." Seven famished *raggamuffins* were quickly found in the streets of Southampton, whose bellies being quite empty, a glass of gin produced as powerful an effect, as if the High Sheriff had given them a quart upon a full stomach---they had the additional consolation, that however fatal might be their enterprize, sudden death was better than starving.

Boat-hooks and battering-rams, muskets, bayonets, swords, pistols, pikes, and pitchforks, being procured, the HIGH Sheriff (who is a very little man), mounted on a *tall* horse, repaired to the castle gate to demand a parley---as Knights, or *Knights expectant*, on such great occasions do---his head uncovered. Thrice he repeated, with expressive alternations of tone and countenance---his eyes fixed on an embrasure, whence a gun on the preceding evening had been fired at a rabbit---"I am the HIGH Sheriff of Hants;" receiving no

reply, his cheeks inflated, his gallant heart swelled, or seemed to swell within his breast, and at last he uttered, "In his Majesty's name, I demand admittance, or the doors shall be forced." The *forlorn hope* was ordered to prepare and advance, and the HIGH Sheriff, having granted ten minutes' delay, clapped spurs to his steed, and took up an advantageous position, *close* to an oaken tree, whence he might perceive the effects of the simultaneous attack of the boat-hooks and battering-rams, and issue orders with deliberation for storming the castle.

During this awful suspense, all was silent as the grave! The boat-hooks grasped---the battering-rams withdrawn beyond their poise arrested, stood ready to effect their desperate purpose; and the HIGH Sheriff sat with his mouth wide open, pausing to pronounce the fatal command!

The moment of attack at length arrived. All eyes were fixed on the HIGH Sheriff, mounted on his *tall* horse, with a stop-watch in his hand! *Mute*---he waved his hat as the signal of assault, and looked to Heaven; but whether to implore assistance, or to catch a last glimpse of the castle, expected to disappear in the air by means of the enchanted bags, remains still doubtful; certain however it is, that he continued in the same position until a loud and general shout announced the success of the *forlorn hope*.

On entering the castle, the commander and all the garrison seemed enchanted;---the first was sitting in the position of one reading, his head leaning on his right hand.---He who held the key of the great gate was standing in the hall, and the cook-maid was in the kitchen!---All---all were torpid, or regardless of their fate---not a muscle of their countenances moved, though cocked muskets and pistols, bayonets, and pikes, and swords, were presented to their breast, and thrust in their faces---though dragged

before the castle gate, where shackles were tried on, and pockets rifled!

Of the attacking force, the drunken sailors alone seemed insensible---a blush shed itself over the cheeks of the men of Hants, which speaking volumes, did honour to their hearts.

Thus endeth the rare adventure of the *great ass*---the siege of the enchanted castle!

Reform.

SPEECH

OF

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT,

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

On Tuesday, May 20th, 1817.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT felt it to be a very arduous duty, in the present circumstances, to make the motion of which he had given notice. In any former period, it would have been sufficient to lay evidence before that House of the existence of corruption in elections---it would have been sufficient to show that a practice so baneful in itself, and so hostile to the laws and Constitution of this country, existed---in order to obtain redress. In any former period, it would have been sufficient to expose a practice destructive of the vital interests of freedom and justice, in order to ensure a remedy: it would have been sufficient to point out the evil, and to propose a remedy adequate to that evil, in order to have it adopted. But now, what would have been formerly denounced as corrupt and ruinous, was by a new doctrine recommended as necessary for conducting the affairs of the nation. What was formerly regarded as a

seed whose fruit was productive of disease and death, was now maintained to be the seed of a tree whose fruit yielded nourishment and strength, and under whose shade security and repose were to be found. He felt it peculiarly awkward to complain before those very persons who were the objects of complaint, and to apply for redress to those very persons who were the authors of the grievance. He felt it most awkward to call upon those who must be supposed to be *the corrupt, to redress corruption*; but the general voice of the nation was so manifestly and so strongly for this measure, that it claimed their utmost regard. The petitions presented to Parliament---of which many were rejected, but not on that account less expressive of the wishes of those who signed them---for the redress of the great grievance of an unequal and corrupt representation, were more numerous than ever were presented on any other occasion whatever. When formerly motions were made on this subject, as had been done for several years back, it was always asked,---Where are the Petitions for it? Where are the Petitions from Birmingham? Where from Manchester? Petitions were now presented from all parts of the kingdom. Petitions were presented from Birmingham, and from Manchester. They had Petitions laid before them with more than one million of signatures. Whether, therefore, the complaint of those Petitions was well or ill founded---whether redress can or cannot be given, the House was bound to institute some inquiry into grievances so generally felt, and so generally complained of. The prayer of those Petitions was said to be wild and visionary: they were represented as praying for what was never sanctioned by the laws, and never recognized by the practice of this country: they were charged with having invented novel grievances, and demanded novel remedies. Under this charge came ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS.

It was quite clear and incontrovertible, that ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS were the law and the practice of this country, even beyond any history we have of it. For centuries before any history was written of the events of this country, but of which tradition has handed down some facts, Annual Parliaments were in constant use. It might, indeed, be replied, that the question was not what existed in ancient times, but what ought to be adopted now: but it gave great weight to the claim, that it was sanctioned by remote antiquity; and it formed a complete answer to the charge of its being a new and new-fangled doctrine. It was then as old and older than William the Conqueror. Our earliest writers mention it as the practice; the oldest book, he believed, which alluded to any part of our history, was "The Mirror of Justice," which Coke mentioned in terms of commendation. There it appeared evident, that it was the undoubted law of the land, that Parliaments be annually called. Before the name *Parliament* was given to them, this was the practice. It was a matter of course that they should meet twice every year; the King's writ was a necessary part of the process; but it was necessary by the law that they meet twice in the year, oftener if there was occasion: this law William the Conqueror was sworn to observe. Is was no answer, that he was a perjured monarch: this was the law, and this was the practice during the whole history of England, till we came down to the reign of Henry III., when the greatest abuses of various kinds were committed; yet, during his reign, Parliaments were annual. In the time of Edward I. and III. and IV. Parliaments were constantly of annual duration. That there were abuses in those reigns was undeniable; but from that he had a right to infer, that the People had invariably insisted upon annual Parliaments. In the reign of Edward III. laws expressly enact that Parliaments

be called every year. It was made a question whether this necessarily implied a new election every year. For an answer to this question, let the practice of the time be looked into during the long reign of Edward III., and a more constitutional and more glorious reign was not to be found in English history: not one Parliament was continued beyond one year; but a new Parliament was called every year. It was not indeed necessary that every Parliament continued a year. They often continued but for a month, or two-months; and there was an instance of five new elections in one year. It was, therefore, the constitutional, legal right of the People of England to have a new Parliament every year; it was imperative upon the Kings of England to call a new Parliament every year. So many gentlemen of great ability and patient research had fully investigated and clearly traced the history of this practice, and yet not one instance have they found of a Parliament prorogued or continued beyond one year, down to the 23d year of the reign of Henry VI. In the time of the civil wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, the party that happened to prevail, could do every thing or nothing; yet even then the rights of the People were so far respected, that Parliaments were not prorogued or continued longer than a year. Henry VIII. was the first who violated this express law; and the time when he did it was deserving of consideration. It was when he wished to divorce his Queen; and on this account quarrelled with the Pope, with the Church, and with the People. Then he continued Parliament for five years. The reason was very obvious. He wished for his own purposes to effect what was called the Reformation. The generality of the nation were not then for that measure; it was only a party that favoured it; and it was for this reason he had recourse, unconstitutionally, to a Parliament of longer

duration. Bishop Burnet related, that the King was at great pains to manage the elections; and it was very evident that the elections were first influenced, and Members afterwards corrupted, till he effected his double purpose of divorce and plunder. In the reign of Edward VI. when the Protestant interest, still the minority of the nation, prevailed, the same course was followed, and his Parliament continued nearly five years. The next reign was that of Queen Mary, a reign held up to horror and execration, and justly, on many accounts: but when the Catholics, who had been plundered and persecuted, came again into power, smarting with their ill usage, it was not surprising, it was not justifiable, but it was not astonishing, that they had retaliated: yet the first thing she did was to repeal the Acts of constructive treason that had been passed, and to place the security and freedom of the subject under the protection of 25th Edward III. The People of this country were at this time, so far as life and liberty were concerned, less secure than under the bloody Mary, as she was called.—[Hear, hear, hear!]
—She, proclaiming that the People had been deprived of their just rights, and of the great security for their liberty, had recourse to short Parliaments. Her Parliament did not continue for one year; it was dissolved at the end of nine months. The reign of Elizabeth exceeded all praise. Too wise to force, too honourable to impose upon the People a system of government inconsistent with the principles and practice of the constitution; without millions of money to corrupt, without laws to oppress, without a standing army to overpower; she gained the affections, and insured the obedience of her People, by the wisdom and vigour of her administration. In her reign there were two long Parliaments. When the Stuarts came to the throne, the same practice was continued. James I.

kept his Parliaments a long time. The People were not then jealous of that encroachment. They had suffered all the evils they had experienced from other abuses, and they thought themselves perfectly safe in the hands of Parliament, because no previous evil had been felt, and no present evil was apprehended from them. He had now come to the eventful reign of Charles I. He had not learnt the principles of the English constitution, and studied not to rule according to its laws and usages; he tried to establish a government without Parliaments. This innovation he supported, too, by the authority of Westminster Hall. [Hear, hear, hear!]
—The judges of that time lent themselves, the subservient tools, the industrious servants of despotism. The greatest lawyers of that age, or of any age, sanctioned the unprecedented, unconstitutional, arbitrary attempts of Charles. [Hear, hear!]
Charles failed only because he had not a standing army. If he had had a standing army, there could be no question moved at the present day, whether we should reform Parliament? When he was obliged to hold Parliaments, because he had not millions to be employed in corrupting them, he could not effect his purposes: how they were elected did not signify: how many years they continued was of no importance; it was impossible to find any set of men capable of surrendering the rights and interests of the country to the arbitrary will of a tyrant. They were connected with their fellow subjects; they had a common interest with them; there was nothing to make it their interest to sacrifice the liberty of the People. [Hear, hear!]
We know how the contest between Charles and his Parliament ended. A few individuals having gained the ascendancy, thought that the Parliament that had resisted the intrigues and the violence of Charles, and had preserved and protected the liberties of the nation,

ought to be continued; and an Act was passed, something like what was afterwards done on different principles, and for different purposes, for protracting the period of the duration of Parliament. It was then thought proper and salutary, that a Parliament that had acted so meritoriously and so successfully, that had fought the great battle of the nation, and obtained a glorious victory, should continue to be the guardians of national liberty. Afterwards, it was thought gain to the nation, that one great man should protect the liberty and ensure the security of the nation. Yet Oliver Cromwell was a Parliamentary Reformer (*a laugh*), and proposed a plan of Reform, so just, so fair, and so suitable, that even Lord Clarendon said it deserved to have proceeded from a better—a more warrantable, was his Lordship's expression—from a more warrantable quarter. But when Cromwell found that he must either lose his place, which to him would be to become a victim to the gallows, or support by the sword, what he had acquired by the sword, he naturally preferred the latter alternative. The People, always attached to the Constitutional Government of Kings, hailed the restoration of Charles II. It might have been expected, that he, from gratitude to the nation, for the zeal and affection with which they received him, would restore and confirm all their rights and laws; but he was not of that generous character; he was of a cold, unfeeling disposition, he forgot the claims, and trampled upon the rights of the nation. But though the People had neglected the necessary precautions, through joy in receiving their banished Monarch, his cold and cruel heart only availed itself of this to enslave them; and for this purpose he attempted to corrupt the House of Commons; and this was the first deliberate attempt at that mode of controlling the wishes and the interests of the People. The nation had been guilty of the generous folly of re-

ceiving him without the stipulations necessary, both for the security of the State, and for the safety of the Crown; and took back, unconditionally, one that otherwise would have lived a wanderer upon the face of the earth. In return, he attempted to corrupt their House of Commons. Charles II. continued Parliament for 16 years; yet this Parliament, this pensioned Parliament, as it was called, would not sacrifice the interests of the nation, or sell the liberties of their fellow-subjects, and it was therefore dissolved. During the remaining part of his reign, struggles were revived and continued as in his father's reign. James II. committed many outrages, but none more flagrant or more offensive than attempting to corrupt elections, and he was in consequence obliged to abdicate the throne. He now reached the period of our Revolution: this surely was not too remote to be appealed to; the doctrines it expressly avowed were not to be branded as new, and new-fangled. They would find in the Declaration of William, among his reasons for coming with an army into England, that law was not properly administered, that legal corruption deprived the People of justice and redress; this was a very great evil, and called loudly for a remedy. Another reason, and a very strong one certainly, was, that Juries, the great bulwark of the liberty of and safety of the subject, were not fairly chosen, but selected for the purpose of serving the Crown; but the main reason, the reason assigned in the very front of this Declaration, was the corruption of the House of Commons; that the Parliament were not allowed to be freely elected, or to consult independently what was for the benefit of the nation; that tampering was used in electing and influencing them; that undue means were applied to procure compliance with the will of the Sovereign. The Revolution was principally, therefore, in order to procure a full, and free, and fair Parliament; this was

proved by the admission of James II. himself, who knew what was right, though he did not practise it. Many Noblemen who were attached to him, and anxious to support his reign, petitioned for redress of many abuses; above all, for a Parliament "free in all its circumstances." He answered, that he could not get a Parliament so elected, unless the Prince of Orange were removed from the kingdom. It was then, at all times—it was by the laws of this country, it was by the practice and history of the nation, always a high crime to corrupt the Parliament, or use any means to make them subservient to arbitrary purposes. It was one of the charges of impeachment against Richard II. and one of the reasons for dethroning him, that he had packed Parliaments. During the whole of our history to that period, Parliament sat little more than five months; then there was a new one. There were few instances of proroguing; and when this violation of the law was attempted, it was always moderately. Richard II. and James II. lost the throne for their abuse of it. While such signal instances were recorded in our history, while the Bill of Rights recognized our claims, could it be contended that we were not entitled to a free election of Parliaments? An election necessarily implied that it should be free. How then could this essential part of the Constitution be reconciled with individuals appointing Members of the House of Commons? He here begged leave to read from a Petition presented in 1793, for a Reform in Parliament, by a most enlightened and most respectable society: the constitution of that House was so well dissected, if he might use the expression in the Petition, that he was astonished so many years as have since passed could have elapsed without any inquiry into its justice and truth. The Petition had been so frequently and so well known, that he would not trouble the House with the whole of

it; he would only read the following part of it:—The Petition, after mentioning several other grievances and inconveniences resulting from the state of the representation, and requiring redress, stated that 84 individuals do, "by their own immediate authority, send 157 Members to the House of Commons; and that this the Petitioners were ready to prove at the bar of the House, if the fact was disputed, and to name the members and the patrons." The Hon. Baronet asked if the nominees of such individuals could be supposed to be a free representation of the People? And yet, perhaps, Members so returned constituted nearly three fourths of those who now heard him. The Petition went on to state, "that in addition to the 157 members so returned, 150 more, making in all 307, are returned by the recommendation of 70 powerful individuals added to the 84 before mentioned, and making the number of patrons altogether 154, who return a decided majority of the House." One hundred and fifty-four individuals thus claimed and exercised the right of disposing, by their agents, of the lives, liberties, and property of the millions of inhabitants who composed the subjects of this kingdom. Did not this seem in itself an usurpation? Did it not seem a grievance which called loudly for a remedy? If he were required to submit to any arbitrary power that had interests contrary to that of the People; if oppression were to be permitted from any quarter, he would rather endure it from the Crown, than from individuals who could controul the Crown—who keep both the King and the People in bondage; who destroyed the Constitution, and united in themselves all the powers and prerogatives which it ought to possess.—We could not read the opinions of any of the authors who had spoken of our Constitution, without finding that their authority was in favour of a change of system, and that they declared

against the present state of things. Mr. Justice Blackstone, who, in his own time, was regarded as rather a courtly lawyer, but whose book now (so much had our opinions been altered within the last half century) might almost be considered as speaking jacobinism, had laid down principles which showed the necessity of a Reform. He had said, that there were three powers in our mixed Legislature—the King, Lords, and Commons; that these three powers ought to be kept distinct; and that the latter especially, as the guardian of the People's rights, ought not to be under the influence of the former; for, added he, if the other two branches influenced the House of Commons, which emanated from the People, and constituted their natural protectors, there was an end of the Constitution. So firmly convinced was the learned commentator, that the People ought to be represented, and thus had a right to govern themselves by delegates elected by themselves, that he conceived the force of laws and the necessity of obedience resulted from this principle. "The lawfulness of punishing criminals (said he) is founded on this principle, that the law by which they suffer was made by their own consent." Was it to be borne, then, that instead of being governed by laws made by our own consent, instead of seeing a full and free representation, instead of seeing the majority of the People deputed those who were to legislate for them, the nation was to be ruled by a few boroughmongers? Would it be said that no representation of the People was intended, but that those men were to enjoy all the powers of the Constitution in their own hands, that they were to be the real sovereigns of England, and dispose of our lives, liberty, and property, at their pleasure? Different writers, according to their taste, their education, or their peculiar bias, had pointed out the advantages, and supported the

excellence of different species of Government. The republican, the aristocratical, and the monarchical form of administration had all had their panegyrists; but no author that ever he heard of had ever praised an oligarchy [*hear, hear.*] In an aristocracy, the interests of the Nobility and the People might frequently be the same; and, at any rate, the form of government did not imply an opposition between them. This might, therefore, be a good government, in certain circumstances. The same might be said of absolute monarchy. The reigning Prince might sometimes have the wisdom to see that his interest, and that of his People, were inseparably united; that he could enjoy power and resources, only in proportion as he promoted their welfare; and that a higher reward could be reaped in their approbation of his exertions to promote their happiness, than in the gratification of that senseless caprice and inverted ambition that would lead him to destroy their liberties, and to squander their property. Democracies, with more plausibility, had been often the subject of encomium and recommendation. They had, in the history of the world, performed wonders. All who heard him would remember with what enthusiasm, when young, they had read of the prodigies of valour and conduct for which the ancient republics had been distinguished: how celebrated they had become for the energy, the intellectual improvement, and scientific progress of their citizens. Indeed, no form of government had called forth more talent, more industry, more resources, and been distinguished by more remarkable deeds, than the democratical. For energy, in particular, it transcended the rest, and had received the support and praise of many great men. But an oligarchy could boast of having performed nothing laudable; of having done nothing that could be approved; of having no panegyrist. [*hear, hear!*]

Some oligarchies, however, were not so objectionable: they were merely aristocracies with a narrower basis, where the interests of the governors were not necessarily opposed to those of the People. The oligarchy of which he was speaking, was, however, of a different character; it was an oligarchy of boroughmongers, whose interests were at variance with those of the rest of the nation; who corruptly usurped powers that did not belong to them, and trampled upon the rights of the People at their pleasure: in short, it was the most odious, the most degrading, and the most galling of all oligarchies. That 150 patrons of the representation should exist, that they should exist against all law, that they should exist against the resolutions of the House of Commons itself, which resolutions were passed at the commencement of every Session, and might be regarded as the law of Parliament, or at least, a declaration to the country, that such was the law, appeared monstrous and unaccountable. The law to which he alluded on this subject was no new law, it was nearly as old as Parliaments. The Statute of Westminster I. prohibited any interference of great persons with elections, and expressly enacted that they should be free. It was written in old French, and said, that no great man should disturb the electors in the exercise of their duties; that "because elections ought to be free, the King commanded, upon great forfeiture, that no man, by force of arms, nor by malice or menacing, shall disturb any to make free election." This law was the foundation of the resolution passed at the beginning of every Session, "that it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons, for any Lord of Parliament, or any Lord Lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in the election of Members of Parliament." What had now become of this law and this resolution? They were allowed to

sleep; they were never acted upon; or rather they were perpetually broken, and had become a dead letter. A reform in the House of Commons, so as to destroy this power of interfering, would be of more service than any law prohibiting it. The Bill of Rights had likewise declared, that elections should be free; but more would have been done towards securing that object, by enacting, that there should be a more frequent and more universal exercise of the right of suffrage, than by the long declaration of rights, on which that Bill was founded; one line to this effect would have been more efficient, than all other laws and resolutions whatever. At the time of the Revolution, the Parliament, called the Convention Parliament, because it was disposed, in some cases, to go counter to the wishes of the Government, was not suffered to remain so long assembled, as to execute the great work of securing the freedom of the representation. It had declared *ex-officio* informations by the Attorney-General to be contrary to the laws of England; and although there was a great spirit of freedom in the Government of that time, yet, like all Governments, it was averse to an abridgement of its assumed powers. *Ex-officio* informations were then declared to be illegal; and the history of this species of proceeding since, would be sufficient to excite our wonder at the change in our sentiments, and to call for a cautious jealousy over our remaining freedom. That proceeding, then denounced by Parliament, was now declared to be law; and power was put into the hands of the Attorney-General, of imprisoning or holding to bail (which was equivalent to the power of imprisonment) any person whom he chose so to treat, on his simple *ex-officio* information. What now became of the law for protecting the liberty of the subject; what became of that law which Lord Coke called

the bulwark of our freedom; our personal security? What signified all that was said about our presumed innocence and perfect impurity till our guilt was declared by a jury of our peers? All this was now mere rhapsody.---[Hear, hear!]---It had no existence, except in the imagination. The Constitution which we were taught to praise so highly, and on which we are desired to rely so firmly, was found too fragile and insecure; and a set of borough-monsters elected a representation, which instead of protecting our freedom, were disposed only to suspend our rights and liberties.---[Hear, hear, hear!]---It was a maxim which he believed could not be disputed, that tyranny was generally greater under the forms of a free Constitution, when perverted, than under an open undisguised exercise of despotic power; and that, at any rate, it was more difficult to be got quit of. This was no new doctrine—it was no French principle; it had been declared by Machiavel, and supported by Montesquieu. This latter writer, who was not a beardless boy newly come from school, but a man who had devoted twenty years of his life to the study of governments, had given it as his opinion, that the liberties of England would perish like those of the ancient republics, when her Parliament became corrupt. But corruption was supposed now to be harmless; it was even defended as a necessary part of the existing system, rather than denounced as tending to the ruin of the Constitution. It had been argued by a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. CANNING), that Government could not go on without it: but he (Sir F. B.) thought he should bring sufficient authorities to overbalance the opinion of that Right Hon. Gentleman, when he stated that all our great men were against it; that there were no less than 150 laws on our statute book denouncing it. It would be pedantry to go into all the great authorities

on this subject, but he might be forgiven for stating the opinion of Mr. Locke, that the corruption of the representation was the very worst of all evils, as it poisoned the source of all laws, and cut up our Constitution by the roots. It would be strange indeed, as had been said by Plato, that that corruption which was thought ruinous in every thing else, should be thought good in Government. In the time of Charles II. although the Parliament, which was suspected, justly, of corruption, had not been free from undue influence, they at least showed the necessity they conceived themselves under to affect purity, by taking an oath, protesting before God, that “neither directly nor indirectly, they, or any of their friends, for their use or with their knowledge, had received any sums of money from the King, or any other person by his Majesty’s order; and that they had not given their vote in Parliament for any reward or promise whatsoever.” This corrupt Parliament had a different opinion from the Right Hon. Gent. with regard to the necessity of being free and independent. It seemed, indeed, extraordinary, that corruption could find its advocates: that the very word was not sufficient to deter from any open undisguised defence. Speaking of corruption, he could not help enlarging a little on the meaning of the phrase, and removing some prejudices and misconceptions which want of explanation had allowed to be entertained. It had a different meaning in the mouths of different persons, and as applied on different occasions. When used by a religious man in opposition to religious principles, it was called sin: in the conduct of those who transgressed the rules of honesty or virtue in private life, it got the name of immorality; and when applied to the conduct of public men in Government matters, it was called political. Political corruption in this classification might be perfectly consistent

with private morality. It might be defined that state in which individual interest was arrayed against public good, and private views influenced public conduct. When Reform was spoken of, it had been said by some, that no reformation of the representation was necessary, but that the electors and the elected should reform themselves, and that then corruption would cease. He remembered Mr. Wyndham, whom he always listened to with pleasure, had made the most ingenious defence of the present system that ever he had heard, which was founded on this maxim. He had, however, in the Hon. Baronet's opinion, misapprehended the question. He had said, that if a vote was given for a job, the person who so bartered his elective rights, was the corrupt person, and not the Minister who gave the place, or the Member who accepted the seat. He inferred from this, that the corruption was among the People, and was greatest at the bottom. This was not the proper view of the matter; and the mistake arose from confounding political with private corruption, which were perfectly distinct in theory, and were often separated in practice. Taking the definition he had formerly given of corruption—namely, an opposition of private interest to public duty, and the natural bias which the former creates against the latter—a House of Commons might be very virtuous as legislators, whose individual private conduct was most corrupt; and, on the other hand, a Parliament might be corrupt which was entirely composed of saints. When he, therefore, spoke of the corruption of the Members of the Legislature, he meant no implied reflection on their private conduct; he believed that in the common intercourse of life they might be all upright in their principles, and honest in their transactions; but when their interests were opposed to their duty, in a Parliamentary sense, he could not but call the House corrupt. Nay, he

would even go farther, and say, that the more honourable the Members were in their private capacity, the more corrupt they might be in their public; as a Member, from a private engagement which his honour might compel him scrupulously to observe, might be prevented from voting on a particular occasion, according to his views of right, and be induced to surrender his seat, when by keeping it, and voting contrary to his patron, his services might be beneficial to the public. Though no Member could be deprived of his seat when he had once obtained it, every one knew that a Gentleman would be reckoned dishonourable who should not obey the instruction of his patron, or resign his seat at his desire. It had often been a question without the walls of Parliament, and within, how far a representative was bound to obey the will, or to act upon the views, of his constituents. All disputes upon this subject would cease by a free election. We often heard of meetings of constituents to remonstrate against the conduct of their representatives; these, likewise, would cease; confidence would be restored between the House and the People; and the People would willingly submit to those laws which should proceed from themselves. Now that confidence did not exist while the representation was in its present state, while the People had not the seats at their disposal, and the Treasury had a market to settle such commodities.—[Hear, hear!]---He brought no particular charges against Ministers; they must act as they did, or otherwise they could not command their majorities; and without such majorities, the Government itself, which emanated from the borough-mongers, could not be carried on. This was the avowed acknowledged state of things; and that practice, at which the Speaker said that our ancestors would have startled with horror, was now openly and unblushingly defended. All

parties had confessed its existence ; and the Noble Lord opposite (Castlereagh), who had been concerned in selling seats, was only more unfortunate than others, in having been detected.---[*A Laugh.*]--He meant no personal attack on the Noble Lord ; nor did he mean to say that he peculiarly ought to be impeached, as he had not been more criminal than others would be with the same opportunities. But the very public avowal of such a violation of the Constitution was of itself a strong argument for putting an end to the present system, which was plunging the country into ruin, and under which, whatever success we might gain, whatever other advantages we might enjoy, liberty could not much longer exist [*Hear, hear !*]---There was a time when such practices would not have been borne by the House : he well remembered, that since he entered Parliament they were not mentioned directly, but always in circumlocutions. When Mr. Pitt introduced his Reform Bill, he said there was a maiden coyness in the House about talking of the sale of seats : this maiden coyness, he was sorry to see, had now worn out [*a laugh.*] The necessity of Reform was apparent. He need not remind the House of the Petitions which had been presented complaining of the grievance of the present system : they had been numerous, and pointed out different remedies. He did not think that the description of any specific plan was necessary : it was enough for him that the grievance was acknowledged, and that a remedy of some kind or other must be applied, which might be left to the wisdom of the House. He would not, therefore, trouble them with entering into any abstruse discussion, or offering any specific opinion. He had shown that the great evil was nomineehip to seats, and he hoped that it would be possible to induce the House to enter into inquiry. The gentlemen all over the country,

who saw their property fast leaving them, who had been accustomed formerly to defend the liberties of their fellow-citizens, but the majority of whom unhappily now thought only of supporting Government, and of giving it strength, while they should be adding to its honesty---who saw this once happy nation the seat of industry, and abounding in capital and credit, changed into a taxed, oppressed, overburdened, and beggared people---would, he thought, now see sufficient reasons for inquiring into the cause of the evil, and applying the proper remedy. [*Hear !*] It was said that our Constitution was a glorious Constitution. Yes, it was so in the books ; it was so in the works of our political writers ; it was so in Montesquieu ; and in the descriptions which our old lawyers and statesmen had given of it : but, practically speaking, there was not more wretchedness, more tampering with liberty, or more corruption in any part of Europe, than prevailed under our boasted Constitution. He hoped, therefore, that the gentlemen of England would see that it was not their interest to fortify this system, that there could be no check or controul over Government without a change in the representation, and that their property would soon leave them, unless there was an immediate change. When the Members who might be returned after the Reform should see, that every time they put their hand in the public purse, they took something out of their own, that profligate and wasteful expenditure of the public money would of course cease. At present, the gentlemen of England saw that they must surrender their comforts, by the enjoyment of which they promoted that of the People---that they must renounce that hospitality by which they were enabled to gratify their own feelings, and to diffuse happiness around them---that they were driven from the seats of their ancestors, and obliged to hide themselves

from the pursuit of their creditors and the tax-gatherers in a foreign land;—could there require any other arguments for Reform? If they would take counsel from their wisdom and not from their fears, they would, instead of passing Acts to oppress the People, step forward for their protection; and would see that the system of corruption was as destructive of their own interests as it was of that of their constituents. He hoped the People would not cease to demand their rights, and would compel a reformation of the abuses complained of. The want of virtue in the representatives of the People, was what the Crown had as much a right to complain of as the People, as both were kept in thralldom by the same oligarchy, and would both be relieved by the same remedy. If the People were always to be met with Bills of severity, when they presented their Petitions; if when they were silent, they were supposed indifferent; and when they spoke out, their liberties were to be suspended, and all the bulwarks of their rights removed; how could we venture to boast of the glories of our Constitution? He would not occupy their time with mentioning any more authorities, though great authorities might be quoted: he might cite Lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, all of whom had supported the measure of Reform. There was one person, however, for whose writings he should always entertain the greatest respect, and who, although he had taken alarm at the beginning of the French Revolution, had deeply felt, and eloquently described, the necessity of rendering the House of Commons a true representation of the People, as well as the evils which sprung from it when it

was not. What the opinions of that great writer might have been, had he lived to this day, he did not know; but these were his words, in the active part of his political life:—“What-ever alterations time and the necessary accommodation of business may have introduced, this character can never be sustained, unless the House of Commons shall be made to bear some stamp of the actual disposition of the People at large. It would (among public misfortunes) be an evil more natural and tolerable, that the House of Commons should be infected with every epidemical frenzy of the People, as this would indicate some consanguinity, some sympathy of nature with their constituents, than that they should, in all cases, be wholly untouched by the opinions and feelings of the People out of doors. By this want of sympathy, they would cease to be a House of Commons; for it is not the derivation of the power of that House from the People, which makes it, in a distinct sense, their representative. For the King is the representative of the People; so are the Lords; so are the Judges. For they are all trustees of the People, as well as the Commons; because no power is given for the sole sake of the holder; and although Government certainly is an institution of divine authority, yet its forms, and the persons who administer it, all originate from the People. A popular origin cannot, therefore, be the characteristical distinction of a popular representative, which belongs equally to all parts of Government; and in all forms. The virtue, spirit, and essence, of a House of Commons, consists in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation.

[To be concluded next week.]

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[Vol. I,

TO READERS.

I very earnestly solicit the endeavours of my friends to extend the circulation of the REGISTER wherever they can.

My present confinement renders this appeal necessary.

W. HONE.

KING'S BENCH PRISON.

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“Here's a pretty kettle of fish,”
said a fractious old housewife to

her husband, who, for want of work, could only bring home half his wages. The cat coming in her way—past services and usefulness being wholly forgotten—she kicked it to the other side of the kitchen; the faithful beseeching dog was cuffed out of doors; she drove the children about and made them cry, and then whipped them for making a noise; and lastly, after frightening and worrying every living thing about her, she began wringing her hands, declared no woman under the sun was ever so teased and worried as herself, and that she would not put up with it!

Now who can be more like unto this silly old woman than His Majesty's Ministers? They find the outgoings more than the comings in; that they spend more than they receive; that the People are over-taxed and distressed; that many of them drop down dead in the public streets, for want of food; and that there is no more money to be got from them: they then, in a fit of passion, toss a few poor helpless creatures into jail, who are rather objects of pity than punishment; they thrust gagging Bills into the throats of those who cry against their enormities; they suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, to keep in solitary cells, without trial, men whom they suspect of

treasonably denying their right to do wrong, and of other heinous offences; they, against the sense of the People of England, propose, in the House of Lords, to further suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, on pretences which they refer to a Secret Committee; they the next day, this present 4th of June, set the bells a-ringing, whether for the success of their unconstitutional and outrageous proposition last night, or because yesterday was *my* birthday, or because to-day is the *King's*, the reader may guess; but I do assure him, that between the said bells this morning, and the high wind which blew against my prison window all night, I got no rest; to-morrow they prepare to try Mr. WOOLER, for saying that our ancestors did not *petition* King JOHN for Magna Charta, whom they charge Mr. WOOLER to have libelled by so saying, though I cannot see *how*, inasmuch as it is well known, that the Barons *cutgelled* the Charter out of the said poor dear, dead, and now, it appears, never-enough-to-be-beloved King; on Friday or Saturday they bring up Mr. BUTT for judgment; and on Monday they try the unfortunate WATSON, and the other prisoners in the Tower, on charges of High Treason:—so that, what with the decreasing revenue, the increasing distress, and the number of prisoners and prosecutions, Ministers have, as the old woman said, “*a pretty kettle of fish*” upon their hands. I forgot the three *ex-officio* informations against myself, by the by, which come across their minds rather frequently, I imagine; for my Lord SIDMOUTH takes or makes

an opportunity of crying out *blasphemy* in the House of Lords much oftener than there seems occasion for it; and, if I may guess by the report out of doors, full as loudly as foolish Joan, in the puppet show, who unmercifully squalls “murder” at least three times for every blow Punch bestows upon her wooden head. The Noble Secretary of State is extremely welcome to play upon this *chord of blasphemy* as much as he pleases—it will soon cease to vibrate, and like a school-boy, with a Jew's harp, he will tire with the *strum*. The new evening paper, the *Guardian*, says, with truth, “*blasphemy* and *treason* are any thing which persons in office do not *like*. The Jews told CHRIST, when he was preaching the doctrines of universal charity and peace, that he was talking *blasphemy*; and we remember, that speakers at public meetings, who have complained that the House of Commons did not represent the People, have been told that they have been talking *treason*.” Mr. WOOLER, in the *Black Dwarf*, remarking on the *ex-officio* informations, charging *blasphemy* upon me, for the parodies, says:—

“The parodies are confessedly *political squibs*; and if they contain any political offence, why are they not treated in a political point of view, and the “front and head of their offending” set fairly before the public? Was it deemed necessary to awaken against Mr. HONE a spirit of *religious animosity*, lest his political offence might be deemed too venial for punishment? In this case, the Crown Prosecutors are acting under a masqued battery; they

are assailing the politics of the man, under the pretence that the church is in danger, and the interests of society concerned in his punishment. The charge of *blasphemy* is so very indefinite, that no man will venture to abide by a general definition of the term. It is blasphemy at Rome to deny the infallibility of the Pope, or to refuse to kiss his Holiness' toe, or not to worship the Virgin Mary. In Turkey, it is blasphemy to deny the mission of Mahomet; and every sect throughout the world has a blasphemy peculiar to its creed. Thus all are blasphemers, or none are blasphemers. The power who will finally decide upon the merits of his creatures is the only judge of what is blasphemy, and what is not; and we are not inclined to believe that he ever delegated his authority to an English Attorney-General."

The *Guardian*, in its leading article of yesterday, from which I before quoted, puts the charge of *blasphemy* against me in a light which clearly shows the scandalous falsehood of the allegation. It observes as follows:—

"When we hear the Ministerial prints talk of *blasphemy*, we are naturally led to inquire after the prosecutions on this subject. The first prosecution of this kind, was that of Mr. WRIGHT, who was accused of blasphemy, for maintaining the resurrection of the body—a doctrine which has been maintained by some learned Churchmen, and which is laid down in so many words in one of our Creeds. A pretty commentary this, on the propriety of allowing Justices of Peace to commit to prison, on the

oath of common informers, persons charged with such offences. The only other case we know of, is that of Mr. HONE, who is charged on *three* several informations with *blasphemous parodies*. It has turned out that these productions are not even alleged to be parodies of any parts of Scripture, but of certain parts of the Form of Prayer, established for the use of the Church of England, and of the Catechism, which is a formula for the examination of young persons, as to the tenets of that church. It will be for the Jury to decide, whether they were intended to ridicule those *formulae*, and whether such ridicule be allowable,—or whether, on the other hand, they were intended to ridicule certain corruptions in the State; in which case Mr. HONE will be acquitted. It does not necessarily follow that parodies are intended to ridicule the thing parodied. Can any man be absurd enough to suppose, that the exquisite parodies of the Odes of HORACE, which were published in the "*Two-penny Post-bag*," were intended to ridicule the admirable originals?—There was Mr. CANNING's parody of the 148th Psalm, or of MILTON's noble paraphrase of it—does any one say, that Mr. CANNING intended to ridicule MILTON, or the Psalmist?—He associated the noble ideas of the original with very low and ridiculous ones, merely with the view of impressing more strongly on the mind, the sarcasms which he threw out against his political enemies. But we must here remark, there is a wide difference between parodies of forms of prayer, or creeds, or cate-

chisms, confessed by all to be the productions of mere fallible mortals, and parodies on the Scriptures, such as that of Mr. CANNING. If Mr. HONE were to go north of the Tweed with his Parodies on the Church of England Prayer, even supposing his main object to have been, as the information charges him, to ridicule that form of prayer (which we do not know to be the fact, as the only one of them which we have seen certainly did not to us exhibit any appearance of such an intention), he would be received with open arms by the most pious and zealous of our northern brethren. So far are they from thinking any ridicule too bad for such forms of prayer, that they lavish on them terms which, after the information against Mr. HONE, we hardly feel ourselves safe in repeating. They call them inventions of the Devil—nets for weak souls—idolatrous and popish contrivances. As to Mr. HONE's parodies, we know little of them; but we have thought fit to make these observations on such parodies in general, because we are persuaded, that persons utterly devoid of any religious principle take advantage of the religious spirit which is increasing in the country, to direct the popular indignation against their opponents, and to reconcile the unreflecting to the suspension of their liberties."

It must not be supposed, from my quotations on this subject of *blasphemy*, that I am desirous of shrinking from the charge, or that I am unwilling to refute its calumny. I call it calumny, because it is *false*. There is no-

thing in an *ex-officio* information which essentially implies that what it charges is true; and these three informations against me, ultimately, I shall have ample opportunity of proving to be *untrue*. In the mean time, let the reader peruse the following, which is also extracted from yesterday's *Guardian*, and then say whether its tendency is to ridicule the opening scene of the fourth act of Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, or the farce now performing by the Prince Regent's Ministers.

PARODY.

Scene—A Council Chamber; in the middle a Green-bag wide open—Candles and Sealing Wax.

Bell rings—Enter three Privy Conjurors.

1st P. C. Thrice has E—N dropp'd a tear.

2d P. C. Thrice; and once the Doctor whin'd.

3d P. C. The bag's prepar'd—'tis time, 'tis time.

1st P. C. Round about the *green bag* go;
In the tainted matter throw—
Bruin of hungry Spencean wight,
Unfed by day, uncouch'd by night,
Diseas'd by suffering, craz'd by care,

Into the green-bag first repair!

All. Double, double, toil and trouble;
Shake the bag; and form the bubble.

2d. P. C. Hir'd informer's *double tongue*,
First prompting, then revealing wrong;

Rancour of Magisterial tool;
Sense of Town Clerk of Liverpool;

A story of a Club or two,
With fact and inference both untrue;

Will give due powers to those who need 'em,

To shop the rogues who talk of freedom.

All. Double, double, toil and trouble;
Shake the bag; and form the bubble.

3d. P. C. *Gall* of a Reverend Hypocrite,
Who freedom damns from Holy Writ;

Of Brunswick's Knights the *blunder vital*,

Which taints the source of Brunswick's title;

Slaver of pension'd bard forlorn,

Made mad by universal *scorn*;

Sophists' *mummy* from Lay-Sermon,

Will also tend to speed the charm on.

A dash of *Slander*, spice of *Cant*,

To prove the impiety of *Want*;

And now and then a contribution

Of *phrase* portending *revolution*.

All. Double, double, toil and trouble;

Shake the bag; and form the bubble.

2d P. C. Throw in a *pike-head*, sign of blood;

Then the charm is firm and good.

Enter Prime Conjuror, and Six other Conjurors.

Prime C. O, well done; I commend your pains;

And every one shall share i' the gains.

Tho' clipp'd the wings of *Sinecure*,

The two-and-forty thousand's *sure*;

Now round the green-bag take your station,

And bawl for aid to save the nation.

SONG.

Black hirelings and white,

We pray you appear;

There's a Call of the House,

And you all must be there.

The fear-stricken Tories

Will join in a pack,

And yield to the spell

Of the mystical sack.

1st P. C. By the pricking of my thumbs,
Some *all-believing* noodle comes:
Open locks, whoever knocks,

Enter JOHN BULL.

Cætera desunt.]

Though JOHN BULL has a tolerable share of *credulity*, yet I am of opinion he has much less than he had two years ago. To use an old saying, *the black ox has trod upon his toes*, and he begins to see things as they are. Even the *Pittites* are giving way—

getting less believing, less impudent—*actually* less impudent.

There was a dinner the other day of the *PITT Club*, and the Lord Chancellor ELDON, who was Mr. PITT's intimate friend, cut a most conspicuous figure at this dinner. It was the anniversary of the great man's birth-day, to celebrate which the club was founded. Mr. CANNING wrote a song for this club, called *the Pilot that weather'd the Storm*.

It was a very impudent one, to be sure, for the *pilot* was Mr. PITT; but the people it was for, were independent and brazen-faced, and sang it at every Anniversary, until this year; when *feeling* that the "storm" is still blowing *great guns*, as the seamen say, they had the decency not to sing it; and next year, if things go on progressively, we may fairly reckon upon the *PITT Club* singing the witty parody upon it, entitled *The Pilot that took to his Boat in the Storm*.

There is another ground, too, on which this show of modesty may be accounted for—they know that things cannot be carried with a high hand *for ever*, against the sense of the whole nation. The PITT system has had a rebuff in Scotland, which must convince its supporters, that it is on the *go*—that its rottenness stinks in the noses of the People. The Scotch Lord-Advocate has abandoned certain capital prosecutions he had commenced against persons whose acquittal on such charges was too certain; and a decision at Edinburgh has gone well nigh to shake reliance upon spies, who, by their perjuries, would lay the most honest and best men victims at the feet

of power. The Rev. NIEL DOUGLAS, an aged and most respectable Universalist preacher, in Stockwell Street, Glasgow, was indicted in the High Court of Justiciary, for that he did “wickedly, slanderously, falsely, and “seditiously assert, and draw a “parallel between *his Majesty* “and *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of “Babylon, remarking and insinuating, that, like the said “King of Babylon, his Majesty “was driven from the society of “men, for infidelity and corruption; and did farther, wickedly, “&c. assert, that his Royal Highness the *PRINCE REGENT* “*was a poor infatuated wretch,* “*or a poor infatuated devotee of* “*Bacchus*, or use expressions “of similar import; and did “wickedly, &c. assert, and draw “a parallel between his Royal “Highness the *PRINCE REGENT* “and *Belshazzar*, King of Babylon, remarking and insinuating, “that his Royal Highness, like “the said King of Babylon, had “not taken warning from the example of his father; and that a “similar fate to that of the said “King of Babylon awaited his “Royal Highness, if he did not “amend his ways, and listen to the “voice of his People. And farther, “did wickedly, &c. assert, that “the House of Commons, was “*corrupt*, and that the *Members* “*thereof were thieves and robbers*; that *seats in the said* “*House of Parliament were sold* “*like bullocks in a market* ;” &c. On the trial of this indictment, Mr. NEIL DOUGLAS was acquitted, and the supporters of informers were disappointed.

Nor has the PITT system gained much by the conviction of

Mr. BUTT, towards whom, resentment, even in his enemies, should, from his unfortunate situation, and on many accounts, give place to more generous feeling. I believe him to be an unfortunate, a much-injured gentleman, whose reverses, long confinement, strong feelings, and intense thinking on his own case, by no means qualify him to place himself fairly before the public eye, and who surely might have been spared taunt and reproach, at least at this time. Mr. BUTT is now prisoner here, and goes up to Court on Friday, to receive sentence for libels on Lord ELLENBOROUGH, and Lord CASTLEREAGH. Since his trial, a coloured print has been introduced here, in ridicule of Mr. BUTT's present condition. It is entitled “ALL BUTT!” and presents a caricature likeness of him, with a large roll under his arm, labelled “*Imbecilities*.” He is directing a bill-sticker, who is posting Lord ELLENBOROUGH and Lord CASTLEREAGH's names against the wall of a house: behind Mr. BUTT is a finger post, directing to the King's Bench, Newgate, Gloucester Goal, and Bethlehem, and indicating that Gloucester Goal, or Bethlehem, or both, are to be the fate of Mr. BUTT. The intimation is too gross to be mistaken, and too shocking not to be treated with indignation by every honourable mind. The author of this cruel deliberate insult to Mr. BUTT, is named RANDOM, otherwise BERENGER. He is the person who, as Baron de BURGH, practised the *hoax* on the Stock Exchange, and is now a prisoner here, and a very conspicuous personage, being habituated, for aught I know to the con-

trary, in what Lord ELLENBOROUGH called "*the costume of his crime*:" his dress is that of a rifleman, with a square trencher cap, and mustachios on his upper lip. I should not have noticed this person, or his singularities, but for the unmanly attack upon a gentleman, who I really believe to be the victim of that conspiracy, wherein BERENGER himself was the most distinguished character. The man's double allusion to the supposed infirmity of Mr. BUTT's mental faculties, is base and unfeeling, and his suggestion of imprisonment in *Gloucester Goal*, marks a mind which might be envied by a chief of Pandours, or a Malay. The print is hung up publicly in the prison; that is, with as much publicity, as being framed and glazed, and displayed in a *haberdasher's* shop, can give to it. BERENGER, I am informed, is a *very loyal* man. For him, therefore, the renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act has no terrors, and Gagging Bills are as sheets of blank paper. He has the merit which was ascribed to Mr. C. W. WYNN, whose recommendation to the notice of the House of Commons for its Speaker, consisted, it seems, in having assented to the present suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. "*Such impartiality*," said his eulogist and supporter, Mr. WILBERFORCE, "*peculiarly fitted him (Mr. WYNN) for a situation, for which independence of mind was one of the most essential qualifications.*" Mr. WILBERFORCE's hint, however, was thrown away upon the Honourable House, who, notwithstanding Mr. WYNN is the friend of Mr. SOUTHEY,—

another recommendation,—chose Mr. MANNERS SUTTON, in order that Mr. ABBOTT, sinking under the fatigues of business, might become Lord COLCHESTER, with a pension, and undertake the arduous duties of a Peer of Parliament. The rumour of Lord COLCHESTER taking Lord SIDMOUTH's place, as Secretary of State, is obviously circulated to bring Lord COLCHESTER into contempt; inasmuch as the ill health which compelled him to retire from the Speaker's chair, disqualifies him from managing the concerns of the Home Department.

Before the publication of my next number, I shall, in all probability, be brought before the Court of King's Bench; there, in the language of the Rule of Court, to *undergo*—I know not what. For the present, I remain its prisoner.

WILLIAM HONE.

King's Bench Prison,
No. 2 in No. 7,
4th June, 1817.

CAUSES

OF OUR

PRESENT CONDITION.

It is an established maxim, that the plenty or scarcity of every commodity regulates its price; and it is a principle now so thoroughly established, that notwithstanding the public are frequently amused with an account of the machinations of bakers and butchers, forestallers and monopolizers, scarcely any circumstances can materially dis-

turb it. It requires no argument to prove, that the value of labour is subject to the same laws as every other purchaseable commodity; and if so, it necessarily follows, that its present great depreciation arises from its inordinate *abundance*. In the United States, a common day labourer, who has only his bodily powers to offer, receives about 5s. and one who understands any handicraft trade, from 10s. to 15s. per day; from hence we may infer, that the quantity of marketable labour is comparatively small, and the reason is sufficiently obvious. In that immense and beautiful region, embracing various climates, and yielding the productions of all, a competence is within the reach of all her citizens. If to labour for himself be irksome to any, means of emancipation is easily attained; their common country offers her capacious bosom to all; there is enough, and to spare. It is true that her government has not yet received the stamp of *legitimacy*, and consequently knows nothing of the worth of her population, nor what a mine of wealth might by ingenuity be extracted from it. She seems totally regardless of the example of this country, "the pride and envy of the world," and of that maxim in *Hudibras*, that the "value of a thing is just as much as it will bring;" hence the insignificance of her revenue; and, contrary to the practice of regular governments, she appears to strive not how much, but how little she can raise. But to return—it well behoves us to inquire by what means that important and valuable part of the community, from

whom originate all our necessities and all our comforts, should themselves be destitute of both. The price that has been quoted as the value of American labour per day, is about the value of an Englishman's labour for a week. The American can therefore relax frequently from his labour, and is not under the necessity of *incessant* application to his allotted task to prevent starvation—this is a fate reserved for Englishmen, and is alike destructive of mind and body: the American has also the advantage of being able to obtain a little land almost gratuitously, whereby, in the hours of relaxation, he has a ready resource both for pleasure and profit.

By what fatality is the bulk of the English nation reduced to such a state of degradation? Is it because they want industry, skill, or courage? No. In these points they are certainly not inferior to their ancestors, nor to any nation on the globe. Is it from a want of trade, as some people fondly pretend? No. The unnatural extension of her trade has caused all her miseries, and the want of it will, I hope, work out her salvation; for if we have not the means of existence within ourselves, "there is no health in us."—We must return to the paths of "temperance, soberness, and chastity—not covet nor desire other men's goods, but learn and labour truly to get our own living." Our wandering from the paths of soberness has occasioned all our miseries. Our trade has not resembled the gentle stream that gladdens and fertilizes a country: it has been the torrent swollen with the tears

and blood of an afflicted world, and by its reaction has been at once the effect and cause of its numberless calamities. It is true that a considerable proportion of our population have ascended in the social scale, and from merchants have become princes; it is equally true, that an infinitely greater proportion, from decent competence, have sunk to absolute want: the same cause has produced both effects. In the delirium of an artificial prosperity, our merchants have administered freely (by way of loan) to the voracious appetite of government; and this *profitable patriotism* has in each successive instance driven the middle classes a step lower in the scale of degradation. These merchants themselves, corrupt from their unnatural gains, have corrupted the atmosphere in which they breathe; and the lowest of their hirelings have been taught to bespatter with abuse the purest characters of their country. Many of us remember with what indecent exultation the news of the rupture of the treaty of Amiens was received at the Royal Exchange: no inquiry as to its justice or injustice, or even into the cause; it is sufficient that fresh slaughter and devastation will ensue, and consequently fresh scenes of gain will open. Can we, after this, so belibel the French nation, as to say that her population exclusively fight for plunder? It is in the recollection, also, of many of us, that at the important period alluded to, the statesman then at the head of administration, distinguished alike for his imbecility in conducting the foreign relations of his country,

and the vigour of his attacks on her rights and liberties, for the first time was informed that Malta, which he had agreed by treaty to cede to France, was a place of considerable importance; then began that system of vacillation, which ended in a rupture of the treaty, and the commencement of a war the most bloody and expensive that this country ever waged. It should, however, never be forgotten, that the cause assigned for the war by this pious statesman, was the enormous collection of troops on the opposite coast; the falsehood of this declaration is notorious to all Europe—it was publicly denied by the French government at the time, and was never confirmed by any Englishman then residing in that country. Well did that illustrious statesman, whose political life was devoted to the true interests of his country, predict that the new war would be more grievous than the old one, and that England would long lament the infatuation of Ministers. It is now too obvious, that between the higher and lower classes, “there is a great gulf fixed,” and that a very great proportion of the middle classes are precipitated into want and wretchedness. Who that has noticed the Gazettes of late years, and knows that the bankrupts then published bear no proportion to those that are not published, but must see how the evil has been increasing; and yet, on the surface, all looks smiling. Carriages and equipages beyond number attract the gaze of the multitude; “but the head is sick, and the whole heart is faint.”

Well might the Hebrew sage desire "neither poverty nor riches;" the former debases, the latter corrupts the heart: both are necessary to prepare a nation for slavery. Each class believing that its interest is distinct from the other, all community of feeling is destroyed. To discover how small a portion of patriotism falls to the lot of the wealthy, we need only look to the "universal Spanish nation;" the honour and independence of their country being alone maintained by the "People"—by that class who had apparently the least interest. Perhaps no country in the world exhibits the mediocrity of wealth so much as the American Republic; long may she continue this bright example, the best pledge of her virtue and happiness. On the other hand, no country, with the exception of Ireland, displays at once so much bloated wealth and emaciated poverty as this. In the one state, the vital current moves heavily through the main arteries only: in the other, it pervades the minutest vessels, and infuses to the extremest parts the blessings of health and activity. Let us not, however, despair; there is abundant cause for hope; the light of knowledge has gone forth, and cannot be extinguished. Amidst all the distresses of the times, there is no want of patriotism, courage, or talent, to assert rights that are now ascertained. Nearly half a century ago, the evils of wealth, and consequent poverty, was admirably described by one of our most illustrious poets.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
When *wealth* accumulates, and *men* decay;

Princes and Lords may flourish, and may
fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has
made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroy'd, can never be supplied.
A time there was, ere England's 'griefs
began,
When every rood of ground maintain'd its
man;
For him light labour spread her wholesome
store,
Just gave what life requir'd, but gave no
more;
Her best companions innocence and
health,
And her best riches ignorance of wealth.
But times are alter'd: trade's unfeeling
train
Usurp the land, and desolate the plain."
GOLDSMITH.

When this was written, the coming storm was in the horizon, "a cloud, no bigger than a man's hand"; it has now outspread, and ravaged the land. That the sun of truth "may arise with healing in his wings," and bring joy and gladness to our country, is the wish of

R. M.

POVERTY

AND

CHILD MURDER;

By SIR G. O. PAUL, BART.

[From an able Address, delivered by him, as Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, to his Brother Magistrates, at Gloucester—the numerous charges of CHILD MURDER, at this time, render this Article peculiarly interesting.]

WHEN led to contemplate the objects of a strict execution of the laws, it is not easy—and certainly I shall not persuade myself—to pass, unobserved, the number of women who have been of late years imprisoned, under the statute of 7 James, c. iv. technically for being "*lewd women*," but, in fact, on account of their INABILITY to prevent their bastard children from becoming chargeable to a parish.

These women have been nearly the *only* persons who have been condemned to try the possibility of existing for one whole year on bread and water for sustenance. They have thus been sentenced to a longer confinement, and of course, to a more severe punishment, than any *one* of the 533 petty thieves (convicted at Gloucester), or than the one half of the felons convicted of larceny.

The contemplation of this law never enters my mind without disgust. I execrate equally its principle and its consequences; nor will I rest until I shall have found a friend in Parliament, so far a friend to rational legislation, as to *attempt* its repeal, or, at least, to diminish the severity of its penalty.

I am aware of the disposition of some Magistrates who hear me, to impute a levity in moral, to my observations on this law. But being conscious of right in point both of morality and policy; I am regardless of comments on my motives, whether they be the airy offspring of a lively fancy, or the serious allusions of an austere judgment.

I know that many good men and excellent Magistrates receive, and even encourage these informations, conscientiously, and from a zeal to punish immorality; but if this be a law, having the furtherance of public moral as its ultimate result, my mind must be most unhappily perverse, in drawing a conclusion from premises. The preamble, after reciting that "because great charge ariseth upon many places within this realm, by reason of bastardy," adds, as a sort of codicil, "*besides* the great dishonour of Almighty God." It proceeds to enact, not that *every lewd woman* shall be committed to an House of Correction;---no! not even that *every lewd woman*, who shall have a bastard born of her incontinence; but that "*every lewd woman* who shall have any bastard *which may be CHARGEABLE* to a parish; the

Justices of the Peace *shall* commit such lewd woman to the House of Correction, there to be *punished*, and set on work, during the term of *one whole year.*"

It is not then the *immorality* of the act of incontinence; it is not even the conceiving from that act, and the producing a spurious issue; but it is the extraneous and accidental circumstance of the POVERTY of the parties engaged---it is the destitute situation of the parents---which constitutes the *corpus delicti* of this clause, and which is declared emphatically to produce "*dishonour to Almighty God.*" How profane is the application of such terms to such occasions and for such purposes! Here it is the mere ejaculation of a Puritan; it is the cant of the day in which the law was passed. Incontinence may walk the streets in public prostitution, insulting all it meets, provided it be *barren* prostitution: and it is known, that *the most prostitute are the most barren.* Prostitution may proclaim itself in splendid establishment;---the daughters of honest citizens may be debauched by men possessing 50l. to indemnify a parish claim. Yet here the legal moralist is silent---mute is this monitor of religious decorum. Here are no means provided, nor is there even a purpose shown, to punish *these* offences.

In truth, we know that the act of incontinence is *not* directly and *substantively* acknowledged as a criminal offence by any municipal law on the statute book; the cognizance of it, as an offence to religion and public decorum, it has hitherto been thought fit to leave to the *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction.

I contend, therefore, that the enactment in question is no other than a law of parochial economy, ordaining a punishment as a satisfaction for a pecuniary burden, resulting to a parochial body from a certain act and deed; and that as such, it is inequitable,---for as much as it attaches

only to one of two parties, necessarily joint-participators in that act and deed.

As a law, then, in support of public decorum, it is futile and fallacious; because a *barren* women, the most debauched and profligate, is not within its penalty; and for as much as a woman blessed with a competency to maintain a child, or who is connected with a man who is so blessed, is out of the reach of its provisions. But a woman, being the mother of a child *living*, who *cannot*, or *will not* father that child on a person possessing property sufficient to indemnify; she is liable to the penalty of this statute; and she is thus liable *over and above* her further liability to a punishment by another law, together with the man who has been party to her misdeed.

But setting aside feeling, let us examine the policy of this law. Let us look to the acts which will naturally suggest themselves to the mind of a pregnant woman, trembling under the terrible apprehension of this punishment. The first, and, of many bad, the least horrible is to father the child on a person able to indemnify the parish, and by that indemnification, to secure herself from punishment. The next act which may occur to her alarmed mind, may be to add to her misconduct, the horrid crime of destroying the *foetus in utero*. And, let me ask, *is it possible for a Magistrate, who has visited a woman confined in prison, under this severe sentence, with a child drawing nourishment from her emaciated breast, not to see in the situation, an inducement to CHILD MURDER?* I must add to the list of consequences, from my own observation, that I should apprehend the death of the child or the mother, or of both indeed, no improbable consequence, when committed to prisons where the allowance of food is small, and where the visiting Justices may possibly not be watchful over the particular state of each individual prisoner.

A woman, whom I found in a prison, committed under this statute, on account of her first child, *within a month after it was born*—asked me, pertinently, “why the man who had seduced her, was not to be imprisoned as well as herself?” I could only answer, “because *women* were not legislators, and *men* were parish officers.”

Let us next look to the very summary mode of proceeding under this act. “*Every lewd woman who shall have any bastard which may be chargeable to the parish, the Justices shall commit,*” &c. These words import no judicial discretion in the Magistrate. Is not the proposition, then, too monstrous to be reconciled to any general principle of our laws? As well might we say, that every person who is indebted, or causes an expense to any other person, or bodies of persons, shall be imprisoned *on the mere demand of the creditor*, for a year, with hard labour, and bread and water.

The Justices of the Peace (probably meaning two), must *ministerially* commit *every* woman, having a bastard chargeable to a parish, on the dictum of an overseer of the poor; *on proof of the simple fact of a charge of sixpence to the parochial rate*. Nay, more, here is an equivocal “*may be*” to be added to the account. Is it denied that such is the construction of this law? If not, then are we not alarmed at the mass of mischievous consequences which we may be called upon to ordain to-morrow? May not 500, nay, may not 1000 women be immediately immured in the prisons of this county? I have reason to believe that such an extensive execution of the law, as, if generally adopted, would lead to this effect, has really been in contemplation, in some parts of this county.

Why, Gentlemen, a woman reclaimed---a woman subsequently married, and settled in life---may have “a bastard chargeable.” You may

perhaps think I put this case hypothetically; I tell you I put it practically: I not only know such commitments may be, but that they have been made. If called upon to justify the assertion, be not surprised, if I produce to you the certificate of a marriage in one week, and the commitment of the bride, under this law, in the next. But it is said, "true!" "such is the power of the parish officer; yet he never uses it to its extent. He keeps the law in his hand in *terrorem*; he exercises it at his discretion, only in particular instances of outrageous immoral behaviour; perhaps on some particular act of contumacy to the parochial will." Does he so? Then this gives to the law a colour tenfold more dangerous and oppressive. With the terror over the whole, the victims are selected. By whom? By the parochial overseer. By what criterion of comparative offence does he select?---Is it by degree of offence towards God or towards man?---towards others or towards himself? Does the decision always depend on a mind so pure, that personal offence, or personal attachment, has no share in its decrees?

I can only say, with regard to the specimens of selection, which I have seen in the course of my visits to the various prisons of this county, which, of late, are rarely without such inhabitants, that they have not been chosen from amongst those of the most seducing appearance;---not from those most likely to be seduced to a repetition of the offence;---and most certainly not, apparently, from the most impudent and depraved.

On one of my visits to a prison, I found a woman, who had been committed for a year, on the application of a hired keeper of a workhouse, into which she had been received, as a pauper, in a state of pregnancy, to be delivered. I learned from the Magistrates who committed her, that the applicant on the part of the parish,

had enforced his plea for her commitment, by assuring them that the woman in her labour had attempted to smother her infant.

This was a serious charge, and probably designed to excite a resentment in the minds of the Magistrates. But the smothering the child had nothing to do with the statute of James, and was irrelevant to the application. If true, it might subject the woman to a heavier criminal charge, which ought to have been preferred against her. *The statute, on which the officer applied to the Magistrates, inflicts its punishment for the having a child LIVING,---not for the endeavour to DESTROY it.* And, if true---which, for the sake of argument, *only*, I will admit---may I not, in support of my hypothesis, and without violating probability, assume, that the mind of a woman, in her situation, might be prompted to such a thought, by the dread of the punishment which she knew awaited her, the moment she arose from her bed, if her child should then be *living*.

And what is the consequence of this harsh spirit of legislation?---Such as will ever be the result of *harsh laws*.---Magistrates endeavour either to evade the execution of them, or *they shrink from the severity of their own convictions!*

SIR F. BURDETT'S

SPEECH ON REFORM,

Concluded from page 602.

"It was not instituted to be a controul upon the People—as of late it has been taught, by a doctrine of the most pernicious tendency—but as a controul for the People. Other institutions have been formed for the purpose of checking popular excesses; and they are, I apprehend, fully ade-

quate to their object. If not, they ought to be made so. But the House of Commons, as it was never intended for the support of peace and subordination, is miserably appointed for that service; having no stronger weapon than its mace, and no better officer than its Serjeant at Arms, which it can command of its own proper authority. A vigilant and jealous eye over executory and judicial magistracy; an anxious care of public money; an openness, approaching towards facility, to public complaint;—these seem to be the true characteristics of a House of Commons. But an addressing House of Commons, and a petitioning nation; a House of Commons full of confidence, when the nation is plunged in despair; in the utmost harmony with Ministers, whom the People regard with the utmost abhorrence; who vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon them for impeachments; who are eager to grant, when the general voice demands reckoning and account; who, in all disputes between the People and Administration, presume against the People; who punish their disorders, but refuse even to inquire into the provocations to them:—this is an unnatural, a monstrous state of things in this Constitution.” He wished the Gentlemen of England would keep one fact in mind—that ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY BOROUGH PROPRIETORS *had the property, the liberty, and the lives of this great nation at their disposal; that by their agents they constituted the executive, or domineered over it; that they had become King, Lords, and Commons, and excluded every other power from the Constitution* (Hear, hear, hear!)—and he asked them, if they would allow this state of things to continue? The Roman empire had been set up for sale by the corruption of its legislature; and the Athenians were so attentive to the purity of theirs, that it was declared high treason for any one,

not a citizen, to intrude into the legislative assembly. So long as such a House of Commons as that which he had described should continue in the country, neither foreign nor domestic dangers would create alarm. He wished to see no other House of Commons, than that which answered to the description by a great man of what a House of Commons ought to be. He called Mr. Burke a great man, because it was an epithet due to his extraordinary abilities, and to those principles which he had so strenuously supported during the greater portion of his life, whatever had been his subsequent departure from them, or whatever had been its cause. Mr. Burke had indeed gone farther, and declared it to be better that the House should partake of every epidemical frenzy of the People, than that it should show a perpetual jealousy of their rights. It was not, however, a jealousy of which he now complained; it was an open hostility to popular rights, a want of all common feeling with the country at large, and a cheaply-won character of magnanimity, in affecting to despise what was called the clamour of the People. This appeared to him, he confessed, to be hardly decent; but as he did not think it right to take upon himself to point out what particular course it might be most advisable to pursue, he could only entertain hopes, that the House would consent to an inquiry into the facts and allegations contained in the Petitions. Most particularly he trusted, that the Committee, if appointed, would direct its attention to the alleged nomination of Members by Peers; a nomination which could not be practised but in defiance of all law, decency, and reason. It was upon these views of the difference between the Constitution as it now existed, and as it was settled at the Revolution, that he invited the House to listen to his proposition. Our present practice had varied from the standard then

established, in many important points. It had been judged necessary at that period to enact, that every Privy Counsellor should subscribe his name to a copy of the advice which he gave his Sovereign. Another regulation had for its object, the exclusion of persons holding offices under the Crown from seats in Parliament. Every thing, however, which had been interposed as a security against the encroachments of power had been either taken away, or had been suffered to become a dead letter. Nothing could furnish a more decisive proof that the House of Commons had lost its former connexion with the People; that they no longer regarded themselves as their stewards or servants, but as a master, uniting in himself all the different springs and species of authority. Whatever might be thought of the wisdom or expediency of annual Parliaments at present, it was not true that they were unknown to the history of the Constitution; in the discussions on the Triennial Act, the contrary was maintained by the most eminent public characters of that day. With regard to the Septennial Act, indeed, he wished to say no more, than to allude to the opinion expressed of it by Dr. Johnson, who, he supposed, if living, would now be considered as a jacobin. [*A laugh.*] Dr. Johnson, when reprobating as unconstitutional, the measure by which twelve persons were raised, during the reign of Queen Anne, at one time to the Peerage, speaks of it as nothing equal or approaching to the contempt of all human right, and of all human means of asserting it, which was exemplified in passing the Septennial Act. But the pretence then was, the existence of a Popish faction; another proof of the aversion which had so long prevailed to trust to the sense and wishes of the country. He believed that this pretence was now abandoned, but with very little alteration even in its name. The dread was no

longer excited by a jacobitical but jacobinical party. Believing, however, as he did, that there was no danger to be apprehended, except by the Government continuing to do wrong, and still more to alienate instead of regaining the affections of the People, by restoring to them their undoubted rights, he should conclude by moving :—

“That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the representation of the country, and to report their observations to the House.”

THE LATE

EDWARD RUSHTON,

AND

ROBERT SOUTHEY,

THE LAUREATE.

Mr. RUSHTON, of Liverpool, a patriot, a poet, and an excellent man, of whom, when he died, Mr. ROSCOE said, he was “the last of the Romans,” was visited a few years ago by Mr. SOUTHEY. That gentleman was then neither Poet-Laureate, nor pensioner. Genius is not confined to aristocracy—RUSHTON was a bookseller, and SOUTHEY took his leave of RUSHTON, who, like MILTON, was blind, across the shop counter, in these words, “If you come to the Lakes, and visit me, you will find a man as fond of poetry and *LIBERTY* as yourself.” They squeezed each other’s hands, and parted. RUSHTON lived to recover his eye-sight, to see SOUTHEY Poet-Laureate, to read

his *Carmen Triumphale*, and to write the following

Poem

TO MR. SOUTHEY.

When man's great curse, despotic sway,
Sweeps myriads from the realms of day ;
When wide o'er all the Christian world
Destruction's banners are unfurl'd ;
When Europe with exhaustion reels,
Yet nor remorse nor pity feels ;
At this dread period SOUTHEY stands,
The wild harp trembling in his hands ;—
And whilst *fanatic furor* fires his mind,
“ *Glory to God,*” he cries, *deliverance for*
mankind !”*

Ah, SOUTHEY, if thy boyish brood
Were prone to shed each other's blood,
Thou could'st not with unruffled mein
Behold the agonizing scene :
Why then suppose the Sire of All
Is pleased to see his creature's fall ;
Why then, if carnage strew the ground,
And groans, and shrieks, and yells abound ;
Why then, if ruthless havoc lord it wide,
Should *bigot rage* exult, and God be glorified?

I grieve when earth is drench'd with gore,
And realms with woe are covered o'er ;
I grieve, and reprobate the plan
Of thanking God for slaughter'd man :
Nor can I hope that lawless sway,
Fierce as a tiger o'er his prey,
Will ever uncompelled resign
That power the *priest* proclaims *divine* :
No, SOUTHEY, no! *oppressors* ne'er unbind ;
“Tis *man*—high-minded man must *liberate*
mankind.

Appall'd by superstitious cares,
Despots of yore have crown'd their heirs,
But when, oh, SOUTHEY! tell me when
Have *despots* raised their slaves to *men*?

* This line is the burden of Mr. SOUTHEY's first effort as Poet Laureate. It is entitled *Carmen Triumphale*. He says, the present King of Prussia, yes, gentle reader, the *present* King of Prussia,

“ *Frederic, best!* and *GREATEST* of the *name!*”

“Treads in the path of duty and of fame.”

And on his said Majesty's account he sings,

“ *Glory to God,* and *deliverance for man-*
knd!”

Vot'ries of *Power*, to *this* they bend,
For *this* eternally contend ;
Whilst *man*, let despots rise or fall,
Poor abject man submits to all ; [swell,
And should his wrongs beyond endurance
Here glares the State's red arm—and there
an endless *Hell*.

Whether of home or foreign growth,
All despots from my soul I loath ;
And as to *rights*—I should as soon
Expect a message from the moon,
As hope to see a *courtly* train
Combin'd to cherish *Freedom's* reign—
Combin'd to humanise the heart,
And bid the nurse's dreams depart ;
No, SOUTHEY, no! those *scourges*, when
combin'd, [kind.
May *desolate* a world, but never *free* man—

If proof be wanting, France may show,
In man's great cause how *Monarchs* glow :
Thou know'st when one immortal stroke
Her lacerating shackles broke ; [swarms
Thou know'st how Europe's savage
Flew like infuriate fiends to arms ;
And how the vaunting legions came,
To quench a never-dying flame ;
And well thou know'st how France
sublimely rose,
Bared her resistless arm, and crushed th'
aggressing foes.

If proof be wanting, turn thine eyes
Where poor partition'd Poland lies ;
By many a barbarous band assailed ;
In Freedom's cause she fought, she fail'd ;
She saw her children bite the dust,
O'erwhelm'd by rapine, murder, lust ;
She saw her cities blaze, and all
That 'scaped the flames by ruffians fall ;
Transfixed by groves of pikes, she heard
them groan,
Then back into the flames saw writhing
thousands thrown.

Poor prostrate Poland! here we find
How *despots* liberate mankind ;
And here, unblushing Bard, we see
The savage hordes extoll'd by thee :
But whether *minstrels* change with
times,†
And scatter flowers o'er courtly crimes ;
Or Truth's firm sons imprison'd lie,
Or *priests* the reasoning powers decry ;
Soon, like those brutes that shun the
nightly fire,
From Freedom's holy flame shall man's
fierce foes retire.

† See the Laureate's WAT TYLER.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 21.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1817.

[VOL. I.]

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MR. WOOLER'S TRIUMPH.

MORE hath been achieved by Mr. WOOLER, for the liberties of our country, on his trials for alleged libels in the *Black Dwarf*, than by all the struggles against usurped power, since the resistance of Mr. WILKES obtained General Warrants to be declared illegal.

Mr. WOOLER and myself were taken into the Court of King's Bench on the morning of Monday, the 5th of May. We sat together, until, on the motion of the Attorney-General, I rose from his side, and being called on by the Court, successively refused to plead to the three *ex-officio* informations filed against me, and was hurried away by the tipstaves, under the order of the Court. Mr. WOOLER was then immediately called on to plead to an *ex-officio* information against him: and having done so, we were put into a coach together, and brought to this prison, where we still remain. Mr. WOOLER was afterwards taken to Court, to answer to another information. He pleaded, in order to have the earliest opportunity of arguing and defending, before Juries of

this country, the principles for promulgating which he was persecuted. He has, on his trial, argued and defended those principles, with an ardent zeal for liberty, an irresistible force of reasoning, and a burning eloquence, alike fatal to the sophistry of the Attorney-General (SHEPHERD), and the bad law of the Judge (ABBOT). Both these official personages are now, I take it, in as great a quandary as His Majesty's Ministers, who walk about like men with their brains beat out. As to the Attorney-General, with an imagination "as dry as the remainder biscuit after a voyage," to whom, as to his conduct on these prosecutions, Mr. WOOLER may say, "Thou hast no more brain than I have in my elbows;"—I would recommend the poor gentleman to give up all thoughts of a judgeship—to retire from official duty, which is unseemly to him, and betake him to private life, where he is really amiable. To be sure, he pretty well knows how favours are dispensed by Ministers; and—though common people can scarcely tell which way a *Jack-ass* will kick—the Attorney-General may be a Judge yet. "God forgive me, for a fool," as the old women say—but, for aught I know, Mr. Justice ABBOT may be Lord Chief Justice; and all this because the one did not know how to *get* a verdict, and the

other knew better how to *snatch* it than to *take it*.

I should degrade Mr. WOOLER, by comparing him in any respect with any of the persons he has had to contend against. I would as soon doubt his integrity and inflexibility as his prowess—marks of which will be on the Attorney-General's back as long as the learned gentleman lives. Aided by that last remaining hope to our country, TRIAL BY JURY, he has fought a greater fight, and gained a victory more memorable than that of Waterloo. With youth and health, great acquirements, a fertile mind, high courage, real modesty, exalted feeling, frank and ingenuous demeanour, an independent spirit, and few personal wants, Mr. WOOLER is destined to be at least one of the most useful, and I believe him to be one of the most virtuous, of our countrymen.

From the MORNING CHRONICLE of
Wednesday, June 11, 1817.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING
CHRONICLE.

SIR,---With the Side Bar Rule you mention to have been served on me on Friday last, in the matter of the *ex-officio* information filed against me by the Attorney-General, for the late John Wilkes's Political Catechism of a Ministerial Member, a like Rule was at the same time served on another *ex-officio* information against me, for the Political Litany, and a further Rule on a third *ex-officio* information, also filed against me, by the Attorney-General, for the Sincurist's Creed.

Mr. Jones, the Marshal, in an interview I had with him on Saturday, declining to take me into Court on these Rules, I, agreeably to his suggestion, despatched the following letter to Mr. Dealtry, the Clerk of the Pleas on the Crown side of the Court

of King's Bench, at the Crown Office, in the Inner Temple, London :---

(Copy)

" SIR,---Rules served on me from the Treasury say, unless the defendant shall sufficiently answer on *Monday next*, let judgment be entered against him by default. You will oblige me, by letting the bearer have a Rule to authorize the Marshal to bring me into Court on Monday, accordingly.

" I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

" WILLIAM HONE.

" King's Bench Prison, June 7, 1817.

" --- Dealtry Esq." &c.

The clerk at the Crown Office, to whom this letter was delivered, informed the Messenger that Mr. Dealtry was then at Westminster, and would not be at the office till eight in the evening. Between seven and eight o'clock the Messenger went again to the Crown Office, and saw Mr. Dealtry, or a gentleman representing him, who said he would mention it to the Court on Monday. Yesterday (being Monday) the Messenger applied at the Crown Office twice for the Rule, which the Marshal considered requisite to authorize him to take me into Court; but no such authority was prepared, nor had either instructions or message been left respecting it.

The Rules served on me expired yesterday, and here I remained the whole of that and this day, as if forgotten.

I am in the power of the Court, its prisoner, and helpless. It calls on me to come before it on a day certain—it disables me from doing so; and, at this moment, perhaps, judgment has been entered against me by its own default.

I am informed that Copies of the three *Ex-officio* Informations against me will cost at least Thirty Pounds.

I am, Sir, very respectfully yours,

W. HONE.

King's Bench Prison, June 10, 1817.

Of the oppressiveness, and iniquitous mode, of prosecution by *ex-officio* informations, Mr.

HORNE TOOKE's admirable speech on his trial for libel, before Lord MANSFIELD, in 1777, gives ample details. The libel consisted of an advertisement for raising 100l. "to be applied to the relief of "the widows, orphans, and aged "parents, of our beloved Ameri- "can fellow-subjects, who, faith- "ful to the character of English- "men, were, *for that reason only,* "inhumanly murdered by the "King's troops at or near Lexing- "ton." Mr. TOOKE's masterly argument being adapted to the proceedings against Mr. WOOLER and myself, and Mr. TOOKE's trial, from which it is taken, being exceedingly scarce, I have given a very copious extract from it in the present sheet. Any thing from Mr. TOOKE is valuable, but this is peculiarly so, at the present time.

Before my next number, Mr. WOOLER will have settled his differences with Sir SAMUEL SHEPHERD and Mr. Justice ABBOTT, and have published another number of his *Black Dwarf*, which he continues every Wednesday, in its usual spirit; and before that time, I shall be called on by the Attorney-General, to *sufficiently answer*, as the Rules of Court say. Between the unfortunate State Prisoners, now on their trial, and Mr. WOOLER, and myself, Mr. Attorney may, in his extremity, fairly exclaim,

"It's monstrous labour, when I wash my brain,
"And it grows fouler."—

WILLIAM HONE.

King's Bench Prison, No. 2 in No. 7.
11th June, 1817.

MR. HORNE TOOKE

ON EX-OFFICIO INFORMATIONS.

The Court of King's Bench has also assumed a power of ac-

cusing men. They say they may safely be trusted with it. I believe *their* claim illegal; but I have nothing to do with it; and I acknowledge that it is much safer *there*, than in the hands of an Attorney-General, who is whipped in and whipped out just as the Minister, whose friend he is, goes in or out.

But that is not all. The Court of King's Bench cannot grant an information without an affidavit, without an accusation upon oath; no *one* of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench can do it, and yet they are a little more independent (they have fewer hopes, and therefore fewer fears) than the Attorney-General; yet no *one* of the Judges of the Court can accuse a man. It must be the *whole* Court, and they must do it in consequence of an oath. If I am wrong, you will have the pleasure of contradicting it (*turning to the Attorney-General*). But the Attorney-General accuses men neither upon the oath of others, nor yet upon his own oath; if he believes the matter of the accusation true, it is but the belief of one man, and he a prejudiced man, and the most improper man in the kingdom for his authority to be taken in such a case. But, Gentlemen, what is much worse, it frequently happens that no man whatever avows the accusation, or believes it; no, not the Attorney-General himself, who files the information. I will prove it by-and-by, even in the case of the Attorney-General, who filed this declaration. Gentlemen, I shall desire by-and-by, for your satisfaction and mine, to find out whether there is *one* man in the country that believes me guilty of the crime laid to my

charge; a crime of that nature that is to have a punishment, which is called by the law a temporary death, an exclusion from society, imprisonment. The apparent object of this prosecution, is to take what little money out of my pocket I may have there, and to imprison me, and so exclude me from that society, of which I have rendered myself unworthy. However, I have the pleasure to see that there sits a gentleman by the Judge who is now trying me, who, as well as myself, has charged the King's troops with murder, a charge which at that time excited great abhorrence and detestation against him. The Judge (Lord MANSFIELD) and that gentleman (Mr. WILKES) have been laughing all the time of this trial: and they have enjoyed each other's company exceedingly [*a great laugh for some minutes of the whole audience*]. Well, Gentlemen (*turning towards Lord Mansfield and Mr. Wilkes*), I have caused another laugh between the Gentlemen; but it gives me pleasure to think that if ever I am to come out of prison again (if you are so kind as to put me there), I too may have the honour (if it be one) of sitting cheek by cheek with the Judge, and laughing at some other libeller. I said, if I come out again, because if it is possible that I should be put there for this charge, I believe that will never happen: I will never cease repeating the charge I have made, till those men are legally tried and acquitted, who are guilty of what I call murder. I will not be contented with one, nor with two, nor with twenty juries. I will repeat the charge of murder upon the troops every day; if this doctrine gets so far

even as to a doubt; and I call upon the Attorney-General now, if he may, if he can, if he will venture, without the permission of those Ministers whose humble servant alone he is; if he may venture, I call upon him to pledge himself to bring an information for a seditious libel against the *King* and the *Government* every time I charge the troops with murder. I promise him I will give him business enough, and I hope he will (if he may venture to do it) promise to file an information every time I charge them with murder when they commit it.

But, Gentlemen, I have wandered; though if I am to be shut up so soon, a few excursions before it may be excused me.

The Attorney-General does not apply then to the grand jury, and there is no person whose accusation upon oath it is.

When he has filed his information, he proceeds or not upon it as he pleases: he files fresh informations if he pleases, when he pleases, as often as he pleases; he uses it if he pleases as a vexatious method, which may harass, and ruin, and destroy the greatest fortune in this country. It has been used vexatiously. I do not say by the present Attorney-General; I do absolutely acquit him of that; he never, that I know of, has been guilty of *that* practice; but I do know Attorney-Generals who have; but that I may not seem to libel all the world, I will not mention them, nor the case. When the Attorney-General has brought his accusation, and renewed, and delayed it as much as he pleases, if he chooses to try it; I said, he tries it by almost whom he pleases. It may seem perhaps a strange thing for me to say to a jury who

are trying my cause; but it is a fact; for he is always sure to have a *special* jury for the trial of this sort of charge. Libel is always tried by a *special* jury. Now this seems a very comical thing, for there is an expense attending it. The gentleman, I suppose, would not be thought to be unnecessarily lavish of the income of the Crown, which has lately been found so deficient; he surely would not voluntarily throw it away.

And yet a man that came from Brentford (my clerk formerly) had two guineas for his expenses; he is a very honest man; it was a very lucky matter for him; I wish for his sake that he might be called a witness against me once a week upon such a prosecution. Now if the ground of the charge happens to be, as this is, "of all plain and simple matters that ever were laid before a Court the most simple;" it is a very strange circumstance that the Attorney-General should choose to have a special jury to try a thing in which there is nothing *special*! *Special* juries were never intended or appointed for that purpose; they were intended to examine into merchant's accounts, or any critical or nice matter; for you know we are told that you have nothing to do with the *law*. You do not, therefore, want any legal education; and yet *special* juries are always made use of in matters of libel; and indeed why should they not? it costs the Attorney-General nothing; in the case of any other prosecution, it would be at his expense; but the Crown pays this, that is, the People pay it against themselves. However that is no objection to Mr. At-

torney-General; for if you look at the law expenses in the civil list of the last year, 1776, as they are delivered in to Parliament, you will find that they amount to the little insignificant sum of 60,000*l*. a defendant against the Crown is in a blessed situation! but as the expense is no reason against the Attorney-General choosing to try it by a special jury; he has a very strong reason for choosing a special jury, and that is, because, by that means, he tries it by almost whom he pleases; I do not mean by the particular individuals whom he pleases, but generally by that description of men that he pleases. Now this, Gentlemen, is particularly unfortunate in my case; for the Attorney-General said (I heard him say it upon the first trial for this advertisement) that nine-tenths of the People approved of all the measures of the ministry relative to America. The method of striking a special jury seems at first sight fair enough. Forty-eight men are struck from a book; the defendant and the prosecutor each strikes off twelve; that seems very fair and just; but it is very far from being so fair; for if nine-tenths of the People (which he himself acknowledged) are of that way of thinking (a way of thinking contrary to what I may well seem to be), you will observe that the Attorney-General strikes off two-tenths and half a tenth out of the forty-eight; so that he will be sure not to have one man of my way of thinking concerning America; I mean, it will be so if at least they know what they are about. So that you see there is sure to be a little prejudice against the defendant in the

minds of the jury. It is true, indeed, that the opinion of the jury concerning the measures relative to America has nothing fairly to do in this cause; but the prejudice may be extended from one thing to the other. We all know very well how men's minds are apt to run. But that is not all. This prejudice will be the case even though the special jury are fairly struck; but they are not fairly struck; I believed so; but I never was sure of it till this case of mine, and whatever I may suffer, I think it a cheap purchase to know what I now know by this means. The special juries in the counties, especially in Middlesex, great numbers of them are qualified by the Crown; they are esquired by the Crown, and these Crown esquires always attend upon the special juries; in the city, Gentlemen, to which you belong, you know very well whether the description of merchant has or has not changed within some years past. You know, I dare say, many of you, what merchants *were*—what merchants *are*. You all know well that the very numerous and extensive contracts which are going forward bring a swarm of merchants in amongst you; every man that has a contract becomes a merchant; every man that has a contract is liable to be struck upon a special jury, and he is sure to attend if he is taken; and you must observe besides, that the Solicitor of the Treasury, who is in this constant employ of striking special juries, knows all the men, their sentiments, their situations, their descriptions, and the distinction of men.

Now, Gentlemen, for the me-

thod of striking a special jury, which I shall not wonder that you are not acquainted with; and for the counsel it is a matter that they are not concerned in.—Observe, I do not lay these things to the charge of the Attorney-General; he only uses the powers which others put into his hands.—The special jury you may imagine are taken indifferently, and as it may happen, from a book containing all the names of those who are liable to serve: I thought so when I read the act of parliament appointing the manner in which they should be taken; but when I came to attend to strike the special jury, a book with names was produced by the sheriff's officer; I made what I thought an unexceptionable proposal: I desired the Master of the Crown Office (whom I do entirely acquit, and do not mean the slightest charge upon), I desired the Master of the Crown Office that he would be pleased to take that book; open it where he would; begin where he would, at the top or at the bottom; and only take the first forty-eight names that came. I said I hoped that to such a proposal the Solicitor of the Treasury could have nothing to object. I was mistaken, he had something to object; he thought that not a fair way (*turning round to the Attorney-General*); there were witnesses enough present, and I should surely be ashamed to misrepresent what eight or nine people were present at; he thought that not a fair way; he thought and proposed as the fairest way, that two should be taken out of every leaf; that I objected to; I called that *picking*, and not striking the jury. To what end

or purpose does the law permit the parties to attend, if two are to be taken by the Master of the Crown Office out of every leaf? Why then need I attend? two may as well be picked in my presence as in my absence: I objected to that method; the Master of the Crown Office did not seem to think that I had proposed any thing unreasonable: he began to take the names; but objected that he could not take the first forty-eight that came, because they were not all special juryman, and that the names of common and special jurymen were mixed together, and that it would be a hard case that the party should pay the expense of a special jury and not have one; that they were expected to be persons of a superior rank to common jurymen: I could have no objection to that, provided they were indifferently taken. I said, take then the first forty-eight special jurymen that come; he seemed to me that he meant to do it; he began; but as I looked over the book, I desired him to inform me how I should know whether he did take the first forty-eight special jurymen that came, or not; and what mark or description, or qualification there was in the book, to distinguish a *special* from a common juryman? He told me, to my great surprize (and he said he supposed I should wonder at it), that there was no rule by which he took them. Why then how can I judge? You must go by some method; what is your method? At last the method was this, that when he came to a man a woollen-draper, silver-smith, a merchant (if merchant was opposite to his name, of course he

was a special juryman), but a woollen-draper, a silver-smith, &c. he said that there were persons who were working men of those trades, and there were others in a situation of life fit to be taken. How then did he distinguish? no otherwise than this; if he personally knew them to be men in reputable circumstances, he said, he took them; if he did not know them, he passed them by. Now, Gentlemen, what follows from this?

But this is not all. The Sheriff's officer stands by, the Solicitor of the Treasury, his clerk, and so forth; and whilst the names are taken, if a name (for they know their distinction) if a name which they do not like occurs and turns up, the Sheriff's officer says, "O, sir, he is dead." The defendant who does not know all the world, and cannot know all the names in that book, does not desire a dead man for his juryman. "Sir, that man has retired;" "that man does not live any longer where he did;" "Sir, that man is too old;" "Sir, this man has failed, and become a bankrupt;" "Sir, this man will not attend;" O (it is said very reasonably) "let us have men that will attend, otherwise the purpose of a special jury is defeated." It seemed very extraordinary to me; I wrote down the names, and two of them which the officer objected to, I *saved*; "I begged him not to kill men thus without remorse, as they have done in America, merely because he understood them to be friends to liberty; that it was very true we shall see them alive again next week, and happy; but let them be alive to this cause." The

first name I took notice of was Mr. Sainsbury, a tobacconist, on Ludgate Hill. The Sheriff's officer said, he had been dead seven months; that struck me. I am a snuff-taker, and buy my snuff at his shop, therefore I knew Mr. Sainsbury was not so long dead; I asked him strictly if he was sure Mr. Sainsbury was dead, and how long he had been dead? "Six or seven months;" "Why, I read his name to-day; he must then be dead within a day or two: for I saw in the newspapers that Mr. Sainsbury was appointed by the city of London one of the Committee" (it happened to be the very same day) "to receive the toll of the Thames Navigation," and as the city of London does not often appoint dead men for these purposes, I concluded that the Sheriff's officer must be mistaken, and Mr. Sainsbury was permitted to be put down amongst you, Gentlemen, appointed for this special jury.

Another gentleman, was a Mr. Territt; the book said he lived, I think, in Puddle Dock; the Sheriff's officer said, "that gentleman was retired; he was gone into the country; he did not live in town;" it is true, he does (as I am told), frequently go into the country (for I inquired). His name was likewise admitted, with some struggle. Now what followed? This dead man, and this retired man, were both struck out by the Solicitor of the Treasury; the very men whom the Sheriff's officer had killed and sent into the country, were struck out, and not admitted to be of the jury. Now, Gentlemen, what does that look like? There were many other names of men that

were dead, and had retired, which were left out.

There is something more unfortunate in the case of a special jury. The special jurymen, if they fail to attend that trial for which they are appointed, are never censured, fined, nor punished by the judge. In the trial of one of the printers, only four of the special jury attended.—This is kind in the chief justice, but it has a very unkind consequence to the defendant, especially in a trial of this nature; for I will tell you what the consequence is. The best men, and the worst men, are sure to attend upon a special jury, where the *Crown* is concerned; the best men from a nice sense of their duty; the worst men from a sense of their interest. The best men are known by the Solicitor of the Treasury; such an one cannot be in above one or two verdicts; he tries no more causes for the Crown. There is a good sort of man, who is indeed the most proper to try all this kind of causes; an impartial, moderate, prudent man, who meddles with no opinions; that man will not attend, for why should he get into a scrape? He need not attend; he is sure not to be censured; why should he attend? The consequence follows, that frequently only four or five men attend, and those such as particularly ought not to attend in a Crown cause. I do not say that it happens now; not that I care: I do not mean to coax you, Gentlemen: I have nothing to fear; you have more to fear in the verdict, than I have, because your consciences are at stake in the verdict. I will do *my* duty, not for the sake of the verdict, Now

what follows this permission to special jurymen, to attend or not, as they like best? Why, every man that is gaping for a contract, or who has one, is sure to show his eagerness and zeal.

It happened so in the trial of the first cause for this advertisement. The printer showed me the list; amongst them, one of the first, I observed, was Sir Jas. Esdaile, Alderman of London, and a contractor for the army (there were several others; I do not mention the gentlemen's names). He would have struck him out; I said no; there are so many bad that ought to be struck out, leave in Sir James; it is impossible that a magistrate of London! with so much business! a contractor under the Crown! if he has any modesty! he cannot, an alderman of London! go down to be a special jurymen in Middlesex!—he was the foreman of the jury. He was sure to attend. And so they got the first verdict, in order to give them this influence upon men's minds.—“We have got a verdict. This question has been determined “by a jury.”—

Well, Gentlemen, having then got such a special jury, as he usually does get (for it seldom happens that twelve gentlemen have sense enough of their duty, to attend, as happens to be now my case), the Attorney-General brings on the trial; he then claims, amongst other things, *a right to reply*, though no evidence is called for the defendant. You have heard what passed upon this subject with the judge. I will leave that matter now, though I think I have enough to say upon it; however, I will leave it unexamined now; I hope to live to

argue that point for my client, and therefore will not now trouble you with that argument. You will yourselves judge whether any reason was given to me, or to you, or to any man, why the Attorney-General, prosecuting for the Crown, having all the influence, power, and advantage that he can possibly have; why he should have that advantage of reply, which my equal or inferior shall not have!

But besides this, I told you before, that he claims a right of stopping it, when he pleases, *by withdrawing a juror*. I should be glad to hear that contradicted and given up.

But further, if he loses the verdict, he *pays no costs*: the Crown pays no costs. The miserable man that is harassed, even though innocent, though gaining a verdict under all these disadvantages (if it is possible, and which seldom happens), yet still he must stand by his costs; and they may be, you see, whatever they please to make them.

Again, if the Attorney-General gains a verdict, he punishes whom he pleases, and when he pleases. I think there were eight convictions for this advertisement, yet but three have been called up to judgment; one, I think, was let off, because there was a little false-swearing in the case, by an officer under the Crown—(I allow it to have been certainly a mistake, because he is a gentleman of character)—and therefore it is accounted for, how this one got off: but how the other printers escaped, whether from the benevolence of the Attorney-General, I do not know.

That is not all. He aggravates the punishment of the person

against whom he gets a verdict, if he pleases. I was present in Court, when I heard the judge, who now tries me (and who will perhaps give the same intelligence in my case), tell the Attorney-General of that time (who is now Chief Justice of the Common Pleas) when he moved that the convict (who was the gentleman who now sits next to the judge), when the Attorney-General moved that Mr. Wilkes might be committed to the King's Bench prison, Lord Mansfield instantly said to Mr. De Gray—"The King's Attorney-General may choose his prison; all the prisons are the King's; the Attorney General may, if he pleases, move to have him sent to Newgate." His Lordship mentioned *Newgate*; I heard it. And observe, this was an instruction to the Attorney-General, who surely of all men in the world, least needs instruction: and it was in a case where he was prosecutor, and in a criminal matter, and prosecutor too for the Crown. And this instruction was not in order to obtain justice against the offender; that was past: he had been convicted many years before; but it was merely in aggravation of punishment. I did not know nor believe, that the Attorney-General had that right: I should not have known it, if I had not learned it from so great an authority.

Gentlemen, having rehearsed what these claims are, I entreat you to consider *who* it is that enjoys these powers; superior to the powers which any one judge in this country enjoys; superior to the powers which even the Courts enjoy. It is the Attorney-General! Now, who is

the Attorney-General? who is he? whose officer is he? what sort of officer is he? I will tell you what a Scotch author of merit—(this is not law, but it is very good reason and good truth)—I will tell you what he says of the office of the Attorney-General. What I say now, Gentlemen, does not go against the person now entrusted with it; it goes against his office. I do not speak of this gentleman particularly; all Attorney-Generals, at least, most of them (some of them, indeed would not, but most of them will) use these unjust powers. Mallet says, in the preface to his *Life of Lord Chancellor Bacon*—"The offices of Attorney and Solicitor-General have been rocks upon which many aspiring lawyers have made shipwreck of their virtue and human nature. Some of these gentlemen have acted at the bar, as if they thought themselves, *by the duty* of their places (that is, *ex-officio*) absolved from all the obligations of truth, honour, and decency"—(but not absolved, you find, from *talking* of them)—"but their names (he says) are upon record, and will be transmitted to after ages, with those characters of reproach and abhorrence that are due to"—(to whom? This man is as unfortunate in his style, as myself)—"the worst sort of *murderers*, those that *murder* under the sanction of justice."—He was never prosecuted for it: he charged the office of Attorney-General (which is something more respectable than the office of a common soldier), with being the worst sort of *murderers*.

But the Attorney-General, it

is said, is chosen by the King : that is what is pretended. He is the King's officer ; but he holds it by a very precarious tenure : his future hopes are greater than those of any man in this country, his fears therefore must be in proportion. Observe, too, he enjoys these powers on behalf of the King, against whom, particularly, all those precautions were taken ; for these precautions are not taken between subjects who are upon a footing ; but all these precautions and advantages for innocence (that it may not be oppressed), they are all taken, not against the King, but against the Crown ; against that power which is more often abused than any other power—more liable to be abused, because greatest. But, Gentlemen, the matter is a great deal worse than this. He is not the King's officer. He knows better where his obligations lie. He is not so ungrateful. He would not, at a table with his friends, say that he is the *King's* officer ; he knows a great deal better than that. He is in truth the officer of the Minister ; and if the Minister goes out to-morrow, out goes the Attorney-General. We cannot possibly have a stronger instance, and a happier for me, of this very thing. There sits here in Court a gentleman who should now have been Attorney-General (he lost not the place, I suppose, for want of abilities), who refused a brief in this very cause, because he thought it scandalous at the distance of two years and a quarter. I suppose he might have still stronger reasons ; if I knew them, I would use them. If I knew *his* reasons why he thought this prosecution scandalous, you would

hear a very different defence from any which I can give you. Put in then another Minister, and the Attorney-General thinks me a very honest man ; but if there comes a different Minister, and a different Attorney-General ;—“ Oh, put him out of the world, “ he is not fit for human society ; “ shut him up like a mad dog.” You see it is not the King's officer, it is the Minister's officer. Gentlemen, it is very well known that the Attorney and Solicitor-General make a considerable part of every administration. They sit there in the House of Commons on each side of the Minister—the two brazen pillars, the Jachin and Boaz of the Minister in the House of Commons. However, Gentlemen, though this situation of theirs may make us smile, it is a very serious thing, especially when their honour and conscience are to go to you for proof and instead of argument.

Now let us see, how have those powers been exercised ? I have shown you what they are ; I have shown you who enjoys them : now let us see how they have used them ; I mean the present Attorney-General. I will not go back to tell you that the Bishops were reckoned guilty of a libel, not because they opposed the introduction of the Popish religion, but because they would not lend their own hands to the introduction of it. But how has it been used by the present Attorney-General ? I am driven to this inquiry. He has talked so much of his conscience, and that if he had not imagined that he was executing his duty, he never should have thought of the prosecution :—he did not know me ; it was merely a matter of duty.

Now I did not apprehend that it was a matter of his stirring, and that his motive was duty; but as he takes it upon himself, upon himself it must lie. Now therefore, how has he exercised this power which he enjoys in right of being the King's officer? I say that he has then equally betrayed his own conscience, and the dignity and prerogative of the Crown, (if injustice must pass by these names); I say that he has betrayed them all; for he has acted, not as the Attorney-General of the King, but as the Attorney-General of the House of Commons. Never before this gentleman's time, did any House of Commons, I believe—I am sure; never did they direct any Attorney-General to file an information. Who enjoys the power then? The House of Commons files informations! worse still; the Attorney-General files informations, not from his own mere motion, not from the direction of the Crown, but by the direction of the most corrupt assembly of men that ever existed upon the face of the earth.—It may be called indecent to call them so; but, Gentlemen, I know, that if every man was to speak but one word expressive of his opinion concerning what I say, there are those perhaps within hearing, whose hearts would sink within them. There is no man doubts it, and I shall not be afraid to say it. But, Gentlemen, now observe; this officer, the Attorney-General, was never permitted to have a seat in the House of Commons, till the time of Sir Francis Bacon: he is no officer of the House of Commons; he never was permitted to sit there till that time; and out of the extreme

veneration which they paid to the greatest of mankind (for he was so), they permitted him, for the first time, to have a seat as a private member in the House. Now where have we got? He has no longer a seat in the House as a private member; he is the officer of the House of Commons; that power which is pretended to be exercised for the Crown, is exercised for the Minister. The House of Commons is the Minister's; for he would not be Minister if he had not a majority. The Attorney-General is brought in by him; the House directs the prosecution; whereas the method formerly was, that the House of Commons used to address the Crown, to desire the Crown to order the Attorney-General to file an information or to prosecute. Never till this time did the House think of directing the King's officer to file an information. The consequence happened to be what at the very time it was natural to foresee would happen. The Attorney-General prosecuted men whom he thought innocent: I happened by stealth (I am not often permitted to be there), I happened by stealth to hear the gentleman in the House of Commons, speak a language which no man could mistake. What is still more, on one of the prosecutions brought, the vote for it was either rescinded, or some healing vote was afterwards put into the Journals of the House of Commons, for having caused a prosecution to be brought against a person who was found to be innocent. Here is a dangerous power indeed! Who may not, if this is permitted, file an information against the subject?

What a power is this in the hands of a Minister to ruin! for if I am not ruined it is the gentleman's mercy. I thank him for *that* mercy; for he might every term file an information, if he pleases.

Now, Gentlemen, consider in what sort of a charge does he enjoy these extraordinary powers? you will find, that as he is the last man in the world (I speak not of the man, but the office) that ought to be trusted with these powers, so he enjoys them in that kind of charge in which he should least of all enjoy them. For, Gentlemen, *libel* as well as *Attorney-General* depends very much upon the Minister. Why, don't we all know very well, that they who were *pilloried* for libel in the last reign are *pensioned* in this? What then, is this the kind of charge in which this open door to oppression should be left to the Attorney-General, and to the Minister? It is not for crimes against the state that this power interferences, but for partial political opinions; and the man who is pilloried or imprisoned to-day, may, for the same act, be pensioned to-morrow, just as the hands change; if this party goes down, it is libel; if it comes up, it is merit. Is it in this kind of charge that an Attorney-General should enjoy all these unjust powers? I need not bid you consider and recollect what sort of things have been charged as libels; there is nothing that has not been so charged. Sermons—petitions—books against plays—saying that money will corrupt men, nothing but barely mentioning the effects of money—all have been prosecuted, and punished, and ears cut

off, and those things, for libels. In short, Gentlemen, you will always find it (your memories will go back enough to find it without reading), that whatever is contrary to the inclinations, interests, or even the vices of a minister, have always been, and ever will be, charged as libel. Even at this time, if the Attorney-General's friend, Mr. Rigby, had been Attorney-General, or to direct the Attorney-General to file informations for libels, the present Speaker of the House of Commons would have been accused of a libel, for recommending economy to the Crown. We know that he would; and there is nothing extraordinary that a Speaker of the House of Commons should have an information *ex officio* filed against him for a libel. The Speaker, Williams, had one filed against him for publishing the Journals of the House. They are now wiser; indeed that case has been scouted.

If then, Gentlemen, these considerations should make you careful and attentive in a trial upon a prosecution of this kind; the frequency of prosecution for libels, I suppose, should add to your care and attention. For, Gentlemen, when is it that libels are most frequent? When is it that prosecutions for libels have been most frequent? Have they been under the best governments, under the best administrations (for government is the word abused: I mean under the ministers)? Have they been most frequent under the best, or always under the worst? It is only bad men that will accuse the good: good men don't accuse good things: notwithstanding which, you will find that under

the best administrations there are few libels, and much fewer prosecutions; and under the worst administrations you will always find them swarm. Whether it happens that under the worst administrations (for there is always folly with wickedness) the minister is so foolish as that, not attending to the principles of the person recommended to him, he, by mistake, chooses a good Attorney-General, who has skill to discover, and honesty to pursue, those crimes which are detrimental to society; or whether it happens, that a good Minister chooses a bad Attorney-General, who has no honour or understanding to care for or to discover their evil tendency, and therefore does not prosecute at all: but so it happens that under a good Minister, there are no prosecutions for libels, under a bad Minister you meet with little else.

A LETTER

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM
AND PHILANTHROPY.

*Fellow Countrymen, Assertors of
your Constitutional Rights,*

I make no apology for obtruding myself on your attention at the present crisis, as I conceive the doing so would be like a man's standing on the punctilio of ceremony with a person whom he should find perishing in the street; and because I think it is the duty (as I am certain it must be the inclination) of every good man to use his utmost endeavours to be serviceable to his country, in such manner as his abilities may permit, or his more pressing avocations allow.

Fellow Countrymen, you have been trodden to the earth by the horrible march of oppression; your substance, the produce of your industry, your talents, and your toil, squandered in the iniquities attendant on a war, whose object you disclaim, as contrary to the dictates of reason and good policy; a war which has entailed on you degrading, and—if not timely prevented by the *only possible remedy*, a radical Reform—lasting and irreparable misery, to the exclusive dishonourable advantage of those who offered up the dearest rights and interests of their country, a sacrifice on the altar of Mammon. These men wallow in ill-gotten wealth, the reward of a flagrant dereliction of honest public duty, and perhaps the bribe of successful turpitude. Words cannot sufficiently execrate the perfidy of such *men*; it is in vain “they wear their blushing honours thick upon them;” their memory will be handed down to posterity with those marks of obloquy, to which they have so diligently laboured to be entitled.

Fellow Countrymen, need you be told of the situation of your country: our prisons are crowded with criminals, our gaols with debtors; and it is become a matter of favour and interest to get admission into that last sad receptacle of wretchedness, a parish workhouse, to avoid a worse alternative, that of perishing in the street, which, dreadful as it is, has been the fate of more than a few. Humanity shudders at the bare recital of calamities so desperate, and reason starts up within us, and demands, “ought these things to be?” View the agriculturalist, the merchant, the

manufacturer, but more particularly the tradesman, who has no other employment but to lament over the wreck of his blasted hopes, while he sees his property torn from him by the harpies of the law, without the power of prevention—in a word, the *consequence* which has been foretold only to be ridiculed, has begun to operate, and our rulers dare not look steadily at the misery which surrounds them.

From among this piercing distress you have cried with a loud and exceeding bitter cry, a cry that has been reiterated from one extremity to the other of this once happy land, and which, notwithstanding the endeavours of your enemies, to stifle by threats and intimidations, still continues increasing; challenging that investigation, from which they shrink, as from a *mortal disease*. Yes, my fellow Countrymen, your cries have been heard; they have been advocated ably and fairly, and openly must they be answered. After all the evasive shuffling of corruptionists, Reform must come, and *that Reform* must be general and substantive. If the People of England stop short of a return to such a degree of liberty as they have enjoyed in the most auspicious times, they will not do justice to themselves, or to their children. Let us, my fellow Countrymen, acquit ourselves to posterity, and to the world,—

“ Drag forth the legal monsters into light,
Wrench from their hands oppression’s
iron rod,

And bid the cruel feel the pains they give.”

THOMPSON.

The stand that injustice has made against justice, has been

desperate in proportion as her means were gigantic; yet a little while and she will fall, never to rise again; already does the superstructure totter, already the “giant bulk” heaves to its very base; giving proof of the treacherousness and instability of any system of policy, whose foundation is not in the public good.

In the mean time you must peaceably and legally, but firmly and unceasingly, endeavour for your reinstatement in those indisputable rights which were given you by God himself, and secured by the laws of your ancient Constitution; in the defence of which your forefathers have often rallied round the standard of freedom, preferring honourable death to ignominious slavery. It is rather too much for such men as the Ministers and their dependants, gorged as they are with the *good things* of office, and dazzled and led astray by the ignis fatuus of power and patronage; I say, it is too much, in men *so qualified*, to stand up in their places, and answer to the prayer of the thousand Petitions for Reform, with—“ We see no occasion for alteration! We are well satisfied with *things as they are!!* *We want no Reform!!!* Really they seem very unanimous, kind-hearted people, who have a deal of brotherly love—among *themselves!!* From the premier down to the very *eminent* dealer in biscuits—who so *faithfully* rises at the beck of his *delighted* master, “ Like a hollyhock, noble, majestic, and tall,” to astonish his wakeful hearers with the production of his intellectual faculties—they, one and all, upstanding and uncovered,

stick together, like so many *burs*. But this is the very *acmé* of selfishness. No, indeed! *they* want no Reform; it will be to them the most lamentable thing imaginable—it will be the refunding of the good things in which they fondly thought they had an interest for life, aye, for many lives; but they will find to their sorrow, that their occupation is but temporary; and they well know, that the most unfavourable contingency to them is the prospect of a return to the immutable principles of original justice, which to all hearts except theirs, is a “consummation devoutly to be wished.”

Fellow Countrymen, you cannot but have seen with pain the persecution levelled against every one who has the honesty and the hardihood to tell you the truth, and expose to public odium those measures which have brought our country to beggary. This persecution, directed by a power as foreign to the liberal spirit of our Constitution, as it is repugnant to the feelings of every man who calls himself *free*, and conducted on doubtful and indefinite grounds, on questions that must finally resolve themselves into matters of mere opinion, has been more particularly exemplified in the case of Mr. HONE, the editor of this paper. It is to me disgusting to see with what facility religion has been made to lend the appearance of her sanction to an arbitrary instance of oppressive malignity—but I cannot trust my pen to describe my

sensations on this subject. I could only transcribe the impressions of truth, as they are imprinted on my mind; and to do *this* might not be *EXPEDIENT*, or even *safe*, remembering as I do the old adage, that “the truth may not be spoken at all times.” However, I cannot dismiss the subject, without asking this one question—From among *all* the writers or publishers of religious parodies that have appeared, as well loyal as disloyal, why has Mr. HONE been selected as a fit object of ministerial vengeance? I shall not attempt to answer this at length; but will content myself with observing that Mr. HONE writes and publishes the *Reformists' Register*!!

Fellow Countrymen, I shall not trespass longer on your patience at present, but shall most probably soon resume, as much remains to be said, as well as done. Once again, I exhort you to be on the alert; to

——— “intermit no watch
Against a wakeful foe.”—MILTON.

but to use every legal effort to counteract the terrible influence that is marshalled against you, always remembering the saying of the wise—“Great minds conquer difficulties by daring to attempt them.”

With the most heartfelt detestation of tyranny, however exalted, and abhorrence of slavery, however palliated, I am, Fellow Countrymen, asserters of your Constitutional Rights,

Your devoted Friend,

JUSTUS.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 22.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1817.

[Vol. I,

PROCEEDINGS

AGAINST ME

ON WEDNESDAY.

MR. WOOLER'S NEW TRIAL.

THE WRETCH CASTLES'

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I AM desirous that the *Register* should record all the proceedings against me on the part of Government as they arise; I therefore state here, that the day whereon my letter to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* appeared in that paper (which letter is copied into the last *Register*), I was informed by Mr. JONES, the Marshal of this prison, that no advantage would be taken of the *default* occasioned by the Court's not having brought me up to plead. This may seem very whimsical, and in truth it is very whimsical. The Court gave me notice, if I did not *sufficiently answer* on last Monday week, judgment would be entered against me by default. I did

not sufficiently answer—I *could* not—the Court would not let me; and the Court, in its tender mercy, acquaints me, now, it will not punish me for its own act. On Tuesday last, a week afterwards, Mr. GIBBONS, the Tipstaff of the Court, produced to me the following Rule to bring me up, and demanded *seven shillings* for it, which I was obliged to pay him, before he lodged it with the Marshal:—

“ Tuesday next after fifteen days of the Holy Trinity, in the fifty-seventh year of King George the Third.

“ London—The KING against WILLIAM HONE.

“ It is ordered that the Marshal of the Marshalsea of this Court, or his Deputy, do bring the Defendant into this Court on the morrow.

“ Side Bar.”

Having paid the officer of the Court, for its own order, he insisting on the payment, I yesterday was taken into the Court of King's Bench; and, as soon as the Judges entered, my name being called aloud, I stood up, and turned round to the Judges, when a clerk of the Court addressed me aloud to the following effect:—

"WILLIAM HONE, you have been charged with an information filed against you by Sir WILLIAM GARROW, His Majesty's late Attorney-General, with having published a certain *libel* called *the late JOHN WILKES'S Catechism of a Ministerial Member*" (to which he attached epithets I cannot recollect, except that one of the epithets was blasphemous): "how say you as to the information with which you are charged; are you guilty or not guilty?"

I then addressed the Court as follows, and what ensued is as nearly related as I can recollect.

MR. HONE. My Lords, when I was before called on to plead, I requested copies of the informations; I now hope to convince your Lordships, that I ought not to be called on to plead to these informations at all. I shall endeavour to show your Lordships, that they are unconstitutional and unjust; that the Attorney-General by filing them—

MR. JUSTICE BAILEY. Do you plead?

MR. HONE. My Lords, if you will hear me, I shall show you why I ought not to be asked to plead.

THE COURT. You must plead. We cannot hear you. You must plead directly.

MR. HONE. My Lords, I entreat to be heard—

THE COURT. The time of the

Court cannot be wasted. You must plead instantly.

MR. HONE. My Lords—

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. Plead at once. Say whether you will plead or not. The Court cannot have its time taken up in hearing such stuff; if he refuses to plead, he must be taken away.

MR. HONE. My Lords—

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. Let him be committed.

MR. HONE. What will be the consequence if I do not plead?

CLERK IN COURT. You will be brought up hereafter to receive judgment.

MR. HONE. Since, then, I am forced to plead, I will plead. As the Court forces me to plead, I plead.

CLERK. Are you guilty, or not guilty?

MR. HONE. *Not guilty.*—I protest against these proceedings, as arbitrary and unjust.

The CLERK then required me to plead to the second information filed against me, for the *Sinecurist's Creed*.

MR. HONE. My Lords, I ask for copies of these informations. How can you expect me to plead to I know not what?

THE COURT. You cannot be allowed copies—you must plead.

MR. HONE. My Lords, you are doing me injustice, by refusing me copies of the charges against me, and—

LORD ELLENBOROUGH (*very vehemently*). You must plead one

way or the other. Our time cannot be thus wasted.

Mr. HONE. My Lord, your Lordship yourself told me, that I might plead guilty to some counts and not guilty to other counts, and yet you require me to plead without the possibility, without *the least* possibility of becoming acquainted with the informations, to enable me so to plead—[*Lord ELLENBOROUGH here became very impatient*—] I say, my Lord, your Lordship calls on me to understand what you yourself, in my situation, could not understand. How can I, or how could you, my Lord, plead to parts of an information, without knowing its parts?

The COURT. If you do not plead, you will be remanded.

Mr. HONE. Then I say to this information, as I did to the former—if the Court *forces* me to plead, I will plead.

Mr. Justice HOLROYD. You are *not* forced to plead—you must say whether you are guilty or not guilty, one or the other; but use your own pleasure.

Mr. HONE. My Lord, the alternative of the Court is too cruel—if I do not plead, it proceeds to pass sentence upon me as being guilty.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. You may plead, or let it alone; but unless you do, you will be remanded immediately. The public time cannot be consumed by altercation with you.

Mr. HONE. Then, as the Court *forces* me to plead, I plead.

CLERK. Are you guilty, or not guilty?

Mr. HONE. *Not guilty.*

Mr. HONE. I again protest against these proceedings, as unconstitutional and unjust.

The CLERK in like manner required me to plead guilty or not guilty to a third information against me for the *Political Libtany*.

Mr. HONE. If I plead, I plead by force.

Mr. Justice BAILEY. You are not here for the Court to advise you; do you plead or not?

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. The Court cannot parley with you any further—plead, or go away.

Mr. HONE. Being *forced* by the Court to plead, I plead.

CLERK. Are you guilty or not guilty?

Mr. HONE. I protest against all this, as unjust; and being *forced* to plead, I plead *not guilty*.

Mr. HONE. My Lords, having now pleaded, I hope the Court will order me copies of the informations.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. You can have no more than every other subject is entitled to—the Court has no power to order copies of the informations to be given to you.

Mr. HONE. If the Court will not furnish me with copies, I trust it will permit me to go to the Crown Office, and make copies of the informations myself.

Mr. Justice BAILEY. No;—you cannot be suffered to do this.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. You must withdraw.

MR. HONE. My Lords, in this case I stand on my right, and protest against the proceedings of the Attorney-General, and the proceedings here, as illegal and unconstitutional.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. Well, then, protest, or do what you please, but go about your business.

MR. HONE. I do protest then—I protest, my Lords, against the whole of these proceedings, as illegal, unconstitutional, arbitrary, and unjust.

I then left the Court, and returned to prison, in custody of a tipstaff.

In the evening, a clerk from the Treasury served me with Rules of Court, obtained by the Attorney-General, to nominate Juries to try the three *ex-officio* informations filed against me.

(COPY.)

“ Wednesday next, after Fifteen Days
“ of the Holy Trinity, in the Fifty-
“ seventh Year of King George the
“ Third.

“ London—The KING against WIL-
“ LIAM HONE (for the late JOHN
“ WILKES'S Catechism).

“ At the instance of the Prosecu-
“ tor, according to the form of the
“ Statute in such case made and pro-
“ vided, It is ordered, that the She-
“ riffs of the City of London do at-
“ tend the Coroner and Attorney of
“ this Court, with the Book or List
“ of Persons qualified to serve on
“ Juries within the said City; and

“ that the said Coroner and Attorney,
“ in the presence of both parties, shall
“ nominate forty-eight free and law-
“ ful men out of the said Book or
“ List; and that the Agent, Attorney,
“ or Solicitor, for the Prosecutor,
“ shall strike out twelve; and the
“ Agent, Attorney, or Solicitor, for
“ the Defendant, shall in like manner
“ strike out twelve out of the said
“ forty-eight; and that twenty-four,
“ the remainder of the said forty-
“ eight, shall be returned for the
“ Trial of the Issue joined in this
“ Prosecution.

“ On the Motion of Mr. Richardson.

“ By the Court.”

“ I appoint Thursday, the 19th of
“ June, at Half-past Seven in the
“ Evening, to nominate.

“ G. H. LUSHINGTON.”

This evening, therefore, I go in custody of a tipstaff, to the Crown Office, to attend the nomination of three *special Juries*; and if I get sensible and impartial men upon my Jury, I shall get a verdict upon each information.

As every man living must see the rapidity with which we are hurrying towards *absolute despotism*, so every man who is persecuted should resist despotic power with all his might. Tyrants are only cruel whilst they possess force; and courage being seldom united with their sway, they often cower before men who oppose right to might. Besides, nothing is gained by submission to base oppressors; they flatter, and

fawn, and coax, like crocodiles, for no other purpose, but to allure their victims to more certain destruction.

Never was firmness opposed to power with so much effect as by Mr. WOOLER, this morning. He went into Court from this prison to move for his discharge, on the ground that the Foreman of the Jury, on his last trial, when he pronounced him guilty, not only did not deliver the unanimous opinion of his fellows; but that he did it out of the hearing of some of them; whilst one actually protested against it aloud. Mr. WOOLER's firmness did not beat the Attorney-General out of the field—it actually prevented him from entering it. As for the Judges, of course it was not laughable to see how they behaved—because it is not lawful to laugh at any thing they do; but I understand Lord ELLENBOROUGH was as mild, and as placid, and as much like a Judge and a Gentleman, as a Chief Justice, of his *ardent mind* and habits, can be, when he meets with a person who positively declines being overpowered by any thing but reason. His Lordship and his brethren did Mr. WOOLER the honour of ordering him a new trial, which Mr. WOOLER has the ingratitude not to be thankful for, inasmuch as he conceives, that having been tried once, his prison doors should be opened to him. The Attorney-General did not dare

to encounter his adversary's arguments—he was dumb-founded. His situation in Court mightily resembled that of a hedgehog in a ditch, who, on perceiving the approach of a terrier, very wisely hides his nose, rolls himself up into a black prickly ball, and never *moves* till said terrier has departed. But the unhappy gentleman is only putting off the evil day. The decision of the Court will again subject him to Mr. WOOLER's flagellation. Why does not Sir SAMUEL resign? What pleasure can he take in being dragged through the dirt, at the nether end of Ministers; like a tin canister tied to the tail of an awkward cur, who is lashed along the kennel by every school-boy who thinks it worth while to switch him, and despised by every decent animal who chooses to lift his leg against him. Again I ask, why do not poor Sir SAMUEL and his masters resign?

The trial of Doctor Watson, on a charge of High Treason, opens a scene of villany which astonishes and overwhelms all—except His Majesty's Ministers. These miserable creatures—the said Ministers—tried him for his life, upon the evidence of a *wretch* so vile, that it were to insult the honest and upright Jury, if it could for one moment be supposed they in any degree credited the infamous testimony. Without referring to the nature of that testimony, I shall give such part of it, upon

his cross examination, as immediately tends to show the man's character. He was the principal witness to prove the treason.

JOHN CASTLE *cross-examined by*
Mr. WETHERELL.

Are you the JOHN CASTLE lately abiding in the house of Richard Angel, in Princes'-street, Newport-market, but now a prisoner in Tothill-fields bridewell, in the county of Middlesex, whitesmith?---I am.

How long have you been a prisoner in that custody?---From the 9th of February, I believe.

Upon what charge were you committed?---High treason.

The same high treason as that the prisoner Watson is now tried for?---I was.

Had you been in any other custody prior to your commitment to Tothill-fields bridewell?---Not upon *this* charge.

When were you first arrested upon this charge?---On Saturday morning, the 9th of February.

Have you had a promise of pardon, in consideration of your giving evidence against the prisoner Watson?---I never wanted any pardon; I never committed any thing to want a pardon.

That is not an answer to my question. Have you had a pardon promised you?---I have had the question put to me, if I had ever been committed or tried for any thing.

Have you had a pardon promised you, in consideration of disclosing the truth on this occasion?---Not by any one.

You said that you did not want a pardon: explain what you mean?---I have never committed any thing requiring a pardon: nothing but what all the country knows, and nothing that I shall not be able to explain to their Lordships and the Jury; I therefore challenge you to bring your evidence against me.

Then you mean that you have committed no treason?---I have said no such thing.

Then explain what you meant by saying you wanted no pardon upon the matters now in question?---I was not referring to the present charge of high treason. *I was referring to other things, which I dare say you are in possession of. I dare say you are in possession of a good many, but I shall be able to give you satisfactory answers. I had no pardon offered me, neither did I know the high treason was withdrawn, until my evidence was taken before their Lordships. The moment I was brought to the Secretary of State's office, I communicated every thing to their Lordships.*

Do you mean after that to say, that no promise of pardon has been held out to you?---*No, neither directly, nor indirectly.*

You mentioned the Secretary of State, did you communicate every thing you knew, without an offer of being pardoned?---I never had any offer of the kind proposed to me.

Do you mean to say, that the subject of a pardon has never been mentioned to you in any way?---*It has been since.*

Since what?---Mr. Nodder, under whom I am in custody, was the first to inform me that the charge of high treason was withdrawn, but I had no communication from the Secretary of State, or from any other person.

If it was withdrawn, why were you not released?---That I cannot answer.

You did not apply to be released after it was withdrawn?---I did not.

Why are you kept in custody now?---It is not in my power to explain that to you; I never asked the question, and I was never told the reason.

Have you been, since your commitment to Tothill-fields bridewell, constantly in confinement, or have you been walking about with an officer attending you?---I have been out with an officer attending me.

When you were walking abroad

with this officer, have you chanced to call upon any of the persons examined as witnesses on this trial?---I do not know who have been examined.

The witness was then asked if he had not been at the house of a man of the name of Bentley, but he denied it: he had seen him while going to the grand jury room, but had not spoken to him. He admitted that he had gone about to the different public-houses he had mentioned yesterday; to Rysdale's or Randals, to Drury-lane, and to Paddington. He had also met with a person of the name of George Crisp, the brother of John Crisp, who had been tendered as a witness, and rejected. He did not tell Crisp the situation he was in, nor did Crisp know it.

Did you tell Crisp if his brother went to Bow-street it might be convenient for him?---Yes; I told him I wanted to see his brother: and if he went to Bow-street, Mr. Stafford wanted to ask him about a petition written by him for Watson and me. Nobody desired me to send him.

Did you desire Crisp to tell his brother it might be to his advantage to go to Bow-street?---I dare say I did: I asked him if his brother had got employ; and if he called on Mr. Stafford it might be to his advantage.

Did you say that Mr. Stafford would employ him?---No; how was Mr. Stafford to employ him?

Did you desire George Crisp to tell his brother that you had derived some advantage?---No such conversation took place.

Did you not tell him that you had been better off since the Spa-fields transaction?---No such conversation took place.

Have you happened to have been to the Tower since?---Yes, I have; I went to find out a man who was there at the time we were treating the soldiers with beer, and showing the cockades.

Did you find him?---Yes, we found a boy.

A boy is not a man: did you find a man?---Yes, I did.

What is his name?---His name I never asked, and never heard it; he lives at the sign of the Pumpkin, close by Mark-lane.

The list of witnesses was put into his hand, but he was unable to point him out among them. He added, that *he went round in custody of Mr. Stafford, and an officer of the name of Salmon*: the man at the Pumpkin had kept the Stone-kitchen, at the Tower, till the regiment stationed there was changed; there the witness had treated the soldiers, and shown the cockades. The man, when asked, said that he remembered nothing of the kind. They also inquired at the same place for a woman who went by the name of Old Mary, and a boy. Afterwards the witness had gone to the sign of the Black Lion, in Vinegar-yard, and saw the landlady and a boy, whose names he could not recollect: he asked her if she recollected any persons coming there, treating the soldiers, and sticking up a bill in the tap-room. She replied that she did recollect something of the kind, and he called the boy, who usually waited on the customers. Next the witness went to Newton's, and from thence to the man over the water, with whom he and Thistlewood had spoken about the hire of a mountebank's stage: Mr. Stafford was with him.

Did you not know for what purpose Mr. Stafford was taking you round?---I did not; he never communicated his purpose to me.

Did you not know without communication what his purpose was?---He never told me.

And you could not give a shrewd guess that it was for the purpose of procuring evidence?---*That entirely rests with myself.*

Then you had a sort of notion what it was for?---*Yes, my intellects are not quite so weak as that.*

Upon your oath, do you not know that you were taken round London

for the purpose of obtaining evidence ; do you not know that—

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. Let the witness have an opportunity of answering. *There is a justice due to the witness as well as to the prisoner.*

Witness. Whatever questions are put, I shall be able to answer them to the satisfaction of your Lordship and the Jury.

Did you not believe that you were going round to get evidence?---*I did believe it of course* ; I must believe it.

You are described as a whitesmith. How long have you left off that trade?---I cannot tell, to a year or two.

When was the last piece of smith's work you ever did, with the exception of the pike-head you spoke of?---Not for the last 12 or 14 years. I have not worked at my business for other persons since that time, but I have done jobs at several shops for myself ; such as repairing a lock, &c. I have been in business at Harwich.

You have left Harwich for some time?---I have.

In what business were you before your connexion with Watson and the others?---In the figure making way, paper figures, dolls for children.

Did you not state to some of the prisoners that you were in great distress when your acquaintance with them began. Were you in great distress?---Yes, I was.

Were you ever under commitment before this time?---Never.

Upon no charge whatever?---*Committed*, do you mean?

Yes, committed?---(After some consideration) Yes, I was.

Were you ever at Guildford, in the county of Surrey?---I was.

How many times have you been under commitment, or in custody, before the present occasion?---*Twice*.

Were you under commitment once at Abergavenny?---Once.

And at Guildford?---Once.

What were you committed for?---*I dare say you are perfectly well acquainted why*.

But I had rather have *your* authority?---I was committed for putting off *bad* notes.

Is that what is commonly called forgery?---I never understood it so.

Or uttering forged notes?---It is.

You said at first that you were never under commitment, and yet now you state that you were committed twice ; explain that?---I understood you to mean if I was ever tried.

Then you made a distinction between a commitment and a trial?---I did.

You were tried at Guildford?---No.

No! Why not?---I was *admitted* an evidence.

What the same *accident* happened there as on the present occasion?---It did.

Namely, that you were committed upon a charge, and afterwards became a witness against the persons who were committed on the same charge?---Be so good as to repeat the question.

The question was repeated, and the answer was, "*It did happen*."

What became of the man against whom you gave evidence?---*He suffered by the laws of his country*.

Did he die on the scaffold as a victim?---I was informed he did.

Have you a doubt he did?---I have not.

How long is that ago?---Three or four years.

What was the name of the unfortunate man?---Davis.

Did you make any and what bargain then with the Bank of England before you were admitted an evidence?---I did not. I told them I had been innocently dragged into it, and that I would communicate the whole of the circumstances : I did so, and told them where we got the forged notes.

Pray were you innocently dragged into the present transaction!---Yes, I was.

What age are you?---Between 28 and 29. *Not older*.

Did you know a person of the name of Greenaway?---I did.

Were you ever a witness against Greenaway?---I was.

What was the charge?---He was with me when I was apprehended.

Was he more fortunate than you on that occasion?---I do not know what you mean?

Did he or did he not suffer?---He pleaded guilty, and was *transported*.

Then you were the only bird of the covey that escaped? Yes.

One suffered the penalty of the law, and was hanged; another was transported; and the third we have now in Court?---Yes.

Whom did you work for last, in your business?---For a Mrs. Angel, at Doncaster.

How long ago?---About 14 years.

Before that time, where did you work?---Where I was apprentice.

How many years did you work there?---Twelve or fourteen. I was brought up with them.

And do you mean to say that you are now only 28 or 29 years old?---I do not know my age, to a year or two.

Can you speak to three or four years?---Yes, I can.

Are you under 33 years old?---I am.

Under 32?---*I cannot exactly say.*

Where was your birth-place?---South Kirby, Yorkshire.

You said that you had been committed at Abergavenny?---I was.

On what charge?---*On a charge of taking a French Prisoner.*

Do you mean taking, or taking away?---Taking.

That is, assisting in the escape of a French prisoner?---No, preventing his escape; I will satisfy you of that.

Who was the honest Welch parson who committed you?---I do not know.

Did he not say, that if what you had been guilty of had been done by a commissioner of transports, he would have committed him?---*He did.*

The witness was then desired to

explain the circumstances of the transaction. He stated that he had gone to Tothill-fields Bridewell, to visit a friend, where a man of the name of Warner gave him two letters to be sent to Buonaparte; and as soon as he had got them, he (the witness) gave information at Bow-street: from thence he went to the Transport Board, where he saw a clerk of the name of Sugden, who ordered him to go down to Abergavenny, to bring to town Colonel Privetti, one of Buonaparte's principal artillery officers there on parole: he went down accordingly, with an officer of the name of Dickins; but the Colonel would not come away, and the witness in consequence came to town for fresh orders. He received a letter of authority from Sugden, and went down again to Abergavenny; and hiring a cart at Bristol, by Colonel de Privetti's orders, he had proceeded with him about eight or nine miles, when he was stopped, taken before a magistrate, and committed on a charge of aiding in the escape of a French prisoner of war, notwithstanding he produced the letter given him by Sugden; the magistrate declaring that due notice had not been given to a Mr. Jones, who had the regulation of the prisoners of war in that part of the country.

What compensation were you to receive, if you could get Colonel Privetti out of the country?---No particular sum.

Who made you the offer?---Warner, who lived in Kent, and was then in Tothill-fields Bridewell, for aiding in an escape.

How came you to go there?---I went to see one Robert Kennett.

Has not your friend Kennett been hanged?---Yes: he was no particular friend of mine. He referred me to Warner. I had known Kennett two or three years before.

What has become of Warner?---I do not know. I believe he is now in Kent.

Has he not disappeared?---I have not seen him for two or three years.

You have said that a man of the name of Dickins was your companion into Wales. Was he not charged some time ago at the Old Bailey with entering into a *conspiracy* that made a little noise?---I do not know any thing of him.

I mean, was he not the associate of a man of the name of VAUGHAN?---I do not know it.

Have you any doubts it is the same Dickins?

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. If he be, how can we incorporate him with this case?

MR. WETHERELL. My object, my Lord, is to show that *this man's friends and companions were felons and forgers: that they were all among the basest of mankind.*

MR. JUSTICE ABBOTT. Every witness is entitled to the protection of the Court. I remember that was discussed on the trial of Mr. Hardy, when Mr. Erskine, one of the highest and ablest advocates at the bar, and Counsel for the prisoner, examined a witness in a certain mode.

MR. WETHERELL then asked, Do you believe that the Dickins you have spoken of was the same man?

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. If you prove it, what have we before us relating to him? It is really corrupting all justice, when such prejudices are received.

You stated yesterday that you and Watson had a private conversation at your lodging, and that you desired your wife to go out of the room?---I desired the person in the room to go out.

Did you desire your children to go out?---I have none.

You said yesterday that you were a married man, and that you desired your wife to go out: what is the age of your wife?---I do not exactly know her age.

You have had children?---Yes.

How many?---Three or four.

You seem not to recollect exactly?---Four: three and a miscarriage.

Where is your wife?---In the country; in Yorkshire.

When did your children die?---Three or four years ago.

Is the mother of those children dead or living?---Living.

And she is your wife?---*I do not know whether she is my wife or not: we lived together as man and wife.*

Were you married to her? Were you at church?---*We were: at Dover Court, near Harwich.*

How long ago?---Ten or twelve years.

Was her name Pricket?---Yes.

What do you mean then by telling the Jury you lived together, and you called her your wife, if you were really married to her; did you not mean to intimate that she was not your wife?---I did not.

Why did you not say she was your wife, and not the person you lived with?---I have lived with another person since.

What was her name?---Toms.

Was the person who was in the room when Watson called Mrs. Toms, or your real wife?---My real wife.

What age is Mrs. Toms?---She is dead.

Is there no other person with whom you now cohabit as your wife?---

Were you ever married before you were married to the woman of the name of Pricket?---I never was.

Have you ever made proposals of marriage to any person within the last two or three years?

LORD ELLENBOROUGH objected to the question, on the ground that it tended to criminate the witness.

Where did Mrs. Toms live?---In King Street.

You said that your last employment was that of selling children's figures; did you ever live at a house called Mother Toms'?---I did.

Where was that?---In King Street, Soho.

Pray what sort of a place is Mother

Toms' ?---She was a person who kept a lodging-house.

You call it a lodging-house : was it for male or female lodgers ?---Female.

Were her lodgings let by the hour, or half-hour, or by the month ?---By the week.

But she occasionally let them out for a few minutes ?---Never for less than a week.

I put it to you : is it not a house of ill fame ?---No, *it is not ; it is not, upon my oath.* You may call it what you please ; but it was never let out for a few minutes.

Is not Mother Toms' a place where prostitutes are kept ?---It is a place where young women take lodgings.

Is it not a house of prostitution, or ill fame ?---It is not.

Did they not receive persons there for the purpose of prostitution ?---No.

Were you waiter there ?---No.

A partner there ?---No.

Is there not in those houses a sort of character called a protector ?---Not that I know of.

In what character did you live there ?---In the character of her husband.

Is there not in those houses a good stout fellow, called a protector, or bully. Did you live in that character ?---I did not : she let her lodgings out at so much a week.

How many unfortunate young women lived there ?---She had three different floors, which she let out to three separate women.

Was there no back-door or by-room into which promiscuous company, or chance customers, as they are called, might be received ?---No.

Do you not know, upon your oath, that these lodgings were let out for the purpose of receiving gallants ?---*I do not know it : I never interfered with them.*

You do not know whether the chief run of the visitors were males or females ?---I never observed ; I had nothing to do with it ; I neither paid nor received.

You do not believe that the lodgings were let out for the purposes of prostitution ?---*I do not.*

Do you not believe they were ?---*I believe they were.*

Whose name was on the door ?---*My name ; but I did not pay the rent : Mrs. Toms always did that herself.*

When did you take the brass plate off the door ?---It is not taken off now.

How long has it been on the door ?---About a year and a half, but there is another plate over it. Mrs. Toms' name was on the door first ; but that was taken away, and a fresh plate put up.

Is your name legible now ?---No ; but I have not been that way for eight or nine months, therefore I cannot tell whether it is legible now or not.

You have not stated exactly where your wife is ?---I do not know exactly : I sent her into Yorkshire, close to Doncaster.

What did you send her there for ?---To see my friends.

Do you know a young woman the daughter of a baker at Brighton ?---I do.

What is her name ?---Streater.

What is her age ?---I do not know.

Have you been much at Brighton before your confinement ?---I have been there twice.

Having gone through your domestic history, Mr. [Castles, proceed we now to the topics of general history with which you have favoured us. You said that on the 2d of December you proceeded to London-bridge ?---I did.

Between 8 and 9 in the morning ?---No ; nothing of the kind : between 8 and 9 in the morning I proceeded to the Black Dog, Drury-lane.

And went from thence to London-bridge ?---No ; to meet the waggon at the top of Gray's-inn-lane. *I put in the colours.* I do not know who put in the powder, but it was taken from the Black Dog by one John Kearns. There might be half a canister of it, and 60 or 70 balls.

It was the regular canister powder : a small canister I think ; a 1lb. canister. *I tied them up in a dirty white handkerchief, or something like it ; the balls were in the foot of an old stocking : besides this, there were two or three small cartridges with slugs. These were all the warlike stores I believe. I went to the Tower at about half-past 11 o'clock. I did not go to Spa-fields myself, but to No. 1, Dean-street, where I assisted Kearns in wrapping up the banner. Then I went to London-bridge to meet the smiths.*

And were the smiths there ?---None that I know of.

What smiths were they ?---Some that came from a factory over the water, belonging I think to one Bouverie, or some such name. I was sent to meet them at London-bridge, as they had made a subscription of 12s. 6d.

Then the story about your meeting the smiths comes to nothing. There were none ?---I did not say so : I saw none, but they might be gone to Spa-fields.

Did you not tell Watson that the smiths would assist ?---Watson and Preston had both been with me to see them at their dinner hour. I do not know any of their names, nor can I mention one of them that promised to attend.

When you went to the Tower, you did not waste your breath in an harangue to the walls. You made no speech to the soldiers ?---I had been with the soldiers.

But you did not, in the words of the indictment, " On the 2d of December, with a loud voice command the soldiers of our Sovereign Lord the King, to give up the Tower ? "---I did not.

Then you went, where ?---Up the Minories, where all was quiet, and I met Hunt in Cheapside, at 20 minutes before one.

What did you say to Hunt ?---I asked why he was so late, and I said

that young Watson had gone with a party of men from Spa-fields to attack the Tower, as I was informed. He looked at the clock, and said that one o'clock was the time appointed for him to be in Spa-fields, and then he drove off.

Did you say nothing else to him about the Tower ?---I did not ; that is all the conversation that passed.

Did you not tell Mr. Hunt that you had just come from the Tower, and add, " the Tower has been in our possession for two hours," or something to that effect ?---*I did not.*

Did you not say " the Tower is in our possession ? "---No.

Or in any way give him to understand the people had got the Tower ?---No, I did not.

Did you not desire Hunt to turn back, and go with you to the Tower ?---I did not ; I desired Mr. Hunt to make haste to Spa-fields ; he immediately drove off, not stopping half a minute.

What way were you walking ?---Towards the Bank.

How came you to be going that way ?---*I was going down to the Tower.*

You had been there once that day, and why did you wish to go again ?---I had met the elder Watson, Kearns, and Thistlewood, and they said that young Watson was gone with a party of men to the Tower.

Were they armed ?---I did not see any arms. Watson had a dirk stick, but it was not drawn. I then went to Mark-lane with Kearns ; and as I came back, I heard a great noise between the Royal Exchange and the Bank, and there I found young Watson, with about 200 men and boys firing in the air.

The Witness then stated the circumstance of his proceeding with Thistlewood to a man in the New-cut, to hire a stage or waggon to speak from. The meetings, from time to time, were kept up in Grey-stoke-place, and at No. 1, Dean-

street, once or twice a day. After the insertion of the advertisement, several persons came to Greystoke-place with money, which the elder Watson took: once a 10l. note was sent all at once, and the whole amount of the subscriptions might be 30l., but the witness never took any particular account of it. He said, that when Harrison withdrew, he was thrown into some alarm, and he objected to continuing the meetings in Greystoke-place.

What was the ground for Harrison's withdrawing? On account of a quarrel which took place between him and the younger Watson, as they were going up to Seale's for the bills.

When he withdrew, who introduced Hooper? *I did: he was appointed in his stead.*

Did you not prevail upon Harrison to withdraw, as he was suspected, and it would be better? *I did not.*

You know a man of the name of Angel? *Yes: I invited him to dine; he was a stranger to all but Hooper.*

Did you not propose to introduce him to the committee? *I did not.*

Did you invite Angel to the private meetings? *I did, but he refused. I asked several others to join the meetings, but I cannot exactly state their names.*

Cannot you remember any of them? *I asked the two Crisps.*

You mean the private meetings? *No, I never invited any person to join the private meetings; the meetings I referred to were in Spa-fields.*

Did you not tell those whom you invited to go to Spa-fields, that you had got arms for them? *I did not: I do not know how many went that I invited, or whether the smiths were there. I cannot say how many I invited.*

Did any you invited refuse to attend? *Not that I particularly know of.*

Did you report how many you had prevailed upon? *I reported every night, and sometimes twice a day.*

Were those reports true? *They were always correct.*

Were they in writing? *Never.*

Did you not say that 500 smiths would attend? *I did; 500 smiths and men from other factories. I do not know how many, in fact, attended.*

You cannot say how large the muster-roll of smiths turned out? *I cannot tell: I saw none of them.*

Should you know any of them? *Yes; two, if I were to see them.*

Did you see any person in the crowd whom you invited to attend at Spa-fields? *I did not.*

Before the 2d of December, did you go about to any public-houses to treat soldiers, and show them cockades? *Yes, I showed one to the soldiers in the Stone Kitchen, in the Tower. I had got one in the crown of my hat inside: I took it out and showed it to the soldiers.*

Did you take any of them aside, or into some by-place to show it? *No, I showed it them in the tap-room.*

And what said the soldiers of the cockade, when you showed it them publicly in the open tap-room? *They said it was very pretty—very fine colours.*

Did you treat them? *I gave them some beer.*

Any thing else? *One asked me to lend him sixpence, and I gave him a shilling.*

Did you often go the Tower in this way? *Three or four times.*

You mentioned yesterday that you had been at a public-house in the neighbourhood of Drury-lane Theatre, where you saw some soldiers. Were they in their red coats? *Yes, and on duty.*

The place where you met these soldiers is much frequented, I suppose? *No, it is a small room, and there was nobody in it but soldiers.*

Was it not a public room? *It was an open room; any person might go into it.*

You recollect something that passed between you and two gentlemen's servants about the time you mention-

ed: was it not Mr. Chancellor Leach's servant? I do not know.

I will give you his name; but was it not Mr. Chancellor Leach's servant you wished to seduce on this occasion, and with whom you had a quarrel? It was young Watson. There was myself, the two Watsons, and Thistlewood, in the room. Young Watson quarrelled with the gentleman's servant, saying to him that in his livery he looked like a negro run away with a mark set on him.

What was the cause of the quarrel? He did not agree altogether with the meeting. One of the servants was in livery, the other in plain clothes.

You went to the Horse-guards also into a public-house there; did you not? Yes; into the place called the *Canteen*: it is a public room.

Now do you recollect any thing of going to dine at Bouverie-street on the day of the first meeting in Spaffields? Yes.

Who dined with you? The two Watsons, Hooper, and Preston.

Was that the whole party? There was Mr. Hunt, Mr. Clark, and others.

Why did you go to that dinner in Bouverie-street? We went there because we knew it was the place where Mr. Hunt put up at.

How late did you stay there? I don't know; very probably till six or seven o'clock.

Do you recollect any thing remarkable that passed there, Mr. Castles? I recollect Mr. Hunt said he had not seen the colours which were in Spaffields, and I took the flag out of my bosom and showed it to him. He held the one end of it, and I the other.

Were any particular toasts given after dinner in Bouverie-street? I don't know.

Do you recollect whether you gave any toast yourself? Yes, I gave one.

What was it? I gave "*May the last of kings be strangled in the guts of the last of priests.*"

What passed on your giving that toast? When I gave the toast, Mr.

Hunt desired that I would not be so violent, and stopped me.

Was nothing said about turning any body out of the room? No; not that I can recollect.

Is that the only time you were ever admonished not to be violent in your toasts? Yes.

There was nothing said about turning any body out? No.

Nor about the company leaving the room? No; not as far as I can recollect. I am not certain whether Mr. Hunt might not say he would leave the room.

But you are quite certain that nothing was said about turning you out? Yes.

You do not recollect falling asleep, do you? No; I did not fall asleep.

Nor pretending to fall asleep, taking a little nap, a sort of a fox sleep? No.

Did you neither fall really asleep nor sham sleep; a bit of a fox sleep; you know what I mean, Mr. Castles? O yes, I know very well, Sir; I neither fell asleep, nor shammed sleep.

Not a little nap? No; to the best of my recollection I did not.

Let us see: so you will not positively deny it. Now tell me candidly, did you take a real sleep or a sham sleep? I did not fall asleep at all, as far as I can recollect.

Pray Mr. Castles, did Mr. Hunt invite you to dine with him on this occasion? Mr. Hunt asked whether all who were there were to dine.

That is not an answer to my question; did he ask you, Sir? No.

Then you went uninvited? I went with the elder Watson and Hooper.

How came you to dine at the same table? I walked up as others did.

Did Mr. Hunt invite you to sit down at the same table? No.

Then either you or somebody else proposed this? Yes; somebody I suppose proposed it, but I did not.

Did not you tell Mr. Hunt something about your getting a French

officer out of the country? I believe I did.

Did not you tell him that you had got five hundred pounds to do it? Yes.

Was this true? No.

Have you ever gone by the name of Jackson? Yes. After the first Spa-fields meeting, Angel told me it would be more prudent to get a different name.

But you went back and forward to the meeting as usual? Yes.

Then why were you afraid? Because Preston had been taken up.

Did you ever live in Carnaby-market? No.

You went to Exeter Change to look for arms, I believe? Yes.

Did you see any there? Yes. We expected to find as many as would serve 40 or 50. There were pistols, and sticks with swords.

Did you not say you expected to get guns there? Probably.

Did you ever see any guns or sabres there? Yes.

Will you swear to have seen one gun? I cannot be certain.

Will you swear to sabres? Yes, to more than 20.

Did you not say that one reason for giving up the blockading, the burning plan, was, that the people were not sufficiently ripe for it? Yes. No, I did not say ripe; not sufficiently numerous without a public meeting.

Did you know Kearns before he joined your party? I had seen him at the meetings.

You said, yesterday, that Mr. Watson spoke to you first about overturning the government. How long had you known him then? I had seen him different times at the meetings.

Had you ever seen him three times before? I do not know.

Will you swear that he ever spoke twice to you before he talked in this way of its being easy to overturn the Government? No.

So, then, your conversation with

him on that subject was the first that ever passed between you? Yes.

When did you first disclose this to any body? About the 6th or 7th of January.

Were you near enough at the first Spa-fields meeting to hear the resolutions put? I was in the room.

Did you see any magistrates there? I do not know.

Did you not boast of having put your fist in a magistrate's face? Perhaps I did: but I did not know he was a magistrate. It was a gentleman who nearly shoved me off the table.

Did you not see some police officers in Merlin's Cave? Yes.

I believe your person is not unknown to them? I know some of them.

You have said you were in distress in February last. Who has supported you during the period of your imprisonment: you are now well dressed? I have been supported in Tohill-fields bridewell. *Mr. Stafford paid for my dress.*

Has he given you pocket-money also? Yes.

Have all the things that have been given you been paid for by money from Mr. Stafford? Yes.

Who furnished the money for sending your wife to Yorkshire? Mr. Stafford also. He paid 5l.

But why send her out of town; she was not a traitoress; there could be no particular harm in her remaining in London? Perhaps not.

But why was she sent out of the way? *That is best known to myself.*

Who suggested the plan of sending her away? Nobody.

If your wife had been here, could not she have stated some matters of importance? No, I never communicate my affairs to her.

No, I dare say not; but there are some dates and facts of importance which she might have known: for instance, could she not have verified the fact of your sending her out of the room when you wanted to speak

privately to Watson: perhaps could she not have stated were you had been at some particular times? I do not think she could.

Mr. SHEPPARD objected to this course of examination, and the Court sustained the objections.

After Preston was apprehended, I believe you endeavoured to take care of any little property or furniture he might have? The goods were not his. When Preston was taken before the Lord Mayor, Preston's daughters assisted me in taking away a table and a flock bed that belonged to the committee. *I took the things and appropriated them to my own use*, for the committee had left me without any thing.

Was the committee obliged to support you? They had supported me before, and Thistlewood had always said there would be some money to take me out of the country if any thing happened.

You know the house of young Watson, in Hyde-street; had you the key? No.

Will you swear you had no access to it? I never was there but twice in my life.

You took the pikes there, you said?
Yes.

The cross-examination of the wretch CASTLES makes more than I supposed. Remark must be deferred to my next.

WILLIAM HONE.

King's Bench Prison,
No. 2 in No. 7.
19th June, 1817.

TO READERS.

THE REFORMISTS' REGISTER will, every *half-year*, have a TITLE-PAGE, with a COMPLETE INDEX of reference to its contents, and bind up into a Volume, as large in size as a Volume of the best edition of Hume's History of England, or Gibbon's Rome. But a volume of the REGISTER will contain more than double the quantity contained in a volume of these works, and be at *one half* the price; so that the Reader will have, at the end of every year, TWO VOLUMES, abounding with sound political information, on subjects in which he himself, and his children, and his country, are deeply interested; and the contents of these TWO VOLUMES, which he obtains by an easy purchase of *Two-pence a Week*, and which do not cost him NINE SHILLINGS, will be equal to the contents of *Four* volumes of Hume's History of England, which will cost *One Pound Twelve Shillings*.

Country orders addressed to Mr. HONE, 67, Old Bailey, with remittances, or appointing payment in London, and mentioning the conveyance parcels are to be sent by, will be punctually executed, and bills and placards to hang at doors and shop windows enclosed.

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HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 23.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1817.

[Vol. I.]

SPIES AND INFORMERS.

Villany of their Character---The entrapping of WATSON---Infamous conduct of CASTLE---Certificate of his Marriage three Years ago, his former Wife being alive---Mr. CURRAN'S eloquent Address to a Jury on Informers---A BOROUGHMONGER'S reception of WATSON'S acquittal---Mr. CURRAN'S Character of REYNOLDS, the Informer; his Oath-takings, his Swearings, his Informings, some Account of his Rewards---Attempts of OLIVER, the Informer, to entrap Mr. WOOLER and myself lately---Particulars of another Attempt to entrap me to print Treasonable Papers---My Interview with Mr. BECKETT, Under Secretary of State---Copy of Treasonable Bill---Mr. NICHOLLS, the Attorney, of 29, Bennett-street, and Lord SIDMOUTH---My Protest to the Master of the Crown Office, against my SPECIAL JURIES---Liberty, by W. Cowper, Esq.

If there be one scoundrel for whom we have greater contempt than another, it is for him who sits at our tables, becomes acquainted with our affairs, and betrays our confidence. This crime can scarcely be perpetrated in any circle, without producing heart-burnings and discontents, which explanation never entirely allays, nor reconciliation ever effectually cures. The wretch

who worked the evil may be detected and expelled; but of his venom enough will always remain to rankle and embitter friendly intercourse. Hence, they who entertain slander are discouraged by the generous, and babblers are shunned by the wise. For the same reasons, the most dangerous enemies to persons in public life are political informers. Happily for public men, the qualifications of spies and informers consist in a depravity of mind, accompanied by overt acts of villany, which can never be overlooked or unobserved but by the enthusiastic or the vicious. Had Dr. WATSON been less depressed by distress, or less galled by "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," the wretch CASTLE could scarcely have marked him for a victim: and yet it is not difficult for such a man to select almost whom he will in this metropolis, amongst the opposers to Ministers, as objects of his machinations. In London, men become acquainted, and form connexions with others, whose conduct being fair at the time, occasion no suspicion;—and really the numerous avocations of a town life, and general acquaintance, render it almost impossible to inquire respecting the birth, parentage, and education, of every one we talk with. No one can imagine that Dr. WATSON knew CASTLE as an in-

famous character, although it appears from the trial that the miscreant was saturated in crime. His *business* was to gain WATSON'S confidence, to lull him into security, and entice him gradually to the commission of treasonable acts; and he so far succeeded, that up to the moment of arrest, WATSON did not suspect him. It was only after WATSON was charged with the crime of treason, and upon diligent inquiry, that CASTLE was discovered to be connected with felons and forgers, and the basest of mankind. The monster had been seen with poor WATSON by hundreds and thousands of persons; and yet no one recognized him as having hanged one of his own friends for a crime of which he himself was guilty, and transported another for the like offence. WATSON was talking hourly, it appears, and walking about the streets of London, with the very refuse of the gallows, unsuspecting and unsuspected. There is no place for the concealment of villany equal in security to London—that is, for its effectual concealment from *public* knowledge; for CASTLE must have been as well known to the Police as were his companions, KENNET whom he hanged, and GREENAWAY whom he transported. He was too great a criminal ever to be forgotten by the Police, and too wily and subtle a reptile to lead to points that would discover his real character. WATSON knew no more than the three poor Irishmen, who were tempted to commit forgery by VAUGHAN, the blood-money man, now under sentence of death in Newgate, that CASTLE

was the associate of VAUGHAN and his companions. WATSON knew not that CASTLE lived with Mother Toms, in King-street, Soho, at a house which, says the wretch, "*upon my oath*," is not a house of ill fame. WATSON knew not that CASTLE was a wholesale dealer in oaths. He swore on the trial, that his wife, whom he represented to be dressed up at the expense of Mr. STAFFORD, the Police Clerk, was gone into Yorkshire, at that gentleman's expense, with money in her pocket, also furnished by Mr. STAFFORD. He swore her maiden name was PRICKETT, and that he had been married to her 10 or 12 years ago, at Dover Court, near Harwich; and he no doubt swore truly: but he did not swear that he increased the catalogue of his crimes by marrying another woman in 1814; of which marriage WATSON was also ignorant, but which appears by the following certificate from the registry in St. Sepulchre's Church:—

(Copy)

"JOHN CASTLE, of the Parish of Saint Sepulchre, London, bachelor, and LYDIA STREETER, of the same parish, spinster, were married in this church, by license, with consent of ———, this 22d day of April, in the year 1814.

"By me, CHARLES CAY,
"Minister.

"This marriage was solemnized between us,—

"JOHN CASTLE,
"LYDIA STREETER,

"In the presence of—

"GEORGE PHELPSOT,
"LIDY CARD,
"ANN RICE,

"No. 87.

"The above is a true copy, ex-

tracted from the Register-Book of Marriages of the parish of St. Sepulchre, Snow-hill, City of London, this 13th day of June, 1817,

“By me, THOMAS HARRISON,
“Curate and Registrar of the
aforesaid Parish.”

CASTLE's career of infamy was unknown to WATSON and his friends, until after the villain had wound his snares around his victim—until after they were both in custody;—WATSON in his prison, upon charges of high treason; and CASTLE, the master traitor, parading the streets of London with Mr. STAFFORD, qualifying himself once more to swear away another life from the witness-box. When the wretch stood there, dressed up by the Police with new clothes, and furnished with money from the same source—and he swore that Mr. STAFFORD furnished both—how eloquently, with some adaptations, might the Jury have been addressed in the language of Mr. CURRAN:—

“Let me ask you honestly,” said that gentleman, on a trial in Ireland, “what do you feel, when in my hearing, when in the face of this audience, you are called upon to give a verdict that every man of us, and every man of you know by the testimony of your own eyes to be utterly and absolutely false? I speak not now of the public proclamation of informers, with a promise of secrecy and of extravagant reward; I speak not of the fate of those horrid wretches who have been so often transferred from the table to the dock, and from the dock to the pillory; I speak of what your own eyes have seen day after day during the course

of this commission from the box where you are now sitting; the number of horrid miscreants who avowed upon their oaths that they had come from the very seat of government—from the castle, where they had been worked upon by the fear of death and the hopes of compensation, to give evidence against their fellows, that the mild and wholesome councils of this government, are holden over these catacombs of living death, where the wretch that is buried a man, lies till his heart has time to fester and dissolve, and is then dug up as a witness.

“Is this fancy, or is it fact? Have you not seen him, after his resurrection from that tomb, after having been dug out of the region of death and corruption, make his appearance upon the table, the living image of life and of death, and the supreme arbiter of both? Have you not marked when he entered, how the stormy wave of the multitude retired at his approach? Have you not marked how the human heart bowed to the supremacy of his power, in the undissembled homage of deferential horror? How his glance, like the lightning of heaven, seemed to rive the body of the accused, and mark it for the grave, while his voice warned the devoted wretch of woe and death; a death which no innocence can escape, no art elude, no force resist, no antidote prevent:—there was an antidote—a juror's oath—but even that adamant chain, that bound the integrity of man to the throne of eternal justice, is solved and melted in the breath that issues from the informer's mouth; con-

science swings from her moorings, and the appalled and affrighted juror consults his own safety in the surrender of the victim."

With the same burning eloquence Mr. CURRAN immortalized the Irish evidence of the informer REYNOLDS, in 1798, who sat here a few months as a Grand Juror, to receive the testimony of the informer CASTLE, and assisted in finding indictments for high treason against WATSON. Who will wonder that an honest upright Jury pronounced a verdict of acquittal on the trial? I shall further notice the informer REYNOLDS; but before I do so, I extract from the *Examiner* of Sunday last an admirable scene illustrative of the *Boroughmongers'* conduct on that event:—

"It would have been curious to see how he received the news of the acquittal. Let us see, after passing the morning as usual—after having breakfasted at his ease, looked about him, glanced at his pictures, admired his screens, pinched his geraniums, yawned at his slippers, viewed his rents, heard his Secretary on his boroughs, advised people to go to work who could get none, walked or ridden about his grounds, set traps for pale-faced pickers of sticks, and subscribed to the Bible Society, cursed poor rates, petitions and reformers, looked after the requisite perjuries for the next election, made some calls on horseback, or in his carriage, laughed, bowed, smirked, cringed, frowned, gossiped, and dressed, he sits down with a few select friends, including his representative in Parliament, to the pretty little miscellany, cycled "every thing in season." They eat fish, they eat flesh, they drink soup, wine, liquors; they tattle, they talk of imaginary distresses of the people, of the transition from war to peace,

of the atrocities committed against baker's loaves, of young WATSON and PLATT, of the other WATSON and PRESTON, and the diabolical views of the *Spenceans*; of the necessity of putting down all such enthusiasts, even if their intentions (here they all look round at each other and laugh), even if their intentions are good; of the shocking things said against Christianity by the French philosophers; of the necessity of wars (that is to say, legitimate ones), perjuries, infamies, great wealth and great poverty; of the uses and rights of luxury; of the abominable getting of children by fellows who have not even a comfort in life; of the inevitable return of their friend to Parliament by means of the *faggots*; and of the equally inevitable conviction of the aforesaid WATSON, and his accomplices. By this time, the cloth is removed; the pines, ices, and Burgundy placed on the table; a new footman, who comes in, is told not to bring such filthy things there (meaning a tattered petition from a sailor); and a window of the room is thrown open to admit the refreshing airs through a green-house. Enter Jack So-and-so—an humble servant of his Lordship.

Lord. Ah, Jack! What brings you here at this time of day? What, are you just up, man, and taken seven o'clock for one?

Toad-eater at table.—Ah, ha! ha! —(Aside to another.) His Lordship, though a man of depth, is really so droll!

Other Toad eater. Ah, ha! ha!—Prodigious!

(Here Jack shakes his head.)

Lord. Why, what's the matter, Jack! Have you found any thing in your head, that you shake it so?

Omnes. Ah, ha! ha!

Toad-eater. Really, my dear Lord, you must consider, while we are eating these excellent ices. It gives one a pain in the cheeks.

Jack. Ah, my Lord, you may laugh; but what d'ye think?

Lord. Think, Jack? Why, that you have lost the plate, or broken the horse's knees, or want your dinner, or something.

Jack (bowing and seating himself.) I thank your Lordship for your compliment to my public spirit---WATSON's acquitted.

Omnes (open-mouthed, and suspending their slices of pine). WATSON acquitted!

Lord. No, no; he's joking.---Come, come, Jack; this won't do. You might as well say that Lord CASTLEREAGH's the author of *Waverley*.

Toad-eater (stifling a laugh.) Your Lordship is really so prodigious.

Lord (sweeping his eye gravely round the table.) Not that I mean, you know, of course, that my Lord CASTLEREAGH couldn't write *Waverley*.

Omnes. Of course not;---oh, of course. Great man, Lord CASTLEREAGH;---great man; prodigious speaker;---but he hasn't leisure for writing.

Lord. Just so.---Well, but, Jack; what's this about WATSON? Your're not serious, are you?

Jack. My Lord, it's a fact. I was there myself; and the Court was so hot;---this is the fifth ice I've eaten to day on the strength of it. WATSON's acquitted, and so are the rest. That fellow *Castle* over-did his work horribly, that's certain. He beat *Falstaff*. He said at one time there were thirty soldiers in a place, and it turned out there were but two.

Lord. What a fool! But that's the worst of those informers;---they've no decency. There's *Reynolds* now. *Reynolds* is a useful sort of fellow in the main, and has done a good deal for his pay;---the clamour against him is quite shocking;---but then he has no decency.---Well, this is a bad business, Jack! And a Special Jury too! I never expected this from a Special Jury. Why, if they won't condemn such fellows as these, whom will they? Upon my

honour, we must look about us, and stir briskly at the next election. Yet I suppose now the old cry about the Boroughmongers, as they call them, will be louder than ever, and that they'll pretend---they'll pretend---in short, God knows what they'll pretend, and what these new symptoms will come to. There's one good thing, however; to-morrow's the Waterloo Anniversary; and the procession with the Duke of WELLINGTON in it, must have an effect---a great effect, I should think, eh Jack?

Jack (shaking his head and passing the Burgundy.) Ah, my Lord, I don't know that either. The People, somehow or other, have got a notion that they were choused in that business---your Lordship knows what I mean---they talk about Norway, and Poland, and Saxony, and forcing Louis on the French, and God knows what, and fancy that the Allies ought to have---

Lord. Curse that peal about Poland and Saxony, and all of them! The jacobin newspapers never give us any thing else. It rings in one's ears just as the bells did in WHITTINGTON's---

"Turn again Whittington"---

"Poland and Saxony."

Jack. Aye, and the citizens seem as full of the one now as they are of the other.

Lord. Aye, there again; and the LORD MAYOR has got into the House too---one of your impartial men, forsooth! And BURDETT speaks again to-night about that rascal the voter, who refused to give back my Lord LONSDALE's property. Well;---ring the bell, Jack, for coffee. I must go down to the House to help the Suspension Bill; and to-morrow for *Waterloo*."

In this way, and by such personages, we are swindled out of our liberties. CASTLE, it is true, is *not exactly* the man to put his knees under the dinner table of a borough proprietor; but he is

an useful auxiliary, when open treason is meditated upon the Constitution—worthy of all encouragement from the traitors, and may fairly claim to be upon the pension list, as well as the informer REYNOLDS. They are a noble pair—CASTLE not quite up to his trade, and REYNOLDS above it. REYNOLDS has hung his men, and done his day's work. CASTLE has not—at least, not that I know of; though I have heard it whispered that he has *claims for services* performed some years ago, that have not been rewarded as he expected. Certainly it was not CASTLE's fault that he did not hang Dr. WATSON—he swore hard and fast—it was his *misfortune* that the Jury would not believe him. I dare affirm, that if he is asked, he will say he did his best; and that having received earnest, it is a hard thing people won't keep their word. Here Mr. REYNOLDS might step in and assist a brother chip. *He* is every way qualified. Let us hear what Mr. CURRAN said of him, on the trial of OLIVER BOND, for high treason, in the year 1798:—

“Mr. REYNOLDS,” says Mr. CURRAN, “has sworn that he was made a united Irishman by the prisoner at the bar.—Mr. REYNOLDS says, he was sworn to what he considered to be the *objects* of that society—he stated them to you; but whether true or false is for you to determine, by the credit you may give to his testimony. This is the *third* time Mr. REYNOLDS has appeared in a court of justice, to prosecute the prisoners.

“It has been the misfortune of many former jurors to have given

their verdict founded upon the evidence of a perjured witness, and on their death-bed they repented of their credulity, in convicting a man upon false testimony; the history of former ages is replete with such conduct, as may be seen in the state trials, in the case of Lord KIMBOLTON and TITUS OATES—the then jurors convicted that nobleman, but some time after his death, the jurors discovered they had given implicit credit to a witness unworthy of it; and the lawyers of those times might have said “I thank God they have done the deed.”—Does not the history of human infirmity give many instances of this kind? Gentlemen, let me bring you more immediately to the case before you; had we no evidence against REYNOLDS but his own solitary evidence; from the whole of his evidence, you cannot establish the guilt of the prisoner at the bar.

“See *how many oaths* REYNOLDS has taken; he admits he took *two of the oaths* of the obligations to the society of united Irishmen. He told you Lord EDWARD advised him to accept of being a colonel of Kildare united Irishmen's army, and yet he says, he afterwards went to BOND's, and BOND advised REYNOLDS to be a colonel. It appeared in evidence that REYNOLDS was treasurer; he took *two more oaths*, one as colonel, and one as treasurer, and *he took the oath of allegiance also*, and he *took oath to the truth* of his testimony, at the two former trials and at this; *on which do you give him credit?*

“Mr. REYNOLDS has given you

a long account of a conversation he had with Mr. COPE, relative to the proceedings of the society of united Irishmen, and Mr. COPE said, if such a man could be found, as described by Mr. REYNOLDS, who would come forward and give information, he would deserve the epithet of saviour of his country:—thus by REYNOLDS's evidence, it would seem that Mr. COPE was the little pony of repentance to drive away the gigantic crimes of the *colossus* REYNOLDS:—but remember, said Mr. REYNOLDS, though I give information, I won't sacrifice my morality; I won't come forward to prosecute any united Irishman. No, no; like a bashful girl, higgling about the price of her virginity, I am determined, says REYNOLDS, to preserve my character—I will give the communications, but do not think I will descend to be an informer—I will acquaint you of every thing against the united Irishmen, but I must preserve my credit—I tell you the design of the united Irishmen is to overturn the Constitution—I will lead you to the threshold of discovery, but I won't name any price for reward—pray don't mention it at all. Says Mr. COPE, a man would deserve a thousand, or fifteen hundred a year, and a seat in Parliament, or any thing, if he could give the information you mention.—No such thing is required, no such thing, says REYNOLDS—you mistake me; I will have nothing in the world but merely a compensation for losses—do you think I would take a bribe? I ask only of you to give me leave to draw a little bit of a note on you for five hundred

guineas, only by way of indemnity, that is all, merely for indemnity of losses I have sustained, or am liable to sustain. Gentlemen of the jury, don't you see the vast distinction between a bribe and gratification? What says FOIGARD? Consider my conscience, do you think I would take a bribe? It would grieve my conscience if I was to take a bribe—to be a Member of Parliament, and declare for the ayes or the noes—I will accept of no bribe—I will only take a little indemnity for claret that may be spilt; for a little furniture that may be destroyed; for a little wear and tear, for boots and for shoes, for plate destroyed; for defraying the expenses of some pleasurable jaunts, when out of this country; for if I become a public informer against the united Irishmen, and should continue here for some time, I may chance at some time to be killed by some of them—for I have sworn to be true to them, and I also took the oath of allegiance to be true to my sovereign—I have taken all sorts of oaths; if I frequent the company of those who are loyal to the king, they will despise the man who broke his oath of allegiance; and between the loyalist and the united Irishmen, I may chance to be killed.—As I am in the habit of living in the world, says Mr. REYNOLDS to Mr. COPE, you will give me leave to draw a bit of paper on you, only for three hundred guineas at present; it will operate like a bandage to a sore leg; though it won't cure the sore, or the rottenness of the bone, it may hide it from the public view. I will, says Mr. REYNOLDS, newly be baptized for a

draft of three hundred guineas, and become a public informer; and for a further bit of paper billy, for another two hundred guineas, yet I trust you will excuse me, I will not positively take any more.—He might, I imagine, be compared to a bashful girl, and say, What, shall the brutal arms of man attack a country maid, and she not stipulate for full wages; when her gown shortens, and her apron bursts asunder, and she shrinks at the view of public prostitution! perhaps he practised upon her virtue, when she thought he was gaining the affections of that innocent dupe in private.—Do you think that REYNOLDS would touch a bribe, and become an informer? No; no, he said he would be no informer—but did he not consent to do a little business in private—and did he not get money for it? Perhaps he said, I thought to be no villain—I would not have the world think me a villain, yet as I can confide in myself, why should I mind what the world says of me, though it should call me a villain? But is it not a real fact?—Even though I should become the talk of all the porter-houses, though I should become the talk of all the tea-tables, yet perjury is not brought home to me.—No; no human being has knowledge of what is rankling within. Has it not been said, I was an honest man, to come upon the public board as a public informer?—They did call me an honest man, and a worthy, a respectable informer; and thus my character is at bay. The world indeed heard of the progress of these crimes, and that I was, unfortunately, an united Irishman.

“It is you who are the sole judges as to whom you will give credit to; but though you know *this* witness has given evidence on *two former trials*, and though the then jury did give credit to his testimony, yet you are not to determine on your verdict on the faith or precedent of any former jurors, but you are to be solely guided by your own consciences; and you will observe we have had here two more witnesses, to impeach the character of Mr. REYNOLDS, that were not produced on the former trials, and you will no doubt, throw out of your minds whatever did not come this day before you in evidence, on the part of the prosecution; and which will come before you on the part of the prisoner's defence. You will find your verdict flowing from conscious integrity, and from the feelings of honourable minds; notwithstanding the evidence of the witness, Mr. REYNOLDS, who has been examined upon the table, and whose testimony I need not repeat to you. Perhaps you may be inclined to think he is a perjured witness, perhaps you will not believe the story he has told against the prisoner at the bar, and of his own turpitude: you will do well to consider it was through a perjured witness, that a RUSSEL and a SYDNEY were convicted in the reign of JAMES II.—If juries are not circumspect to determine *only* by the evidence adduced before them, and not from any extraneous matter, nor from the slightest breath of prejudice, then what will become of our boasted trial by jury; then what will become of our boasted Constitution? If you should, on the evidences

you have heard, condemn the prisoner to death, and afterwards repent it, I shall not live among you to trace any proof of your future repentance.—I said I rose to tell you what evidences we had to produce on behalf of my client, the prisoner at the bar; we shall lay evidence before you, from which you can infer, that the witness produced this day was a perjured man; we have only to show to you, as honest men, that the witness is not deserving of credit on his oath; we have nothing more to offer on behalf of my client the prisoner at the bar.—It is your province to deliberate in your consciences on what evidence you have heard, and whether you will believe the witness you have heard, on his oath, or not.—Let me ask, will you, upon the evidence you have heard, take away the life of the prisoner at the bar, separate him from his wife and from his little children for ever? I told you I was to state to you the evidences which we had to bring forward on behalf of my unfortunate client; I tell you it is to discredit the testimony of Mr. REYNOLDS; when you have heard our evidences to this point, I cannot suppose you will give your verdict to doom to death the unhappy and unfortunate prisoner at the bar, and entail infamy on his posterity. We will also produce respectable witnesses to the hitherto unimpeached character of the prisoner at the bar, and prove that he was a man of fair honest character; you, gentlemen of the jury, have yourselves known him a number of years in this city; let me ask you, do you not know that the

prisoner at the bar has always borne the character of a man of integrity, and of honest fame? and, gentlemen of the jury, I call upon you to answer my question by your verdict.—I feel myself impressed with the idea in my breast, that you will give your verdict of acquittal of the prisoner at the bar; and that by your verdict you will declare on your oaths, that you do not believe one syllable that Mr. REYNOLDS has told you. Let me entreat you to put in one scale, the base, the attainted, the unfounded, the perjured witness; and in the opposite scale, let me advise you to put the testimony of the respectable witnesses produced against Mr. REYNOLDS, and the witnesses on the prisoner's hitherto unimpeached character; and you will hold the balances with justice, tempered with mercy, as your consciences in future will approve."

Mr. CURRAN prefaced these remarks to the Jury on OLIVER BOND's trial, by saying, "You have heard REYNOLDS's testimony; let me ask, do you think him *incapable* of being a villain? Do you think him to *be* a villain? You observed *with what kind of pride* he gave his testimony. Do you believe his evidence by the solemn oath that you have taken? or do you believe it was a blasted perjury? Can you give credit to any man of a blasted character?"

So much for Mr. REYNOLDS, who was late Post-master at Lisbon—was lately intended to be representative of Ministers at Malta—is now a Pensioner of £1200. on the Irish establishment, with reversion to his wife

and children— and doubtless awaits further proofs of gratitude from his employers, at the expense of the People!

Perceiving that Ministers are hastening the re-suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, I thus publicly state my firm conviction, that undue measures have been taken to excite disturbance throughout the country, and produce what a certain Noble Lord would call a *premature explosion*, as a pretext for the gradual subversion of our constitutional rights and liberties. I shall relate one or two facts in support of this opinion.

Mr. WOOLER, who is here in confinement with me, in a letter which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* last Monday, stated, that OLIVER the informer called on him shortly after his commitment to this prison, to induce him to put in bail, and go down into the country, in order to further insurrectionary movements; and next to obtain him to print bills for the same purpose; in both which objects he failed. From the description Mr. WOOLER gives me of this man, I am persuaded that he visited me about the same time. I was confined to my bed from illness, when he entered my room, expressing sorrow at my situation. He said he came from the country; that every thing was in a very bad state; the people greatly distressed; the whole population of some districts ripe for any thing; and that with leaders and proper encouragement, they would inevitably overwhelm the Government. He strongly recommended persons who were objects of persecution, or likely to become so, to

turn round on the Government at once, and crush it. I told him that however distress might prevail, there was an immense mass of knowledge diffused throughout the country, and I was assured, that patience and right thinking would induce those who felt the most pressure to attempt constitutional means only for redressing their grievances. He replied, by urging the necessity of immediate action, and that it was an opportunity not to be missed; and he particularly represented that it could do no harm to encourage the People a little to come to London in bodies, and show their strength. He asked me if I had ever been at Birmingham, or other manufacturing towns, where the workmen were unemployed? I told him no. He then inquired, if I knew any body at Birmingham, or Liverpool, or Leeds, as he was going to make a journey, and would be glad to take letters for me, or visit any of my friends at either place? To this I observed, that he was a stranger to me, that I could not think of troubling him with mere letters of business, which I was then too ill to write; that I never had any secrets, or entertained sentiments beyond those which I had frequently expressed in print; and I deprecated all attempts to further invite or goad the People to acts which would endanger the public safety. He attempted, with much ingenuity and suavity, to reason down what he called my scruples and want of confidence, which he said prevented public men from uniting to obtain a complete victory over the Government. I was then obliged to

tell him that he had mistaken his man, and that he could be no friend to the People or to me, who recommended such measures. He contrived to prolong the conversation a considerable time, very dexterously feeling his way, and returning to his points, interlarding his remarks with praise and flattery. I at length informed him I was too ill to talk much, which he met by saying, that though I did not know him, he would soon satisfy me who he was; that he knew several of my friends, and would convince me, that when he called again I might trust him; and said he was going to call on Mr. WOOLER in an adjoining staircase, and inquired if I knew him. He further inquired if I was generally alone. I ended by telling him, I had no friends who would act in the way he described, and that if he called again, I should have a third person present. He took his leave with great civility, and many professions of regard, and I saw him no more. As I stated before, he fully answered Mr. WOOLER's description of OLIVER. I forgot to mention, that he told me he wanted several thousand political bills printed, which he said I should do. I wholly declined the offer, or even to look at the manuscript, which he said was not quite finished.

Previous to my confinement, I had several strangers call on me, who held violent language, and who, I am well persuaded, were emissaries to entrap me. I always manifested my displeasure to such persons, and desired them to withdraw. I have received bushels of manuscripts, of very dangerous tendency, which I de-

stroyed as soon as I received; some much to the displeasure of those who afterwards claimed them. One manuscript was of so peculiar a description, that I shall describe how it came into my hands, what it was, and how I disposed of it. It is not my fault that it is not in the green bag now lying on the table of the House. If it is, I hope means have been taken by the Suspension Committee to discover the author.

On Saturday, the 22d of March, about eight in the evening, I received a letter by the two-penny post, signed with initials. It stated the necessity of immediately adopting measures to show Government the strength of the People; for which purpose it requested that I would cause several thousand copies of a bill, the manuscript of which was inclosed, to be printed immediately, as a poster, or placard. I was assured that I should receive liberal payment for them, and was directed to send them off by different conveyances, so that they might reach every part of the kingdom on the same day. It mentioned particular towns to which they most especially should be sent. They were to be forwarded to every person throughout the country, whom I might know or suppose to be likely to dispose of them as directed; and where names could not be collected, it was requested they might be forwarded to venders of blacking, or other agents of small wares, or persons keeping similar shops in every town. Each of these persons was to be requested to take charge of the bills, and post them up

before sun-rise on a day named. The posting-bill was an address to the People, acquainting them that the whole nation would be in arms on the same day, namely, on the 7th of April, by the inhabitants of each parish meeting in their respective churchyards, on that day, armed with a pike, and a small sword, or dagger—most minute instructions for making which instruments were given in the bill: and thus armed, every man was required to remain at the place of meeting for one hour, and then return home. Figures of the arms were very neatly drawn in the manuscript, and required to be engraved on wood, to be inserted in the bill.

This bill, and the instructions to myself, were circumstantially drawn up, at great length, and copied in a neat law hand. Conceiving as I still do, that this communication was a wicked plan to entrap me, I put the papers in my pocket, and immediately went down to the office of the Secretary of State, at the Treasury. No officer of the establishment was in attendance, but I was informed there, that Mr. BECKETT, the Under Secretary, lived in Great George-street, where I went; but finding him at dinner, I retired to Ireson's hotel, until ten o'clock, when his servant said he would leave the dinner table. At that hour I sent in a signed note to Mr. BECKETT, requesting to see him, and he received me in the parlour, saying, "What business can you have with me, Mr. HONE?" I told him I had just before received a letter by the two-penny post, inclosing a paper

which I considered dangerous to possess, and desired to put both letter and paper into his keeping. He read each of them deliberately, as soon as he had done which I departed—no further conversation taking place.

Having thus presented the papers to the Under Secretary of State, which if found in my possession might have subjected me to I know not what suspicion, imprisonment, and punishment, I was surprised to find that the attempts of this instigator, who had endeavoured to entrap me, were renewed upon other persons.

On the 17th of April, ten days after that whereon, according to the bill sent to me, the nation was to have been in arms, Messrs. HAY and TURNER, printers, of Newcastle-street, Strand, received a bill of like import, appointing the arming of the nation for Sunday, the 4th of May. Their bill was much shorter than mine, unaccompanied by diagrams or figures, and is as follows:—

(Copy)

" BRITONS,

" Petitioning avails you nothing. The Ministers say you are disaffected, and that the meetings to petition for Reform have been under pretext for treasonable purposes. You were unarmed, and obeyed the laws; yet your liberties are at an end. There is now only one way left you, and that is, to show them, with arms in your hands, that you can be obedient to the laws. The whole nation will assemble on Sunday, the 4th May, at five minutes past nine in the morning, each parish at its own churchyard, armed as follows:—

" ARMS.

" Take a stick like a broom handle,

nine feet long; bore a hole at the top, and fill it with rosin; take the blade of a strong dinner-knife, heat the shaft of it, and put it in the hole; when cool, it will be fixed, the same as in a knife-handle, and make an excellent pike:---the knife must be pointed. Each man should have a belt, and a good-sized carving-knife therein, as a sword. Being armed thus, meet as above; and exactly as the clock strikes ten, disperse, and go quietly home. You will be surprised the effect this proceeding will have; but should it fail in the effect, our countrymen will hear further from us."

The following is the letter sent to Messrs. HAY and TURNER with the bill. It differs from that sent to me, inasmuch as it directs them to forward the printed bills to a Mr. NICHOLLS, an attorney, No. 29, Bennett-street, Stamford-street, Blackfriars-road:—

(Copy)

"SIRS,

"Some friends of reform and liberty have determined on coercing Ministers, or rather frightening them into reason; and intend to circulate through the country the enclosed bills:---no harm can arise from them, but some good; as they will show Government what the People are capable of, if not relieved. We have raised a subscription; and if you will print a few thousand of the bills, we will, on your sending them to Mr. NICHOLLS, 29, Bennett-street, Stamford-street, Blackfriars-road, send you 10l. per thousand. As some danger under the Suspension Act attends the matter, you will see the propriety of our not giving our names; nor will it be prudent in you to let yours appear. Mr. N. need not know from whom they come. Seal them up, and write private on the parcel.

"Let Mr. N. have them at latest on Monday.---Be secret.

"Yours,

"G. F. B. & C.

"17 April, 1817."

On receiving the letter and bill, Messrs. HAY and TURNER addressed a note to Mr. NICHOLLS, *designedly* telling him they had received an order for some bills to be addressed to him, and requesting the 10l. to be remitted, previous to their proceeding to print. Hearing nothing from Mr. NICHOLLS, they had almost forgotten the matter, until nearly a week afterwards, when it occurred to them that it was perhaps dangerous to keep this paper, and they went to Sir N. CONANT, at Bow-street, who recommended such an application to Mr. NICHOLLS as they had already made, and sent them to the Secretary of State's, where they were introduced to Mr. NOBLE, one of the senior clerks; who took charge of the papers, and said they should see Lord SIDMOUTH. He left them in an antichamber. About ten minutes afterwards a person entered the room, and sat down with Messrs. HAY and TURNER in silence. This person was presently familiarly beckoned into another room, by a servant in waiting, and was immediately closeted with Lord SIDMOUTH. Messrs. HAY and TURNER waited upwards of an hour in vain, expecting him to come out; and, from other engagements, were obliged to leave the office, without seeing his Lordship. To their astonishment they afterwards discovered this person to be Mr. NICHOLLS, the attorney, of No. 29, Bennett-street, Stamford-street,

Blackfriars-road, to whom they were to have sent the bills!

Letters and posting-bills to the like effect were also received by Mr. HARVEY, a printer, of Blackfriars-road; by Mr. MOLINEUX, a printer, of Bream's-buildings, Chancery-lane; and by several other printers. The bills were requested to be sent to the same Mr. NICHOLLS, the Attorney, to whom Messrs. HAY and TURNER were to have sent theirs, and whom they left closeted with Lord SIDMOUTH, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department!

Perhaps some Member of Parliament will inquire into these facts, all which I will prove, or afford him means of proving. There appears to have been a deliberate plan to ensnare persons connected with the press: I say a plan to ensnare us; because it must be recollected, that though so far back as the 22d of March I gave the Under Secretary of State the paper which affected to announce a rising on the 7th of April; and though Messrs. HAY and TURNER about a month afterwards deposited their announcement of the rising for the 4th of May; yet the Reports of the two Houses, which notice various intended risings, do not mention either to have been designed to take place on those days. Is it possible that the employment of spies and informers, now unblushingly avowed, has subjected us to such dreadful machinations as these? I firmly believe it has. Having escaped the insidious and horrible attacks of concealed incendiaries, surely in a prison, and under three Government prosecutions, men

might suppose themselves secure from further persecution; and yet OLIVER's attempt to entrap Mr. WOOLER, and the like attempt made on me, I believe by the same man, show the unrelenting earnestness with which these wretches prosecute their cruel purposes. Surely, surely, we have a right to supplicate vengeance on those who thirst after innocent blood.

I duly attended the nomination of three Special Juries, at the Crown Office; and I am told, on Monday next, I shall be called on to attend there to reduce each Jury, which is now 48, to a panel of 24. This morning, however, I have caused the following *protest* to be delivered to the Master of the Crown-Office:—

(Copy)

“ IN THE KING'S BENCH.

“ *The KING against WILLIAM HONE.*

“ Understanding that the book or list from which the Special Juries have been nominated by you, as Master of the Crown Office, to try the issues on the three ex-officio informations filed against me by the Attorney-General, is imperfectly and illegally constructed; I, the above named Defendant, do hereby protest against the Juries so nominated, and against all proceedings to try the said issues before the said Juries. As witness my hand, this 26th Day of June, 1817.

“ WILLIAM HONE,

“ King's Bench Prison.”

“ To S. LUSHINGTON, Esq.

“ Master of the Crown Office.

“ Witness, T. J. WOOLER,
C. CLARKE.”

My next sheet will probably enable me to state the grounds for this proceeding. Mr. WOOLER was kind enough to deliver the notice to the Master of the Crown-

Office, when he went this morning to strike the Jury for his new trial; which Jury was struck from *twenty seven* books, produced for that purpose by order of the Sheriffs.

WILLIAM HONE.

King's Bench Prison,

No. 2 in No. 7.

26th June, 1817.

LIBERTY,

BY

WILLIAM COWPER, Esq.

See the *Task*, BOOK 5.

I insert these elegant lines at the especial request of a kind and intelligent correspondent.

W. H.

*"Whose freedom is by suff'rance, and
at will*

Of a superior, he is never free.

Who lives, and is not weary of a life
Expos'd to manacles, deserves them well.
The state, that strives for liberty, though
foil'd,

And forc'd to abandon what she bravely
sought,

Deserves, at least, applause for her attempt,

And pity for her loss. But that's a cause
Not often unsuccessful: pow'r usurp'd
Is weakness when oppos'd; conscious of
wrong,

'Tis pusillanimous and prone to flight.
But slaves, that once conceive the glowing
thought

Of freedom, in that hope itself possess
All that the contest calls for; spirit,
strength,

The scorn of danger, and united hearts;
The surest presage of the good they seek.

"Then shame to manhood, and opprobrious more

To France than all her losses and defeats,
Old or of later date, by sea or land,

Her house of bondage worse than that of
old

Which God aveng'd on Pharaoh—the
Bastille.

Ye horrid towers, th' abode of broken
hearts;

Ye dungeons and ye cages of despair,
That monarchs have supplied from age to
age

With music, such as suits their sov'reign
ears,

The sighs and groans of miserable men!
There's not an English heart that would
not leap,

To hear that ye were fall'n at last; * to
know

That ev'n our enemies, so oft employ'd
In forging chains for us, themselves were
free.

For he, who values liberty, confines
His zeal for her predominance within
No narrow bounds; her cause engages him
Where ever pleaded. 'Tis the cause of man.
There dwell the most forlorn of human-
kind,

Intmur'd though unaccus'd, condemn'd un-
tried,

Cruelly spar'd, and hopeless of escape,
There, like the visionary emblem seen
By him of Babylon, life stands a stump,
And, filletted about with hoops of brass,
Still lives, though all his pleasant boughs
are gone.

To count the hour-bell and expect no
change;

And ever, as the sullen sound is heard,
Still to reflect, that, though a joyless note
To him whose moments all have one dull
pace,

Ten thousand rovers in the world at large
Account it music; that it summons some
To theatre, or jocund feast, or ball;
The wearied hireling finds it a release
From labour; and the lover, who has chid
Its long delay, feels ev'ry welcome stroke
Upon his heart-strings, trembling with de-
light—

To fly for refuge from distracting thought
To such amusements, as ingenious wo
Contrives, hard-shifting, and without her
tools—

To read engraven on the mouldy walls;

* This was written before the destruction of the Bastille, in 1789.—Ed.

In stagg'ring types, his predecessor's tale,
A sad memorial, and subjoin his own—
To turn purveyor so an overgorg'd
And bloated spider, till the pamper'd pest
Is made familiar, watches his approach,
Comes at his call, and serves him for a
friend—

*To wear out time in numb'ring to and fro
The studs, that thick emboss his iron door;
Then downward and then upward, then
aslant*

*And then alternate; with a sickly hope
By dint of change to give his tasteless task
Some relish; till the sum exactly found
In all directions, he begins again—*

O, comfortless existence! hemm'd around
With woes, which who that suffers would
not kneel

And beg for exile, or the pangs of death?
*That man should thus encroach on fellow-
man,*

*Abridge him of his just and native rights,
Eradicate him, tear him from his hold
Upon th' endearments of domestic life
And social, nip his fruitfulness and use,
And doom him, for perhaps a heedless word,
To barrenness, and solitude, and tears,
Moves indignation, makes the name of
king (please)*

(Of king, whom such prerogative can
As dreadful as the Manichean god,
Ador'd through fear, strong only to de-
stroy.

" 'Tis liberty alone, that gives the flow'r
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it. All con-
straint,

Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
Is evil: hurts the faculties, impedes
Their progress in the road of science;
blinds

The eyesight of discov'ry; and begets,
In those that suffer it, a sordid mind,
Bestial, a meagre intellect, unfit
To be the tenant of man's noble form.

Thee therefore still, blameworthy as thou
art, (squeeze'd

With all thy loss of empire, and though
By public exigence, till annual food
Fails for the craving hunger of the state,
Thee I account still happy, and the chief
Among the nations, seeing thou art free;
My native nook of earth! Thy clime is
rude,

Replete with vapours, and disposes much
All hearts to sadness, and none more than
mine:

Thine unadulterate manners are less soft

And plausible than social life requires,
And thou hast need of discipline and art,
To give thee what politer France receives
From nature's bounty—that humane ad-
dress

And sweetness, without which no plea-
sure is

In converse, either starv'd by cold reserve,
Or flush'd with fierce dispute, a senseless
brawl.

Yet, being free, I love thee: for the sake
Of that one feature, can be well content,
Disgrac'd as thou hast been, poor as thou
art,

To seek no sublunary rest beside.

But once enslav'd, farewell! *I could en-
dure* [home,

*Chains no where patiently; and chains at
Where I am free by birthright, not at all.*
Then what were left of roughness in the
grain

Of British natures, wanting it's excuse
That it belongs to freemen, would disgust
And shock me. I should then with dou-
ble pain

Feel all the rigour of thy fickle clime;
And, if I must bewail the blessing lost,
For which our Hampdens and our Sidneys
bled,

I would at least bewail it under skies
Milder, among a people less austere;
In scenes, which having never known me
free,

Would not reproach me with the loss I felt.
Do I forbode impossible events,
And tremble at vain dreams? Heav'n
grant I may!

But *th' age of virtuous politics is past,
And we are deep in that of cold pretence.*
*Patriots are grown too shrewd to be sincere,
And we too wise to trust them.* He that
takes

Deep in his soft credulity the stamp
Design'd by loud declaimers on the part
Of liberty, themselves the slaves of lust,
Incurs derision for his easy faith,
And lack of knowledge, and with cause
enough:

For when was public virtue to be found,
Where private was not? Can he love the
whole,

Who loves no part? He be a nation's
friend,

Who is in truth the friend of no man there?
Can he be strenuous in his country's cause,
Who slights the charities, for whose dear
sake

That country, if at all, must be belov'd?"

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 24.]

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1817.

[Vol. I.]

MY LIBERATION FROM PRISON.

*How my Imprisonment terminated---
The Crown abandons its Special Juries---Various Surmises why---Names and Addresses of the 144 Special Jurymen---Mr. WOOLER's Liberation---My own---My Sensations on leaving my Prison---The Surry Hills and Imprisonment---Villany and Misfortune---Re-suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act---Remarks of the Examiner---Mr. Bennett---Mr. Barham---Lord Nugent---Mr. Macdonald---Sir F. Burdett---Solitary Confinement of the Evanses in Surry Gaol---Mr. Home Sumner's Account of the Manner in which Evans can see the Surry Hills---A Lord and a Lichspittle---Trenck's Description of his Confinement---Fortitude of Innocent Men, imprisoned under Mr. Pitt's Suspension.*
Sir R. Phillips's Golden Rules for Jurymen.

I AM now at home. I was this morning released from prison, after being confined from the 3d day of May.

I stated in my last *Register*, that a *protest* against the three special Juries nominated to try the Attorney-General's *ex-officio* informations against me was delivered to the Master of the Crown-Office. This occasioned a letter from Mr. LITCHFIELD, Solicitor to the Treasury, intimating, that in consequence of such *protest*, the Crown would waive the Special Juries so no-

minated, and proceed to obtain an appointment of the Master of the Crown-Office, for the nomination of other Juries in their stead. *Why* the Crown waived their Special Juries will perhaps, hereafter, as the lawyers say, "more fully and at large appear." In the mean time, people wonder and inquire how all this has happened; they never heard of an Attorney-General or Solicitor to the Treasury consenting to have fresh Special Juries selected in the room of those already appointed, merely because the Defendant objected to them; and they inquire the reason of it. They conceive that I have done very wrong in protesting against Special Juries, which the Crown Lawyers immediately give up, as soon as my *protest* makes its appearance. They suppose that the Crown would never consent to my having new Juries, unless such Juries are likely to be less advantageous to me than the old ones; and thus my friends alarm themselves, and *hope* I have not done a bad thing for myself. They imagine that this easy compliance of Mr. Attorney-General is a mere *trap* he has let me fall into, that I may be more securely at his mercy. But whether this be so or not, the reader shall judge for himself. I will give the lists of the three Special Juries so consented to be waived. They are as follow:—

(Copy)

LONDON—*Names of the Special Jurors
between our Sovereign Lord the KING
and WILLIAM HONE—'WILKES'S
Catechism.'*

1.

WILLIAM KEY,
Abchurch-lane.

2.

SOLOMON PEIL,
Idol-lane.

3.

THOMAS ABBOT GREEN,
Ludgate-street.

4.

GEDDES MACKENZIE SIMP-
SON,
Tower-street.

5.

DANIEL JONES,
Newgate-street.

6.

JOHN EDE,
King's-arms-yard.

7.

SAMUEL STRATTON,
Great St. Helens.

8.

JOHN ORD,
Lower Thames-street.

9.

WILLIAM HUNT,
117, Bishopsgate-street.

10.

JOHN ADDINELL,
Bishopsgate-street.

11.

JOHN HANCOCK,
Bread-street-hill.

12.

ROBERT STEVEN,
Upper Thames-street.

13.

GEORGE HENCKELL,
Austin Friars.

14.

WILLIAM JAMESON,
Lawrence-Pountney-lane.

15.

CHARLES ENDERBY,
Earl-street.

16.

RICHARD DEBAUFRE,
Coleman-street.

17.

JAMES VINE,
Size-lane.

18.

WILLIAM WHITWORTH,
Cornhill.

19.

THOMAS MORTON,
Lad-lane.

20.

THOMAS TOWLE,
Cripplegate-buildings.

21.

WILLIAM WYLDE,
Lawrence-Pountney-lane.

22.

WILLIAM BROOKS GARDI-
NER,

St. Paul's Churchyard.

23.

CHARLES PRICE,
William-street.

24.

WILLIAM BORRADAILE,
Fenchurch-street.

25.

THOMAS PRICE,
Leadenhall-street.

26.

JOHN COWELL,
Crescent, Portsoken Ward.

27.

JAMES LYON,
Queenhithe.

28.

CHARLES RAIKES,
Mincing-lane.

29.

THOMAS BUTLER,
Water-lane, Ward of Tower.

30.

THOMAS FURNELL,
Brickhill-lane.

31.

JOHN ROGERS,
Swithin's-lane.

32.

GEORGE SCOTT,
Bond-court.

33.

WILLIAM HARRISON,
Tower-street.

34.

CHARLES FRISBY,
Mark-lane, (Wine Merchant).

35.

JAMES RANDALL,
Queenhithe.

36.

JOHN JACOB BATTIERE,
Gold-square.

37.

DANIEL FOWLER,
Lime-street.

38.

FRANCIS BARSTOW NIXON,
Brabant-court.

39.

RICHARD SAMLER,
Bridge-street.

40.

WILLIAM CROKATT HOOPER,
Old Change.

41.

FRANCIS SMITH,
Scott's-yard, Ward of Dowgate.

42.

SAMUEL TRIST,
Dyer's Court, Ward of Cripplegate
Within.

43.

JOHN BRIDGMAN,
John's Coffee-house, Cornhill.

44.

THOMAS LUCK,
Cornhill.

45.

JOSIAH JOWETT,
Tokenhouse-yard.

46.

WILLIAM LANE,
Ironmonger-lane.

47.

SAMUEL NORMAN COWLEY,
Cateaton-street.

48.

JOHN FIELD,
Old Fish-street.

MERCHANTS.

(Copy)

LONDON—*Names of the Special Jurors
between our Sovereign Lord the KING
and WILLIAM HONE—'Sinecurist's
Creed.'*

1.

WILLIAM JAMESON,
Lawrence-Pountney-lane.

2.

THOMAS BLAXLAND,
Broad-street.

3.

JOHN NESBITT,
Tokenhouse-yard.

4.

JAMES BARNES,
3, Copthall-court.

5.

CHARLES DANVERS,
Thames-street.

6.

GEORGE LAMB,
Watling-street.

7.

CHARLES BUND,
Devonshire-street.

8.

THOMAS BOWDEN,
Camomile-street.

9.

WILLIAM PARNELL,
Botolph-lane.

10.

BENJAMIN RANKIN,
Savage-gardens.

11.

JOHN REID,
Aldersgate-street.

12.

GEORGE KING,
Falcon-square.

13.

WILLIAM RAMSBOTTOM,
Aldersgate-street.

14.

HENRY FEARON HEATH,
Little Mitre-court, Ward of Aldgate.

15.

HENRY JAMES BROOKE,
Sambrooke-court.

16.

SAMUEL LANCASTER,
St. Mary-at-hill.

17.

PHILIP PERRING.
Bishopsgate-street.

18.

GEORGE CLODE,
Bishopsgate-street, Without.

19.

WILLIAM CRAUGHTON,
Friday-street.

20.

ALEXANDER SINCLAIR GORDON,
Fish-street-hill.

21.

GEORGE WARD,
New Broad-street.

22.

THOMAS HALL,
Cophall-court.

23.

DANIEL LAMBERT,
St. Martin's-lane.

24.

WILLIAM SAMLER,
St. Andrew's-hill.

25.

JOHN WILSON,
Queen-street.

26.

FRANCIS PAYNTER,
Coleman-street.

27.

THOMAS SMITH,
Little St. Thomas Apostle.

28.

RICHARD MOUNTFORD,
Birchin-lane.

29.

BENJAMIN FULLER,
Clement's-court, Milk-street.

30.

JOSEPH DAKER,
White-cross-street.

31.

THOMAS ATKINSON,
Old Swan.

32.

THOMAS LEE,
St. Paul's Churchyard.

33.

THOMAS HODGKINSON,
Holborn-bridge.

34.

JOSEPH JELlicoe,
Fenchurch-street.

35.

THOMAS JAMESON,
Fen-court.

36.

RICHARD PAGE,
America-square.

37.

THOMAS WHITEHURST, Jun.
Red Bull Wharf, Queenhithe.

38.

JOHN WILLIAM ADAM,
High Lord's-court, Crutched-friars.

39.

JOSHUA WATSON,
Mincing-lane.

40.

JOHN MAVIER,
Pancras-lane.

41.

FRANCIS HERVEY CHRISTIN,
Salter's-hall-court.

42.

DENNISON BUTLER,
Crutched-friars.

43.

JOSIAH WHALLEY,
High Lord's-court, Crutched-friars.

44.

WILLIAM ANDERSON,
Leadenhall-street.

45.

RICHARDSON BORRADAILE,
Fenchurch-street.

46.

CHARLES MAWHOOD,
West Smithfield.

47.

THOMAS MALTBY,
Gutter-lane.

48.

JOHN GREEN,
Suffolk-lane.

MERCHANTS.

(Copy)

London---Names of the Special Jurors
between our Sovereign Lord the
KING and WILLIAM HONE—'Political
Litany.'

1.

WILLIAM TAYLOR,
Milk-street.

2.

JAMES MILL,
John's Coffee-house, Cornhill.

3.

ALEXANDER BALMANNO,
Queen-street.

4.

JOHN HARMAN EAMER,
Rutland-place.

5.

JOHN PUCKLE,
Nicholas-lane.

6.

BOYCE COMBE,
28, Great Winchester-street.

7.

JOSEPH CLANSIE,
Threadneedle-street.

8.

JOHN PEARSON,
Rutland Wharf.

9.

WILLIAM FARRAR,
Bread-street.

10.

JOHN BLUNT,
New Broad-street.

11.

JOHN PHILLIPS,
Camomile-street.

12.

WILLIAM AUSTEN,
Botolph-lane.

13.

DANIEL BRITTEN,
Basinghall-street.

14.

WILLIAM BOUSFIELD,
St. Mary-axe.

15.

SOLOMON HOUGHAM,
Aldersgate-street.

16.

SAMUEL WARD,
Aldersgate-street.

17.

JOSEPH GIBBS BARKER,
St. Mary-axe.

18.

JACOB OSBORN,
Sambrook-court.

19.

TIMOTHY ABRAHAM CURTIS,
Austin Friars.

20.

RICHARD HOWELL,
Upper Thames-street.

21.

CHARLES WRIGHT,
Old Jewry.

22.

NATHANIEL JARMAN,
Coleman-street.

23.

TIMOTHY YATES BROWN,
Lombard-street.

24.
JAMES DEACON,
Lad-lane.
25.
THOMAS WALKER,
Cripplegate-buildings.
26.
JOSEPH BROWN,
Lawrence-Pountney-lane.
27.
JACOB WOOD,
27, Cheapside.
28.
JOHN ALPORT,
London-bridge.
29.
GEORGE GIBBON,
Rood-lane.
- 30,
DANIEL SHIRLEY,
Lime-street.
31.
BENJAMIN STANDRING,
152, Minories.
32.
RICHARD SHARP,
Mark-lane.
33.
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
Mark-lane.
34.
JAMES ALLEY,
St. Swithin's-lane.
35.
MATHIAS PRIME LUCAS,
Harp-lane.
36.
WILLIAM LINGHAM,
Beer-lane.
37.
NATHANIEL BRICKWOOD,
Crescent, Ward of Portsoken.
38.
JAMES TOWNSEND,
Lime-street.

39.
WILLIAM FORSTER,
Philpot-lane.
40.
RICHARD EYKIN,
Smithfield-bars.
41.
JOHN WALKER,
Paternoster-row.
42.
THOMAS KINGSBURY,
Lawrence-Pountney-lane.
43.
EDWARD VAUX,
Lloyd's Coffee-house.
44.
EDWARD CURLING,
Castle-court.
45.
THOMAS BARNEWALL,
Coleman-street-buildings.
46.
CHARLES WILLIAM HICK,
Cheapside.
47.
JOHN COOKSON,
Bucklersbury.
48.
JAMES GRIFFITHS,
Little Knighttrider-street.
- MERCHANTS.

When these Juries were nominated, I could not refrain from observing to Mr. LUSHINGTON, the Master of the Crown-Office, and to Mr. LITCHFIELD, the Solicitor to the Treasury, it was very extraordinary that out of these three lists of Special Jurymen, consisting of *one hundred and forty-four* names, there were not above *three or four* persons of whom I had any knowledge whatever, although I had lived in London nearly all my life. Since then I have caused inquiries to be made as to the cha-

racter and condition of the persons composing these Special Juries, and the result thoroughly satisfies me that *they were nominated from an improper source*. The Crown itself has been unable to support *Special Juries* nominated from such a source; hence it abandons them, and hence I am liberated.

When Mr. WOOLER's Petition was presented to the House of Commons by Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, the Attorney-General surprised Sir FRANCIS, by telling him that it was Mr. WOOLER's fault if he remained in prison, because instructions had been given to liberate him on his own recognizance; which liberation he gave the House to understand Mr. WOOLER declined to accept. Sir FRANCIS could do no otherwise than admit, that if such offer had been made to Mr. WOOLER, he had no just ground to complain of remaining in prison. I was with Mr. WOOLER when a gentleman came from the gallery of the House, and stated what had taken place. Mr. WOOLER instantly denied that such offer had been made him, and the following morning addressed a letter to the Attorney-General, containing such denial, and acquainting him that he loved liberty too much to have refused it. The Attorney-General, in answer to Mr. WOOLER, wrote, that he certainly had given instructions for his liberation, but *finding no steps had been taken to communicate it to Mr. WOOLER*, he had given directions for his being released on his own recognizance for £100. This recognizance Mr. WOOLER entered into before the Marshal, and left his prison. Mr. PEARSON,

of St. Helen's-place, Mr. WOOLER's intimate friend and solicitor, having attended the Master of the Crown-Office on the nomination of my Juries, now kindly wrote to Mr. LITCHFIELD, Solicitor to the Treasury, suggesting the propriety of liberating me on the same terms as Mr. WOOLER, which produced a letter from Mr. LITCHFIELD, announcing the consent of the Attorney-General to my being discharged out of custody on entering into three recognizances of £100. each, to appear in Court on the first day of next Term, and so from day to day, and not to depart the Court without leave, if a verdict should be obtained against me on either of the informations. Mr. LITCHFIELD's letter further intimated, that for the present he would not call on the Master for an appointment to nominate fresh *Special Juries* instead of those he had before consented to waive. This morning, therefore, at nine o'clock, I entered into recognizances before the Marshal; and the order for my discharge arriving almost immediately afterwards, I was informed the prison gates were open to me. I ran up to my room, which was at the top of the prison, to take a last look from the window, at some objects whereon my eyes had frequently rested, and my mind mused. Above the walls, in the distance, were the Surry hills, clad in their verdure, whereon, in the days of my health and youth, I had rambled alone, with Thomson or Collins in my hand, stopping now and then to listen to the wind—to the chirrup of the grasshoppers—to the hum of the bee—or to inhale at leisure the fragrance of the

fresh air. On those hills I had sat, with my face towards London, bending my mind's-eye on the ceaseless turmoil and perplexity of man in crowded cities. I now looked towards the spot, where I fancied I had so seated myself, and so reflected, from a place how different—the depository of aches and cares; and sorrows, and jealousies; and vice, and misfortune. The thousand ills and mishaps of social life were condensed and confined within its walls. One window gave light to a villain, who had so managed his crimes, that the gallows had no terrors for him—he revelled in the fruits of his injustice. Another was opened to admit air to a family, debilitated from insufficient food. Here the extremes of depravity and suffering were almost blended. To the thorough knave alone imprisonment, is no punishment; he knows its metes and its bounds with as much certainty as the gambler who cogs his dice knows his game. Thus I thought to myself, as I turned the key in my door, to go down stairs and take leave of a few gentlemen, from whom I had received attention and kindness, and in whose society I had spent many pleasant hours. When I passed the gates, I seemed as a bird that had escaped from the fowler.

Thus has ended my confinement on the proceedings hitherto adopted against me by the Attorney-General.

The re-suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act gives Ministers the power of still further confining persons already in custody, and of apprehending whom they please, and keeping them in prison without trial.—There is only

one qualification of this power—the warrants must specify that the arrested persons are suspected of treasonable practices. “The re-suspension,” says the *Examiner*, “comes upon us like a darkness; and we sit in the thick of that momentary hopelessness (for it shall be no greater), wondering at the success of the petty minds who have power enough to inflict such measures—and the infatuation of the Members, corrupt as they may be, who can countenance them—and at the misery and degradation of our once happy and free countrymen who have to bear them. Good God! and so the country is once more turned into a thing of bastilles and *lettres de cachet*, under the direction of men, who make the grossest blunders even in language, and who, if we are to believe affidavit upon affidavit, presided over the tortures of Ireland! Before the debate came on, a Petition was presented from Mr. EVANS, now suffering imprisonment on suspicion,—which stated, that when he and his son were first committed, they were put into irons (since taken off); that among other hardships, he was deprived of his flute! and that since the 10th of April, they had not had a mouthful of fresh air, or the smallest exercise!! It adds, that the petitioner “had never in the slightest degree been concerned in any schemes calculated to disturb the public tranquillity,” and that his imprisonment had totally ruined their affairs, “his wife being reduced to a condition little better than that of a pauper.” The Petition was read; and Mr. BARRHAM gave notice, that unless the

statements of it were previously explained to the satisfaction of the House, he should move, on Tuesday, that the facts be referred to a Committee. To Mr. BARHAM, Mr. BENNET, LORD NUGENT, Mr. BROUGHAM, Mr. MACDONALD, SIR GODFREY WEBSTER, and SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, the remainder of Englishmen are deeply indebted for their opposition to the Bill. In some instances their speeches were very bold, in others pathetic, in others argumentative, in all truly manly and noble. As it is not in the limits of a weekly paper to be able to give such speeches entire, we shall make up the rest of our present article with extracts from them. We will not despair at any time, much less when we see gentlemen thus coming forward, who are situated and connected as these are; for they are all either of noble families, or nobly connected, or *country-gentlemen*. Would to God we could waken *that* race of Englishmen above all others. They had much better be waked by Reform than by Revolution; and if the poor half-witted creatures to whom they have delivered up their own senses bound hand and foot, go on as they do, they may be certain that such will be the case. It is not in the *nature* of the common rights and decencies of things—of the natural strength of knowledge and justice—to be thus subjected to all that is really foolish and weak. But such meantime is the pernicious effect of that love of gain and possessions which has been growing faster and faster upon the country for the last fifty years, and which has induced upon us a

dreadful want of what is called sentiment! But of this more by and by. We proceed with our extracts.

Mr. BENNET, on Reports and Spies:—

“He denied that there were strong marks of a political character in the discontents. Whenever Englishmen were distressed, as they were happily in the habit of looking to political subjects, *the consideration of which was not confined, as in some other countries, to the upper classes*, they would naturally put forward the faults and mismanagement of their rulers, as in fact the causes of their sufferings, but there was nothing of a systematic hostility to the Constitution, though some individuals had been urged on to hostile measures by spies and informers. One of the principal facts mentioned in the Report was, the march to London, under the pretence of petitioning. From the best information, viz that of the Magistrates themselves, he could state that the impression on the minds of the Magistrates engaged in the late examinations at Wakefield was, that the whole plan and project referred to, had been the work of spies. It was not Oliver alone, who had been at work, *but a thousand others*; the business of spy was a trade, which had been pursued with great success, and *unfortunately it was the only trade successful at present in those parts*; so much as 10, 12, and 13 shillings a night had been paid to these workers of mischief. As, in the first Report, there was a plot to destroy London, so, in the second, there was a plot to destroy Manchester. This suggestion, he had no doubt, was the work of the spies. In 1812 it was *proved*, that the men who were employed to detect the rioters had suggested that they should burn the Poor Houses. “What!” said one of the rioters, “shall we burn the Poor?”—“Yes,” rejoined the Spy, “any thing to do mischief.”

Mr. BARHAM, on the Suspension:—

“He had heard said, and heard it with astonishment, that if the Habeas Corpus Act were taken away, the Constitution would not be destroyed! Not destroyed! Why the Habeas Corpus *was* the Constitution. What injury could be added to the treatment of a man imprisoned on suspicion, and ruined? Yes, there might be another—he might be insulted by being told of his privileges, and that he was entitled to the blessings of a free Constitution:—[hear, hear!]

—He would prefer the Suspension of the Trial by Jury, to the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus.—And why? Because under the former he should have some sort of trial, and might stand a chance of having a fair one; but under the latter, he could have no trial at all:—[hear, hear!]

Lord NUGENT on the same, and on the alternative that must result from it's frequent recurrence:—

“It was on the evidence disclosed in the late trial; that was, on the testimony of the vilest and most contemptible part of the human character—on the testimony of spies and informers, that Parliament were about to suspend the Constitution of the country:—[hear, hear!]

—Who would believe them? Who would give credit to wretches, who, having passed through the odious process of abetting and fortifying the treasons of their victims for their vile blood-money, had also the shameless audacity to become the accusers of all England?—[hear, hear!]

—By what form of abjuration can you bind the consciences of men like these?—[hear, hear!]

—Were we reduced to decide between popular commotion or frequent suspension of its liberties---were this the dreadful alternative for our choice, he had no hesitation in saying, that he would prefer popular commotion to the extinction of public

freedom:---[hear, hear!]

---Were it the awful issue on which a choice was to be taken, he would rather see the country revolutionized than enslaved.---[Cries of hear from the Ministerial benches.]

---He would repeat the observation, that in such an awful alternative, he would rather see the country revolutionized than enslaved:---[hear, hear, hear!]

Mr. MACDONALD, on the same, —on the danger of connexion with foreign despots, and on the first cause of the victory of Waterloo:—

“It was painful to see such a measure adopted in the third year of peace, and to reflect that this was the *only* reward the People had received for the many privations, during the long and arduous war, and it was painful to contemplate it enforced by Ministers, with the aid of an unconstitutional standing army. When he contemplated how ardently they clung to the property tax, and with what reluctance they were compelled to give it up, [hear, hear, hear!]

—for never would there be grounds wanting to constitute a plot, and thereby secure the possession of the power—they would see that the prosperity or dullness of trade would be the criterion Ministers would decide by, and that on accounts from Nottingham and Birmingham would depend what was done with the freedom of the People. Now, for the first time, did the nation witness the baneful consequences of our connexion with foreign despotic powers: and now, unhappily for themselves, did they know what the result was of being familiarized to absolute power. Ministers sent down the Prince Regent to Parliament last Session, with an ironical congratulation on the prosperous state of the finances of the country, thereby showing how well they were acquainted with the real situation of the public, [hear hear!] and had ever since been more anxious to increase

their powers and keep their places, than to redress public grievances; they had shown the utmost reluctance to an inquiry into public wrongs, and had appointed a *committee of disaffection* before they would appoint one on finance: [*hear!*] If the Constitution were once annihilated, as this measure threatened to do, *they might build Waterloo bridges and Waterloo monuments, but they would find the spirit for ever extinguished which had led to such a victory as that of Waterloo.*"

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, on solitary imprisonment, and on the mysteries of religious sympathy, politically considered:—

"He confessed he was astonished at the concurrence in this measure of an honourable and religious gentleman, who laid claim to superior piety, as it unquestionably was of all others, the most hostile to vital Christianity. Nothing could be more opposite to all the laws of Christianity, as well as those of morality—nothing could be more anti-christian, than to shut up persons in solitary confinement, and cut them off from all communication with their nearest and dearest friends. The honourable and religious gentleman no doubt recollected the denunciation of Jesus against the wicked: "I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was naked, and ye clothed me not; I was sick and in prison, and ye visited me not." How affecting was the last clause of this passage! "I was sick and in prison;" two of the greatest calamities that could befall human nature. But when to that was added, that the sick prisoner was deprived of every other consolation, what could be said of those men who not only did not visit him themselves, but would not allow others to do so? Could any thing be more atrocious? Could any thing be more contrary to the spirit of humanity which pervaded the law of England? Another material part of the Bill was,

that it allowed Government to send the persons whom they apprehended to distant gaols; thus augmenting their hardships and their danger.---The Honourable and Religious Member was shocked the other day at the description of the Africans chained and carried into slavery. How happened it that the Honourable and Religious Member [*Order, order!*] was not shocked at Englishmen being taken up under this Act (not having committed any crime) and treated like the African slaves---chained, and sent to a distance? Some were so sent hundreds of miles."

The re-suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act is in fact an abolition for the time being of the Constitution; and every man living whom Ministers dislike is in their power. At this moment I, or any other person in their way, may be sent to prison, and there kept, as the EVANSES are in Horsemonger-lane gaol. Mr. HOME SUMNER, Member of Parliament for Surrey, stated in the House, that "as to the accommodation and apartments furnished to the EVANSES, they "were much better, he was persuaded, than could be had in "the generality of prisons—for "he presumed that prisons were "not to be made *pleasant places*, "as that would be a perversion "of the object of imprisonment. "But with respect to the room "occupied by EVANS, he could "assert, that *there was a view of "the Surrey hills from its windows*, which however were very "high above the floor—but if "EVANS would stand upon a "table, he could look through at "them!!!" It is to be remembered, that the EVANSES are in *solitary* confinement. Ministers having thus began, and being

thus supported, may perhaps put their victims in irons, and suspend the Habeas Corpus for ever.

There is no great distance between confinement and cruelty—cruelty may be justified on pretence of *safe* confinement. “These men cannot be *safely* kept, without being in irons,” says my Lord ———, over his wine. “Iron them, by all means,” my Lord, says his myrmidon. “And yet we cannot do that without a clatter in the House.” “That’s true, my Lord,” says the same personage. “But then we’ve a *majority*.” “Your Lordship has no occasion to fear,” says his Lickspittle. And thus the use of our limbs and health may be disposed of. How finely TRENCK describes his imprisonment after he had attempted to escape:—

“As my hands,” he says, “were fastened to a bar of iron, and my feet chained to the wall, I could not wear shirt or stockings of the common kind: I tied the former, which was open all the way down, with strings, and changed it only once a fortnight. My stockings were of worsted, and buttoned on both sides. A blue frock, of coarse linen, tied also with strings, covered my body, and a pair of slippers supplied the place of shoes.

“By insensible degrees I became accustomed to my chains. I learned to comb my hair, and even to tie it. As I was never shaved, my beard gave me a frightful appearance, and I determined to pluck it out. I suffered much from this operation at first, especially from the hairs round my mouth; but, like other things, it became habitual; and, during the following years, I

never failed to repeat it once in six weeks or two months. I was free from every kind of vermin, the humidity of my prison being, without doubt, unfavourable to their existence. My limbs were prevented from swelling, by the continual exercise I was careful to take, either by jumping in my chains till I perspired, or when I was freed from them, by the different occupations in which I passed my time. The darkness I lived in was the only thing I could not accustom myself to.

“I had learnt too much, and seen too much of the world, to be without constant subjects for meditation; the habit I contracted of thinking became so great, that I composed several discourses, fables, poems, and satires, which I recited aloud, and which remained so deeply impressed on my memory, that after my deliverance, I was able to commit two volumes of them to paper.

“Thus employed in mental labour, without pen or paper, my days of sorrow passed away with wonderful rapidity. The conclusion of my history will prove that I owed to the occupation I had chosen, the attentions that were shown me, several friends, permission to write, light, and at length liberty. The consolations I received in my prison were the fruits of the ardour with which I had applied myself in my youth to the study of the sciences. Let me therefore advise my readers to employ their time as usefully as I did mine. As every King has it in his power to bestow employments, honours, and a fortune on the man who least deserves them; so may he take

them again away, and reduce him to his original obscurity. But all the endeavours of sovereign power would be vain, if it attempted to give knowledge or an elevated soul to a fool, or deprive the man of genius of his mental advantages. This is the wise dispensation of Providence, which has ordained that the attainments we owe to ourselves, such as virtue, knowledge, and a love of labour, shall still be ours, in spite of misfortune, and all the efforts of human power; while all that others give us, or all that we obtain from their weakness, is frequently as fleeting as a morning dream."

Under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, when Mr. PITT was alive, innocent men were imprisoned, who are now living, and who may exclaim, as TRENCK did, in the Dedication of his Life, to FREDERICK II., King of Prussia, the author of his miseries.

"I never was guilty of a crime; and, in spite of your power, your dungeons, and your chains, in spite of the base contrivances of which I was the victim, you were neither able to deprive me of my honour, or weaken my virtue. My philosophy and my knowledge gave me fortitude and resources in my misfortunes, afforded me amusement in the most gloomy of prisons, furnished me with arms to oppose the despotism of princes, and inspired me with contempt for their abuse of power."

This is the right way of thinking and speaking. Bad men are only strong when the virtuous are timid and irresolute. The present Administration—certainly the most contemptible that ever

man laughed at—may become as cruel as NERO, if we do not as resolutely oppose them as we thoroughly despise them.

WILLIAM HONE.

*From my Home, 67, Old Bailey,
Wednesday, 2d July, 1817.*

SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS'S

Golden Rules for Jurymen.

I.

The worst of social miseries being oppression under the sanction, colour, and form of law, the reliance of the country, and the sole hope of persons under accusation, and of suitors in appeals to the law, are on the good sense, integrity, and firmness, of Grand and Petit Juries.

II.

An honest Jurymen should die rather than consent to a decision which he feels to be unjust; or, which, in his own private judgment is not warranted by clear and uncontrovertible evidence.

III.

The attendance of Jurymen might be dispensed with, if any other opinion than that of the Jury were allowed to make the decision; and their office would be a mockery on themselves, on the parties, and on their country, if their decisions were not the result of their own unbiassed, unshackled, and independent convictions.

IV.

In deliberating on their verdict, every Jurymen is bound to exercise his own judgment; to give his individual opinion freely and boldly; and to bear in min^d

that it is the sole and entire object of the institution of Juries, that every Jurymen should decide according to his own conviction on the points at issue.

V.

The Jury are bound to decide fully and finally by a general verdict of *guilty* or *not guilty*; or *for the Plaintiff*, or *for the Defendant*; unless, at the request of the Judge, they reserve some point of law; but such special verdict should be explicit, final, and conclusive, with respect to the facts of the case.

VI.

Every man is presumed to be innocent, till he has clearly been proved to be guilty; the onus of the proof of guilt lies therefore on the accuser; and no man is bound, required, or expected, to prove his own innocency.

VII.

The accused ought to enjoy the benefit of all doubts, and of all uncertainty in the evidence; because it is better that a hundred guilty persons should escape punishment, than one innocent man be unjustly convicted; and because the issue of a criminal trial involves every thing dear to the accused, if he be found guilty; but his acquittal, though perchance he might be guilty, is comparatively unimportant to the public.

VIII.

Every Jurymen should perform his duty in regard to the accused, or decide between Plaintiff and Defendant, as he would desire those parties to act in regard to himself, were their situations changed.

IX.

It is necessary to guard against

popular prejudices and undue influence, in whatever quarter they may arise, and to decide on a consideration of the facts only, and on the valid evidence of credible witnesses.

X.

Unanimity is required in every verdict of a Jury, because universal concurrence is the only test of truth, and a true verdict must necessarily produce universal concurrence; such required unanimity serving at the same time to render every one of the Jury responsible to his own conscience, to the public, and to the parties, for the integrity of his conduct.

XI.

Every Jurymen should be specially cautious, even as he values his peace of mind through life, of convicting persons of any species of offence on evidence merely presumptive and circumstantial—the conviction and the legal punishment are positive, and so, as far as possible, ought to be the proofs—and Jurymen should, in such cases, bear in mind, that no reasoning, however ingenious, and no circumstances, however corresponding, are equivalent to one positive proof, whenever law, justice, or truth, require that proofs should be positive.

XII.

The Jury should carefully consider how far the evidence sustains the charge of a criminal design; no act whatever, which has not been committed with a criminal mind or intention, involving guilt and penal responsibility.

XIII.

A careful Jurymen will commit the material points to writ-

ing, and compare from his notes the evidence on both sides, deciding on his intuitive perceptions of right and wrong, and maintaining a vigilant caution against the prejudices or misconceptions of witnesses and prosecutors.

XIV.

As Grand Juries examine witnesses only against the accused, every case, so unopposed by any defence, ought to be completely and unequivocally made out as to the facts, the evil intention, and the application of the law; and the exercise of a scrupulous and jealous caution against unfounded, malicious and irrelevant charges, can be attended with little danger to the public, compared with the irreparable injury which an erroneous decision may inflict on innocent persons.

XV.

No man being responsible for the crime or act of another, no prejudice should lie against an accused person, because some one has committed a crime, unless it shall be brought home to the accused by distinct and satisfactory testimony, as well in regard to the fact as the criminal intention.

XVI.

Warning to others being the sole design of legal punishment, all decisions of Juries should be made dispassionately, and should not be influenced by collateral circumstances, or by any sinister or artful appeals made to the feelings of the Jury.

XVII.

The punishment being generally founded on the abstract fact of the Jury's conviction; and the laws being made for extreme

cases of turpitude, the Jury ought to recommend the convicted to mercy as often as they feel a justifiable reason.

XVIII.

Jurymen should protect the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and view with jealousy charges against accused persons who appear to be deprived of the privileges to which they are entitled by the Constitution, and a due respect to the ends of justice; thus, no accused person ought to be committed for trial except on the oath of at least one credible witness; or called on to plead unless on the indictment of twelve of a Grand Jury, or arraigned on trial, unless he has been supplied with a copy of the same, in time sufficient to summon witnesses, and has enjoyed the free access of his friends to concert measures for his justification.

XIX.

In trying charges of libel, sedition, or treason, the Jury should be jealously on their guard against prejudices raised by the influence of the administration for the time being; and they should bear in mind, that it is in such cases that Juries are so eminently the barriers of public liberty, and the guardians of their fellow-citizens against abuses of power.

XX.

In trying libel causes, Juries ought never to lose sight of the important services rendered to mankind, by the sacred rights appertaining to freemen, of discussing public topics, and the public conduct of public men; and of examining, asserting, and printing the truth on all subjects

of general interest; and as the law of libel has expressly empowered them on negating the charge of evil intention, to find a general verdict of *not guilty*, so the preservation of the liberty of the press depends entirely on their public spirit and careful discrimination.

XXI.

The foreman should ascertain and equally respect every opinion in the Jury; and the verdict, after it has been unanimously settled, should be solemnly delivered, no variation being permitted, unless the Jury, before their decision is recorded, choose to retire again, and formally sanction it by a new verdict.

XXII.

Previous to declaring their verdict, the Jury should give the accused the fair benefit of those distinctions in the time, quantity, and quality of offences, which have been explained by the Judge or Council; and they should anxiously consider, whether the fact charged be the crime alleged within the meaning and cognizance of the law, founding their verdict on their combined view of fact and law.

XXIII.

The sole object of the proceedings in every trial being to acquire a correct view of the facts which bear on the questions at issue, and to enable the Jury, according to their oath, to frame a true verdict, it is the duty of

every Juryman to possess himself of the entire case; he ought therefore to protect timid, inexperienced, and embarrassed witnesses; to receive with caution the testimony of others, who are under the influence of fear, hatred, or expected reward; and to require the production of any evidence which is tendered or attainable, and which appears to him to be necessary.

XXIV.

Above all things, it is the delicate but sacred duty of Jurymen to guard against the undue interference or mistaken views of Judges, who, in bad times, have not only misled and dictated to Juries, but have sometimes presumed to reprimand them. The Judge is authorized to expound the law, but not to direct and over-rule the decision: he is to be respected by the Jury, but by no means to be implicitly obeyed.

XXV.

Every Juryman should recollect, that he is acting for his country; that, for the time being, he is the uncontrouled arbiter of justice; that he is the constitutional protector of suitors and accused persons, against legal quibbles and oppressions; that he is the living guardian for his posterity of those sacred powers of Jurymen, transmitted to him by his forefathers; and that the preservation of JUSTICE and LIBERTY depends on one firm and upright man doing his duty in every Jury.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 25.]

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1817.

[Vol. I.]

SPECIAL JURIES,

AND

THE SPIES.

Visit to the SPIES—(Thanks to my Friends)—Mr. WOOLER on his and my Liberation—Mr. PEARSON'S Motions in the Common Council on Special Juries—His Letter on the Attorney-General's Conduct—Mr. Sam DIXON and my 1-1d Pen, and the RECORDER'S Carriage—Characters of Special Jurymen---The Informer REYNOLDS'S Qualifications for a Cabinet Minister—Mr. Morality KECK, and OLIVER the Spy—Occupation and Character of a Spy—If OLIVER'S Employers be guilty of High Treason, they should receive Sentence of Death as Traitors---Oliver a Scape-goat---Mr. Morality KECK to write his Elegy.

COMMUNICATIONS.

1. Humble Petition---
2. New Illuminati---
3. POETRY---Oliver alive---
4. Oliver's Epitaph and Character.

THE spies and the blood-men being objects of high consideration with Ministers, I purpose to drop in upon the wretches now and then, and take a look at them. Not that I desire intimacy, for that would be as hazardous as putting ones hand on the cockatrice' den; and my soul desires not to come into their

secret: but though I am innocent of their crimes, yet I would not be altogether ignorant of their ways; I would fain learn something of their mysterious proceedings; and I cannot be worse frightened than he who escaped with the loss of his mare's grey tail, after he had seen sights

‘horrible and awfu’,
Which ev’n to name wad be unlawfu’!’

TAM A SHANTER.

Besides, I am in good company. I have my readers with me; and we will see something of the grisly band, and be acquainted with as much as is useful to know. It would certainly be delightful to witness their sacrifices in *high places*, to learn which is a *waive* offering, and which has a sweet smelling savour; but this is denied us; and we will be contented with what we can get at without trouble.

Before our first visit—just by way of passing observation as we stand at the door, waiting to see “the crying *hyænas*, which can “never be tamed”—I would say to my friends, that I sincerely thank them for their visits to me, and their correspondence whilst I was in the King's Bench. Attentions so numerous press upon me on my return to my family, that I cannot make time to make so many calls, or write so many letters as I ought: I therefore take this opportunity of assuring them *all*, that I am sensible of

their kindness; that I hope I shall not deserve it less in future; and that, as I was always *at home* whilst I was in prison, so I am mostly *in* now I am out. How my departure was occasioned appears in part by the last *Register*; and Mr. WOOLER has this day published a letter in the *Times*, and other newspapers, which more circumstantially relates his and my own liberation.

"SIR,

Several misrepresentations having been made of the terms under which I am now at liberty, I take leave to inform the public, through the medium of your paper, that in consequence of the language made use of in the House of Commons, by the *Attorney-General*, on Thursday week, when my Petition was presented by Sir F. BURDETT, I wrote to that officer of the Crown to deny that any such offer had been made to me as that of being liberated upon recognizance to appear when called upon. To the letter I received an answer, stating, that the *Attorney-General* had expressed *a wish* to the effect alluded to, but upon inquiry he found that *it had not been communicated* to me: the *Attorney-General* added, he had then ordered the communication to be made to my solicitor, and I received my discharge on the following day. The process of the new trial had proceeded as far as the nomination of the panel to try the cause; but Mr. PEARSON having objected to the *list* generally used, and insisted upon the Sheriff's furnishing a *correct list* of *all* the parties qualified to serve on Special

Juries in the City of London, instead of a list of about 4 or 500, half of whom were dead, or removed, or never attended, and the other half made a *regular trade* of serving as *Special Jurymen*, the usual plan was deranged: and Mr. PEARSON having at the same time given notice of his intention to apply for a criminal information against the Master of the Crown-office, for persisting in nominating only *self-styled merchants* on the Jury, it was proposed that the process against me should be suspended until that question was determined. What share this important discovery of the illegality of the Special Jury list had in producing the offer of my liberation, it is not for me to say; but it is worthy of remark, that the discovery was made on the Thursday morning, and the Petition was presented on the Thursday night, when the *Attorney-General* *hoped* a communication had been made to me. At the same time a protest was presented to the Master of the Crown-office against the three panels nominated to try the three informations filed against Mr. HONE; and a few days after a letter was sent to Mr. PEARSON, from the Solicitor of the Treasury, to state that the Juries appointed in Mr. HONE's case *would be waived*, and the nomination of others would stand over until the question was decided as to what parties are legally authorized to sit on Special Juries. A few days after Mr. HONE also received his liberty upon his own recognizance, and the matter stands over until next term, when Mr. PEARSON will bring forward

this important question in a proper manner before the Courts.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

T. J. WOOLER.

1, Catherine-street, Strand, July 8."

It was necessary that Mr. WOOLER should write the above letter; for ever since the Attorney-General stated in the House of Commons, that he had offered to liberate Mr. WOOLER on his simple recognizance, it was imagined that Mr. WOOLER chose to lay in prison, rather than submit to the formality of signing his name to an engagement to appear when called upon. How it happened that the Attorney-General did not take proper means to communicate his offer of Mr. WOOLER's liberation to that gentleman himself, and how it happened that the offer was withheld from Mr. WOOLER, the Attorney-General can and ought to explain. The learned Gentleman's extremity in the House was great, and he talked of his offer; but his sincerity is behind a cloud, and reminds me of the sincerity of "a gentlewoman," who, according to a curious old book, "being in extremity of labour, sware, that if it please God she might escape death for that once, she would never in all her life after hazard herself to the like danger again; but being at last safely delivered, and seeing a consecrated candle, used only on such occasions, burning in the chamber, she said to one of the midwives, 'So, now put out the candle—and keepe it 'till the next time!'" Mr. Attorney-General must pardon me for telling him that his reputation for plain dealing is to seek.

Mr. PEARSON, of St. Helen's Place, Mr. WOOLER's Solicitor, has also had occasion to remark on another statement of the Attorney-General, which places the learned Gentleman's conduct still further in an equivocal light. Mr. PEARSON addressed the following letter to the *Morning Chronicle* Office, for insertion, on the Friday after Mr. WOOLER's Petition was presented; but the Editor of that paper declined the insertion, and it appears in Mr. WOOLER's *Black Dwarf* to-day.

"SIR,

"Not having been present at the discussion which took place in the House of Commons, last Thursday evening, when Mr. WOOLER's Petition was presented, on the subject of Mr. WOOLER's trial, I can only take for granted that the report of the speech of the Attorney-General, on that occasion, as given in your paper of this day, is correct. The representation made by that officer of the Crown, to which I wish to call your attention, and that of the public, is conveyed in these words:—'It was stated that the second trial was pressed on him (Mr. WOOLER), but the fact was, that so far from being unwilling to postpone it, when he (the Attorney-General), was looking over some papers, and pausing in the proceeding, WOOLER's Attorney desired to have his' (the Attorney-General's) 'warrant, as a sufficient number of Special Jurymen was not present, to pray a *tales*.' The fair inference from these words would certainly be a decided negative to the assertion of Mr. WOOLER, which it was intended to answer, and so was considered by Mr. BROUGHAM, and the other Members who alluded to the circumstance. I think, however, that by stating the facts as they really occurred, I may reconcile the apparently contradictory statement of both parties, and prove that they do not at all

differ *in fact*; only that Mr. WOOLER's words are intended to be taken in a *literal*, and those of Mr. Attorney-General in a *mystical* sense. The facts are these :—

Immediately after the Jury appointed to try the first cause had retired to consider their verdict, the superior officers of the Crown (the *King's Counsel*) directed the inferior officers of the Crown (the *Crier*, &c.) to call on the second issue; and after the names of *all the Special Jurors* had been called over, and only SIX of them appeared, and were sworn—then, and not till then—the Attorney-General ‘*paused in the proceedings* ;’ and ‘*looking over some papers*,’ also looked over the countenances of these Jurors; but whether, as ‘the face is ‘as a book, where men may read ‘strange matter,’ Sir SAMUEL SHEPHERD, Knight, might ‘see, or think ‘he saw,’ a spirit of research which might have led them to go beyond the *dicta* of the modern HOLT, to know whether facts are libels;—whether this circumstance produced the ‘*pause in the proceedings*,’ or whether the gentleman could not ‘screw his courage to the sticking place,’ I know not, but it is sufficient that then, and not till then, when only *six* special Jurors could be obtained, the Attorney-General seemed disposed

‘To shun the dangers that might come of it,
And pay his losses with his profit;’

and in kind consideration of Mr. WOOLER's *weakness* and his own *strength*, appeared willing to leave the farther discussion of the question till another day. Upon this, Sir, exercising my discretion in behalf of my client, I was unwilling

‘————— that he should run
The smallest danger he might shun ;’
and finding that *the absence of the other six Special Jurors* ‘had struck ‘more terrors to the soul of Richard,’ and had produced a greater effect on the conduct of the Attorney-General, than all the mild and charitable dispositions which that gentleman

assured us on the previous trial he possessed (and as Mr. BROUGHAM very candidly remarked, ‘from long knowledge’ of this meritorious officer of the Crown, we ‘have every reason to believe his statement’): on consideration of these circumstances, I was desirous of proceeding with the trial, although it had been first called on (not as insinuated by Sir S. SHEPHERD, at my request) without Mr. WOOLER's or my consent, of application, either expressed, or implied—called on at the will and by the agents of the Crown—over whose discretion and will Mr. WOOLER could have no controul,—called on almost immediately after the termination of the former trial—after Mr. WOOLER was considerably exhausted by his address to the former Jury, and while he remained in suspense as to the verdict of the former Jury, which was to give to him either the uninterrupted enjoyment of the light of heaven, or permission ‘to live, and move, and have his being’ in such manner, and subject to such restrictions, as it might please LAW, tempered with Justice, to assign to him. Knowing, therefore, that the same weighty circumstances which operated to induce the Attorney-General to ‘*pause in the proceedings*,’ might benefit Mr. WOOLER, I *then*, but not till then, prayed (not demanded, *ut dixit* the Attorney-General) his warrant of *tales*, which warrant, be it known, in the event of there not being present a sufficient number of those favoured Jurors, who had been ‘bidden to the marriage supper,’ authorized the parties ‘to go out into the highways and hedges,’ and compel all the blind and deaf, halt and hungry, to come in, and sit down in their places. I do not mean, Sir, that common Jurors must possess those *qualifications* in a literal, but in a spiritual mystical sense. Thus, Sir, it is presumed that they may not have eyes to see *the wisdom of the Attorney-General*, nor ear to be gratified

with *his eloquence*; nor indeed have they *always* understanding to comprehend the law of the Judge---they 'hunger and thirst after righteous judgment,' instead of being influenced by the *auri sacra fames*, which I have heard is to be found on some special occasions.

The fact is, Sir, that *Common Juries* have no other qualification than being 'good and lawful men, of the bailiwick,' taken without selection, and impanelled without choice; and being called *good* men, they might fancy that their decisions should be regulated by Justice: and foolishly imagine that being called *lawful* men, they had a right to decide for themselves on the law of the case before them.

I should be very sorry, Sir, to venture upon these speculations, had not the argument been justified by the fact, that although the Attorney-General assured the Jury that the subject of the second investigation was 'a libel,' aye, 'a very wicked libel;' and although the Judge did not think it polite to contradict this worthy officer of the Crown, yet the six *Special Jurors* concurred in thinking that there must be a mistake somewhere, as their optics would not enable them to discover the sedition which lurked under the cloak of a playful satire; and until they had as long an acquaintance with the Attorney-General as Mr. BROUGHAM, 'they had not every reason to believe his statement.'

Thus, Sir, I think, that the public can decide whether the observation attributed to Sir S. SHEPHERD, by your reporter, and that mentioned in other papers, is true (as said by Mr. Attorney-General), that 'so far from Mr. WOOLER being unwilling to come to the second trial, his Attorney wished him (Sir S. SHEPHERD) to bring it on.' If I demanded the second trial in writing, I challenge him to produce that writing. I did pray a warrant of *tales*, but that was after the six *Special Jurors* had been sworn.

I had nothing to do with calling on the trial, unless a consequence can be proved to include a cause; and after I saw the Attorney-General, from motives which it does not require a special pleader to state, or a metaphysician to comprehend, I was anxious to postpone it. Mr. BROUGHAM and the public will decide whether the statement of Mr. WOOLER, or that of the Attorney-General, is most worthy of credit.

I remain, Sir, yours, &c.

CHARLES PEARSON,
Solicitor to Mr. WOOLER,
10, St. Helen's Place, Bishopsgate.
June 27, 1817."

Mr. PEARSON being a member of the Court of Common Council, brought the subject of *Special Juries* before the Court yesterday, by moving, first, "That the Secondaries of the City of London be ordered to lay before the Court, the books or lists of persons qualified to serve as Juries in and for the said City of London." Secondly, "That the Secondaries of the City of London be ordered to lay before this Court, the books from which *Special Juries* have heretofore been struck, by rule or order of the Court at Westminster." These motions Mr. PEARSON said he made as "merely introductory to the GREAT QUESTION of *Special Juries* in London, on a future day; when he would go into the subject historically, and state what appeared to him to be the law on the subject. Corruption and abuses had long since crept into the system, and it was impossible not to perceive, that in cases not very distant, the manner in which *Special Juries* had been formed, demanded a speedy and vigilant inquiry." Mr. DIXON, who is

called here in London by the familiar appellation of *Sam DIXON*, is said, by the papers, to have *agreed* to the motion; from which I infer, that he is to *pit* himself against Mr. PEARSON, as the *defender* of *Special Juries* as now constituted—a thing not at all to be wondered at, considering *who* Mr. DIXON is, and *what* he is. *Who* he is, Mr. WAITHMAN has pretty well let us know, in the course of the speeches he has done *Sam DIXON* the honour to throw away upon him—the said Mr. DIXON remaining like the old stump I am now writing with, and which I shall toss out of the window as soon as I have written the next word—here goes—Faith, I believe it has fallen on the RECORDER'S carriage, which has just passed;—however, it has done Sir JOHN no harm. I have wasted a few upon *him* before—good ones, and to good purpose; and *this*, which I compare to *Sam DIXON*, I could well spare, without meaning injury to Sir JOHN—it was a pen *often cut, but never mended*. However, as to *what* our friend *Sam DIXON* is—I happen to know that he is a *Special Jurymen*—aye, a downright regular bred *Special Jurymen*! one of the SELECT *Special Jurymen*, who would make no more of swallowing up alive Mr. WOOLER and myself, and one or two others, if need be, into the bargain, than the Dragon of Wantley made of swallowing churches and steeples, or than he himself would make of swallowing a *contract*—not he!—Why, he is just your sort of man for a *Special Jurymen*. Things as they are, and *Special Juries* amongst them, for

ever! Just the man---one of your thick-and-thin, slap-dash men--- I call him a SELECT *Special Jurymen*, because his name is in the SELECT *List*. He stands, I say, in the SELECT *LIST*; and I warrant you *he'll* not do any thing to get out. I mean, that he is down in Mr. COLLINGRIDGE'S list of *Special Jurymen*; and a very pretty list it is. Mr. COLLINGRIDGE'S list was sent down to the Crown-Office, for my Juries to be nominated from; and, as nearly as I can guess, my three Juries took away, PERHAPS, ONE THIRD of Mr. COLLINGRIDGE'S WHOLE LIST. I think there could not be five hundred names in the book, or list; and yet this book, or list, ought to have contained the names of ALL persons qualified to serve on Juries in London!

• Mr. COLLINGRIDGE is the Secondary, and the list comes from his office. When Mr. LUSHINGTON, the Master of the Crown-Office, was nominating my Juries, this list was objected to, which very much surprised Mr. BARLOW, the Clerk in Court, who took down the names as Mr. LUSHINGTON pricked them. “Mr. HORNE TOOKE,” said Mr. BARLOW, “never objected to these lists—I struck his Juries, and he never made such objections as these to the lists.” But though it did not occur to Mr. TOOKE to object to the lists themselves, he objected, and that stoutly too, to the mode of taking the names; and had he known, perhaps, *as much of the lists as is now known*, he would have objected and protested against the lists altogether.

It is a mighty convenient thing for a man to get his name put

down in a Special Jury list;—"I can go," says one, "and be on a few Insurance causes, and put a guinea or two into my pocket, before I go to 'Change." Another says, "It's pleasant to touch a guinea for sitting still, when there's no business to do at home." A third observes, confidentially, "Why, if I had not been on the Special Jury list, I should never have rubbed on since I failed. I attend regularly, and have knocked off four causes in a morning; and let me tell you, four guineas are a great help to a man in my circumstances—I'll take special care to keep on the list. I always attend to what my Lord says—he knows best what the law is; and I can always tell what a verdict ought to be, before we put our heads together—no detaining the Court on my account—I know better than that—I'll take care and give no trouble. Why, bless you, if I was struck off, it would be a hundred and fifty pounds a year out of my pocket. You don't think I'd be such a fool as to knock my head against a stone wall, do you? No, no;—if I was once off the list, I should never get on again; and then how should I live?"

There are men like these on the Special Jury lists, and also such men as *Sam Dixon*, who is a supporter of *things as they are*—of such *things* as the present Administration, who gave *Sam Dixon's* son a place—who defend *REYNOLDS*, the informer, and *OLIVER*, the spy; and who supported and clothed *CASTLE*, the companion of the blood-men; who hung one friend, and trans-

ported another; and who, with two wives at his back, was put up in a witness-box, by the Attorney-General, as evidence for the Crown—to testify on its behalf against four men, who, if a British Jury had believed him, would have been sentenced to be hanged and beheaded, and their bodies cut into quarters, their bowels being first taken out, whilst they were alive, and burnt before their eyes! To this end has *Sam Dixon* supported such men as the present Ministers: but I will no longer detain the reader from a look at their other friends.

REYNOLDS, in whose defence Lord *CASTLEREAGH* said nothing could be urged against that honourable gentleman, but that he had been a bit of a *traitor*—against whom the noble Lord said, he never heard any thing alleged, but that he was a *rebel*—*REYNOLDS*, who had done his Lordship the honour of taking office under him, after having done Government the favour to hang the men at whose houses he had resided, whose hospitality he had shared, and with whom he had taken sweet counsel—*REYNOLDS*, who, had he a heart of flesh, would have felt it withering and dying in his bosom, at the recollection of his having sent his friends, one after the other, to die on a public scaffold, and ere now have dropped into his grave, under the compunctions of his conscience—this *REYNOLDS*, bearing about his heartless carcase, with pensions during his unhallowed life, and reversions or allowances to his children, the price of their father's man-selling services—thi-

REYNOLDS, disappointed of a diplomatic situation at Malta, may, perhaps, under the wing of Lord CASTLEREAGH, yet shine forth, not at a foreign Court, but here, at St. James's. Why should not he, who was to represent the Government at Malta, be a member of the Government at home? Would not REYNOLDS have bowed to the Regent on his appointment, and kissed his hands on going abroad? And what ill things have his Majesty's servants been informed of in Parliament respecting him, which they did not know before?

What is to prevent the informer REYNOLDS kissing hands and going into the *Cabinet*? He does not want experience; for he has passed a probation both here and at Lisbon. ARTHUR O'CONNOR and the ghosts of Lord EDWARD FITZGERALD and OLIVER BOND, with whom he sat in council, may be summoned to give evidence of his talent; and the gibbets in Ireland will testify that he has no disqualifying feelings.

OLIVER the informer, whom Ministers acknowledge to have employed as a SPY, has had the honour of being, in the House of Commons, defended as a *moral* man, by Mr. GEORGE ANTHONY LECH KECK, who says he has heard nothing against OLIVER's *morality*. In opposition to this, and without the least apology, I positively affirm, that Mr. KECK has heard *a great deal* against Mr. OLIVER's morality.

I would not, by the ordinary formality of civil expression, be supposed to have any sentiment in common with this Mr. KECK, for all his wealth, were he as rich

as Cræsus. Who is Mr. KECK? He is a Member of Parliament; but that is nothing. He sits for Leicestershire; respecting which county, OLDFIELD, in his *Representative History*, says, that its representation is divided between the Whig and Tory interest—a compromise having taken place, whereby the Duke of Rutland always nominates *one* Member, and the opposite connexion the *other*! Is this true? If it is, I suppose it is *moral*. Pray which *interest* does Mr. KECK represent? As to representing the *county*, if OLDFIELD is correct, that is out of the question. However, I want to know who Mr. KECK *is*. I am anxious about him. I am eager to learn all that I can get together respecting him. He appears to have feelings and opinions so opposite to my own, that he would be the last man living I should wish to be acquainted with, or even to see; but I am as eager to be *informed* respecting him, as school-boys are to raise the Devil; and I have much the same kind of apprehension that they have, when, having repeated pretty nearly the whole of the Lord's Prayer backward, in a dark passage, on a winter's night, they think it is possible Satan himself may appear.

A spy in social life is a vile impostor, a base and detestable traitor. He works his way by cunning and dissimulation. His manners are artificial, and his conversation false. He is a hypocrite, whose business is to cheat you into a good opinion of him. There is no mixture of good in his character. He *speaketh peaceably to his neighbour with his mouth*; but in

heart he layeth his wait. Such men deceive every one his neighbour, and will not speak the truth: they have taught their tongue to speak lies, and weary themselves to commit iniquity.† Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips: their feet are swift to shed blood.‡*

According to Mr. KECK, who defended OLIVER as a SPY, there is nothing IMMORAL in the character or occupation of a spy. According to Mr. LEGH KECK, fair dealing, walking uprightly, dealing honestly, being in charity with all men, may now be laid aside; and Mr. KECK, M. P. for Leicestershire, may obtain leave to bring in a bill enacting such qualities as immoral, inasmuch as they are opposed to OLIVER's bloodthirsty hypocrisy. But I will ever call a knave a knave, whether he be a knave against the statute, or according to the statute; and Mr. KECK—this Mr. LEGH KECK I shall henceforth call Mr. *Morality KECK*.

OLIVER's mission to Yorkshire is illustrated by an article from the *Leeds Mercury*, as follows:—
“OLIVER THE SPY—A fact has come to our knowledge, connected with the mission of this arch-traitor, which, though it can be communicated in a few words, speaks volumes to the mind of every British subject. On the first arrival of Mr. OLIVER in the neighbourhood of *Sheffield*, where he spread terror among the peaceable and well-disposed part of the inhabitants, and by his flattering

representations imparted joy and confidence to the disaffected and evil-minded, the vigilance of the Magistrates at that place enabled them to trace out his proceedings, and to discover that he was disseminating the poison of his treasons in every direction. The first use made by the Magistrates of this discovery, was to apprise the conservators of the public peace in other parts of the Riding, of the arrival of this incendiary; and their next step was to address a letter to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, informing him that a London delegate, a man apparently above the lower ranks, had arrived in the county, and was actively employed in ORGANIZING SEDITION, AND EXCITING THE PEOPLE TO ACTS OF TREASON. This letter was written by HUGH PARKER, Esq. the Senior Magistrate of the district, who, by return of post, received an answer from LORD SIDMOUTH, informing him that the person he described as so dangerous a character was—AN AGENT OF GOVERNMENT!!!”

If this be true—if it be true that Mr. PARKER, the Magistrate, wrote to Lord SIDMOUTH, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, acquainting him that OLIVER had arrived in Yorkshire, and was organizing sedition, and exciting the People to acts of treason; and if Lord SIDMOUTH, in answer to such communication, informed Mr. PARKER that OLIVER was an agent of Government—I say, if this be true, they who employed OLIVER as an agent to organize sedition,

* Jer. ix. 8.

† Jer. ix. 5.

‡ Rom. iii. 13. 15.

and excite the People to treason, ought to be forthwith tried with OLIVER himself, on charges of high treason; and if found guilty, they and OLIVER ought to receive sentence of death as traitors.

If it be true, that OLIVER was employed by a Minister or Ministers, *to organize sedition, and excite the People to acts of treason*, that Minister, or those Ministers, should be tried for high treason forthwith. If it be true, and if it cannot be discovered *who appointed OLIVER "an agent of Government,"* yet if OLIVER was acknowledged by Lord SIDMOUTH to be an "*agent of the Government,*" and if after being so owned by Lord SIDMOUTH, OLIVER still *organized sedition, and excited the People to acts of treason*, then, in my opinion, Lord SIDMOUTH, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, ought to be tried for high treason, and if found guilty, receive sentence of death as a traitor.

The wretch OLIVER must share the fate of his employers. His most favourable lot will be to make an atonement for them; to have their iniquities and transgressions put upon his head; to be sent away by the hand of a fit man; and when he dies, to have his elegy written by Mr. *Morality* KECK.

WILLIAM HONE.

6Z, Old Bailey, 9th July, 1817.

HUMBLE PETITION.

[I was favoured with the following communication whilst in the King's Bench Prison, and mislaid it before I had an opportunity of reading it through. My residence there was not, on many ac-

counts, the most favourable to literary avocation; and I have to ask indulgence from my Readers and Correspondents for many negligences and offences, amongst which may be reckoned the omission of this Article until now.]

To the Gentlemen, Honourable or otherwise, at whose desire and instigation he has been prosecuted;

The humble Petition of WILLIAM HONE, Prisoner in the King's Bench,

SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioner, since he has been an inhabitant of this abode, has been visited by sober reflection, and is come to a due sense of his errors; insomuch, that instead of regretting as a calamity the circumstance of his being dragged from a peaceful home and harmonious family, to live amidst the turbulent wretchedness of a crowded gaol, and brooding over the possibility of ruin and want, he rejoices in an event which has shown him the absurdity of that boasted enjoyment of an Englishman, an innocent and cheerful fire-side, and corrected in him certain ridiculous feelings of pity, and the like, for the victims of our debtors' laws; which has also brought him to reprobate his own misdeeds, in attempting to ameliorate the distressed condition of his country, so strongly, at least, as to laud the conduct of the men who have been the authors of it; and has above all filled him with the hopes of a better situation in life than he has hitherto enjoyed, by fixing him in a resolution to abandon his cause, and turn his stock in

trade to the purpose of flattering those who have hated and persecuted him, and slandering all his old and faithful companions.

THAT your Petitioner not being able, from an aversion to smoke, to attend the political debates which are held in the *tup*, and having no taste for push-pin or dominoes, has been fain to pass his time in reading your speeches in the House—a circumstance of the happiest kind for him, since it has obliged him to give up an opinion, unfortunately too long entertained, prejudicial to the consistency of the same with your measures, which nothing but ignorance can excuse. He now finds, and is free to confess (though in confinement), that they are as much of a piece as the two ends of a yard of linsey-woolsey, and as like to each other as the two ends of a goose's egg: he sees plainly that there is as much wit in one, as judgment in the other; and that so far from being a deceitful set, you are really and truly—what you are thought to be.

THAT great and manifold are the advantages which your Petitioner has reaped from this employment of his leisure hours, not the least of which is his extended comprehension of your enlarged benevolence and manifold virtues: for while he is prompt to admit, that, under certain circumstances, which in the present early stage of the business it would not be safe to disclose, with reference to the interest of individuals, whom

he is sure it must be allowed it would be imprudent to mention, it may be a necessary feature in the fundamental maxims of a Minister of an high power, that wretches who would put out the eyes of religion and social order behind their backs, and back-bite them before their faces, should be condemned to wander in close confinement, lying straight up under the hands of legitimacy; nevertheless, while he is prompt to admit, as aforesaid, the principle in a general sense, and feels proud of the conformity of his sentiment with those of a certain great statesman now no more, he cannot yield unqualified assent to the application of it in this particular instance, and thinks that it is really inexpedient at the *present* moment. Therefore, your Petitioner becomes impatient of a liberation of incarceration within these walls, and hopes he shall soon be able to see what gentlemen on the other side have to say, and whether they can make out a case upon the situation of the nation.

THAT in making this request your Petitioner does not come altogether as a beggar of favours. On the contrary, he has much to offer by way of exchange for liberty and exoneration from costs. He has, in the first place, a very good conscience, that he will part with on adequate terms. He has happily, though at considerable pains, divested himself of certain old-fashioned feelings of right and wrong, and supplied their place with the modern

notions of expediency. He has quite conquered a foolish habit of blushing at iniquity, and has accomplished the ossification of a sense of shame, which was born with him, and cherished by his ignorant father and mother; and can boast of possessing an admirable stock of hardy insensibility to every thing but his own interest. He flatters himself that he is as able as willing to undertake any work, however dirty, that you have occasion to engage him in; to lend a hand in colouring any job now in progress; and to supply your places in squatting upon any design that may be hatching against the disaffected. He is your man for virtuously turning evidence against societies to which he has formerly been vicious enough to belong. He will very cheerfully betray to you the secrets which the friendly confidence of certain fellows calling themselves patriots, with whom he has been on terms of intimacy, may have afforded him the means of obtaining. He can number a dozen, at least, of men who have come voluntarily to condole with him since he has been here, and who he has reason to think are not friendly to your measures, because they are so friendly to him; any or all of whom he will be happy to sacrifice to your implacable vengeance, by way of atonement for his own transgressions. He has compiled and arranged a large assortment of virtues, to which you have hitherto been strangers, and which he will make over

to you without reserve. And he has compounded a wonderful literary elixir, for beautifying speeches, which corrects grammatical errors, removes superfluous expletives, and gives poignancy and *gusto* to the most insipid—an experiment of which he will be happy to make on one of any of your worships, in order to convince you of its sovereign virtues.

THAT in addition to the above claims on your notice, lenity, and generosity, your Petitioner has acquired a considerable fund of scurrility, and has stocked himself with epithets for rancorous abuse, which it will be a pleasure to him to devote to your purposes, and in the application of which he will manifest an equal disregard to truth and delicacy. Neither should he forbear to mention, that he has in his possession a small but valuable portion of private history, concerning certain public characters and their families, which no respect for honour or decency will prevent him from exposing to vulgar notice, in the worst colours they can possibly be made to appear in.

THAT your Petitioner, thinking that "this is not a world to hide virtues in," came to a determination of a declaration of qualification, in the confident hope that such abilities as he has set forth will procure him, as they undoubtedly entitle him to, due notice from your worships. He very modestly assures himself, that he is not a man to be thrown away in this time of need; and reckons

with the utmost security upon a pension or a sinecure; which, if he should obtain it, he will do his best, or more properly speaking, his worst, to deserve at your hands, and to render no more than a just reward for services that would do honour to the "sour little gentleman," or the great Mr. CANTING. If a total want of principle, of decency of manly feeling, of common honesty and regard for truth, together with the positive qualities of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, are the valuable possessions which the new morality proclaims, then your Petitioner trusts that he shall not be the only person to whom they will not ensure a place in your esteem and service; and humbly hopes that you will speedily promote him to some nothing-to-do office, with a good salary attached to it, where he may qualify himself, at his leisure, for "higher employments," and learn to have a hearty contempt for every body that happens to be less fortunate or less vicious than himself.

And your Petitioner, &c.

NEW ILLUMINATI.

To Mr. William Hone.

SIR,

It has been truly said, that wandering individuals have been often brought by reflection to retrace their steps and reform their conduct—corporate bodies seldom—governments never. To whatever cause this may be attri-

buted, it is certain that collective bodies are influenced by a different principle to individuals; the latter are probably more frequently directed by their judgments, the former, by their passions; and appear to consider themselves under the protection of some charm, that renders unnecessary the common dictates of prudence. Akin to this feeling is that of some of the inferior animals; instance the hound, which collected in the chase equals in ferocity the tiger, yet naturally, it is the most timid and obsequious of animals.

In answer to the almost unanimous application for Reform by the thinking part of the English nation, the Ministerial pack have exhibited a most formidable front, and are apparently in good voice; but does this betoken the absence of all apprehension; nay, does it not rather betray their fears; as a coward is best known, and his fears evinced most, by the superior violence of his tone and gesticulation? No one supposed that the oligarchy, the polluters of the Augean stable, but waited to be addressed to commence "the godly thorough reformation." No disappointment can therefore ensue. Hercules "is not dead, but sleepeth"—the purification is but deferred, not abandoned—the vital necessity of Reform becomes daily more apparent, and its advocates more numerous and powerful: It behoves us, however, to watch and counteract the movements of the enemy, and if possible, to neutralize any auxiliaries that may be preparing to range under his standard. We may be well assured, that if the sound and honest part of the

community are on our side, they will take what they can get, and "the lame, and the halt, and the blind," "they will in no wise cast out," but receive with open arms.

In compliment to whom has been introduced this new visitor, "on whose forehead is written blasphemy," and to whom the pious Lord SIMMOUTH has condescended to act as master of the ceremonies? Treason and sedition are our old and "tried" friends; but who are ye? Are ye not the first fruits of an unholy alliance, the illegitimate conception of the tabernacle, prepared "to fight the good fight" of despotism, under the garb of sanctity? No one is ignorant of the growing importance in the state of a class of people distinguished for their narrow views of that great and best of Beings who fills all space, contracting his power and benevolence, "whose tender mercies are over all his works;" and describing as cruel, partial, and vindictive, Him, who thus describes himself, "the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and in truth." Now, "as perfect love casteth out fear," so perfect fear casteth out love; and extinguishes all the finer sympathies of our nature. By degrees the circle of our affections is contracted; the bulk of mankind is first given up; then comes our countrymen, friends, and relations; till, like poor BUNYAN'S Pilgrim, we are fain to leave the "City of Destruction," alone and unattended.

The heartfelt current of the soul being dried up and ex-

hausted, freedom, justice, and public spirit, are words uncouth and unintelligible; "from Dan to Beersheba, all is barren;" the distillation of an ascetic spirit upon the originally benevolent heart, has converted "the milk of human kindness" into the gall of bitterness.*

From minds so perverted, can we expect any co-operation in the recovery of constitutional principles? Need we look for "grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles?" On two occasions, however, they have stood forward; the one to oppose a projected regulation of Lord SIMMOUTH, as to the admissibility of preachers; and "they came, they saw, they conquered,"—they spake, and the waves were still; the other in opposition to the modern Romans, to whom, like Hannibal of old, they have sworn perpetual enmity; here, also, they are as yet triumphant: but will this provoke comparison? If so, which presents the noblest front, England Catholic, or England Methodist? To the former we owe the glory of our country, the great charter of our liberties; at the head of the illustrious confederacy that fought for the glorious prize; the grand keystone of the arch, stood the Catholic Primate of all England: it should also be remembered, that the sacred lamp of ancient wisdom, and the immortal relic of ancient art, which there is no doubt these modern Vandals would extinguish as pro-

* "How charming is divine philosophy!
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose;

But musical as is Apollo's lute;
And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets;
Where no crude surfeit reigns."

MILTON.

fane, was preserved and cherished by the fostering care of the Catholic clergy, through a long and dreary night of ignorance; and are they to be refused the common rights of humanity, by an intolerant faction, dead to every principle that can ennoble the human mind? The saintly illuminati boast they want neither the light of reason or nature; and, to do them justice, they certainly contrive to do without either: but they have as a substitute, an ignis fatuus, drawn from the bogs of their own distempered imaginations. They modestly arrogate to themselves the distinguishing title of Evangelical, otherwise, dealers and chapmen in "glad tidings of great joy," as the name imports. Will they condescend to be brought to the touchstone of scripture? The prophet Isaiah says, "O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain. O Jerusalem, that bringest glad tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid: say unto the cities of Judah, behold your God. Behold the Lord God shall come with strength, and his arm shall rule for him. Behold his reward is with him, and his work before him. He shall feed his flock, like a shepherd. He shall gather his lambs with his arm, and shall gently lead those that are with young." How we should be led and fed were we to submit to the modern evangelical go-cart, let those declare who have received spiritual nourishment from the Cheap Tract Repository of babes and sucklings: let it not also be forgotten, that while month by month laudatory matter is poured forth in favour of

their own puny and ricketty offspring, the proud names of Fox, RUSSELL, and SHERIDAN, have been assailed with the venom of an impotent malice. I am sorry on the present occasion to introduce religious topics, but it is forced upon me, because religion, so called, is an ingredient of the present political system; and so mixed up with it, that it cannot be dis severed—it is not merely the old and open union of church and state;—it is "a holy alliance" between political imbecility and fanatical despotism—the stiff stays of Methodism on the body of the corrupt courtier.

I am also justified in assuming the fact of the aforesaid alliance, because the party have had the effrontery to re-echo the charge of blasphemy, in a late circular address to their own body; nay, they have gone farther; and, puffed up with their rising importance, have, in some of their monthly trash, dared to belch forth menaces against "the ungodly." If an additional proof of the fact be wanting, do we not see the leader of the *saints*, in collusion with certain other leaders of the "Commons House," arrayed against our rights and liberties? Indeed, I have but little doubt that the green spectacles, through which the People of England are now viewed, owe a great part, if not all their colouring, to this unnatural influence.

There is a passage in one of the Epistles which says, "Know ye not that the saints shall judge the earth?" This being taken literally, and said party having no doubt who are meant to be so

designated, albeit said party constantly confess themselves to be "the greatest of sinners!"—with what sincerity, "he only knows who can judge the heart," as Uncle Toby says---the aforesaid party, however, are actually upon stilts, "spying out the nakedness of the land," preparatory to the assumption of the high office. It should also be remembered, that no inconsiderable portion have undergone a sort of initiation in a certain society for the correction of morals; and although dim-sighted, as to royal and noble peccadilloes, have never shown a want of keenness in discovering, and properly punishing, the wild vagaries of the "swinish multitude." These, then, are to be our new "governors, teachers, spiritual pastors, and masters;"—this is the new guardianship of our rights and liberties; but let Englishmen beware. Is it not "the protection the vulture giveth to the lamb; first covering, then devouring it?"

R. M.

OLIVER.

If *Mister OLIVER's* a spy,
He can't help that—no more can I;
And if his trade—'s to tell a lie,
He's sorry for it—so am I.
He'd not for all the world—say d—n;
And therefore is—a *moral* man.
His character—'s without a speck,
You all know what I *mean*—

M. KECK.

W. H.
10th July, 1817.

Epitaph.

Here a *moral* man I lie,
Mister OLIVER, the spy,
I lied on earth—I lie below;
And lie wherever I shall go.
That all my *character* may know,
It's duly signed beneath—

I. O.

Certificate of Character.

He was only a *spy*—to hang men by the neck,

And in all respects *moral*—

MORALITY KECK.

W. H.

10th July, 1817.

TO READERS.

The next Number, which concludes the First Volume of the REFORMISTS' REGISTER, will contain the Title-Page, Preface, and Index.--The following Number will commence the Second Volume.

I beg to inform Country Inquirers, who desire to have the *Reformists' Register*, that they should give their orders for it to country Booksellers, most of whom have usually a parcel of various publications every week from their agents in town, and these town agents will procure and forward the *Register*, in their weekly parcels, regularly; but Booksellers, and persons in the country, who take the *Reformists' Register* to sell again, may have them forwarded in any way they point out, by remitting with the order, or appointing payment by some person in London, at stated periods.

W. H.

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HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 26.]

SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1817.

[Vol. I.]

TORTURE

IN IRELAND—AND

LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. BENNETT'S Affirmation of Torture being inflicted in the Castle Yard of Dublin---Sir R. WILSON'S Affirmation of his witnessing Torture so inflicted in Ireland he could never remember it without shuddering---Mr. BROUGHAM'S Statement of Men being mangled till their Bones appeared, and one after being rubbed with Gunpowder till his Bowels burst through his Body!----Sir F. BURDETT'S Affirmation of Cruelty---Lord CASTLEREAGH'S Prosecution of Mr. FINNERTY, for charging Cruelty upon him in Ireland---ORR---Mr. FINNERTY'S Attempts to read Affidavits of Torture opposed by the Judges---Nature of the Affidavits---Lord CASTLEREAGH'S Mode of Vindicating his Character---Mr. CURRAN'S Testimony to the Infliction of Torture---Lord CASTLEREAGH'S Statements respecting it---Torture admitted to have been used, and justified by Mr. J. C. BERRSFORD and Lord Chancellor CLARE---Reasons for making Torture the subject of this Register.

On the first reading of the first Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill

in the House of Commons this session, the Hon. HENRY GREY BENNETT expressed his surprise that the Rt. Hon. GEORGE PONSONBY, who is since dead, should have *disgraced himself* by accepting of a place in the Secret Committee, to whom the contents of the Green Bag were referred, and by *sitting in the same chamber with the Noble Lord opposite*, Lord CASTLEREAGH, the principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. When Mr. BENNETT said this, there were shouts of *hear*; and Mr. BENNETT inquired if Mr. PONSONBY could think himself in *safety with the Noble Lord?* whereupon the shouts of *hear* were repeated. Mr. BENNETT, in the course of his speech, said, that had he been nominated a Member of that Committee, no inducement on earth would have led him to risk his character by *acting with the Noble Lord*. He *threw the Report of the Committee upon the floor of the House*, and called it *trash*, which he said he only thought *fit for trampling under his feet*; and he afterwards said, he would never consent to surrender the rights of the People to the hands of such *Ministers as the Noble Lord*, who would abuse the power intrusted to them—who had already *embued their hands in the blood of their country*—who had already been *guilty of the most criminal*

cruelties! When Mr. BENNETT said this, there were cries of *order*; and Lord CASTLEREAGH having risen to order, a conversation ensued between the Noble Lord, Mr. BENNETT, Lord MILTON, Mr. YORKE, Mr. C. WYNNE, Mr. BRAND, and the Speaker, wherein Mr. BENNETT declared that he meant the charge to apply not to one hand in the Ministry, but the whole Ministry, who acted under the former Suspension Bill, during whose fatal reign, *such enormity took place IN IRELAND.* Upon this, Lord CASTLEREAGH said, in his own name, and that of his colleagues, and on public grounds, if a charge of *cruelty* was brought against them, and they were described as embruing their hands in the blood of the country, he would use the words that the Honourable Gentleman applied to the Report of a Committee, of which his Rt. Hon. friend, Mr. PONSONBY, was a member, and say it was *a direct falsehood.* To this denial, Mr. BENNETT said, when he spoke of *cruelties*, they were impressed deeply in his mind; for they were *cruelties* perpetrated, not in remote regions—not beyond the bounds of our own country—not by a mandate to be executed at a distance—but at home, under the eye of Government, *in the Castle yard!* Lord CASTLEREAGH again rose to order; and Mr. BENNETT having avowed that he did not mean to pursue the subject further, there the matter for that time rested.

About a fortnight afterwards, a meeting of the county of Kent, convened by the High Sheriff, was held at Maidstone; on which occasion, Sir ROBERT WILSON

affirmed, that the consequences of *the present system* are forty-six millions of permanent annual taxes, which, notwithstanding their intolerable exaction, are not adequate to the payment of the public creditors and the expenses of the state—eight millions of annual poor rates, which are not sufficient to feed and clothe the hungry and the naked; such, Sir ROBERT WILSON said, are the legacies left us by successive Parliaments, in which Ministers had such undue and absolute influence as to insure the approval of all their measures, except in one or two instances, where the individual interests of the Members constituting the majority were immediately concerned. To that influence, he observed, must be attributed a system which has suspended the pride of our birthright, and the shield of our liberties—a system of policy which only requires the establishment of a censorship over the press, to accomplish all which it has been said by the scoffers of the Holy League was proposed by that alliance;—viz. “*To make every man in Europe a slave in his person, and a brute in his mind:*”—a system of policy which introduced TORTURE into Ireland—“*that TORTURE which*” said Sir ROBERT, “*I myself witnessed, and whose dreadful images I never remember without shuddering!—a TORTURE, where the innocent were not only confounded with the guilty, BY UNSUPPORTED CHARGES, but where THE LASH (as I declare to God, I SAW IT MYSELF) was applied promiscuously, on the chance of extorting a confession, or obtaining an accusation!!!*”

On Friday last, the day before the close of the session, Mr. BROUGHAM said, that it was matter of peculiar jealousy and alarm, when it was considered to whom, with hardly domestic dissension enough to scare a child, the liberties of the country were abandoned. With regard, he observed, to the Noble Lord opposite, Lord CASTLEREAGH, it could not be forgotten with what scenes *his administration* in Ireland had formerly been attended. He presumed that the Noble Lord had been ignorant of them at the time of their occurrence; but the circumstances were on record: it was not now a fact that could be controverted, that men had been *flogged* with a merciless spirit which was not satiated *till their bones appeared to the face of day!* The House cried *hear, hear.* It was not to be denied, continued, Mr. BROUGHAM, that one man, who had been thus lacerated, had been *rubbed over with gunpowder*, in order to be a *second* time mangled, *till his bowels burst through his wounds!*—and was then abandoned without medical aid! If all this took place, and the Noble Lord remained in ignorance of it, although in his immediate vicinity, how was he, sitting in London, to prevent similar barbarities in Cornwall and in Yorkshire? Lord CASTLEREAGH, in answer to Mr. BROUGHAM, said, “He was satisfied that none who were acquainted with his disposition would accuse him of *cruelty* (the Members on the opposition benches loudly cried *hear, hear*); and if cruelties and atrocities were perpetrated at that period—a fact which he did not deny—

the blood which had been spilt, was on the head of those who had encouraged and sanctioned that guilty and unnatural rebellion. At that eventful period the loyal were a persecuted party, and they struggled with such arms as nature and resentment gave them, to save themselves from attacks on their lives and property. It was not to be wondered that in the heat of self-defence and justly excited anger, they should be carried beyond the strict bounds of discretion or mercy; and *in the heat of the struggle, Government had no power to repress their loyal indignation.* But it was most invidious and unmanly, at this distance of time, when every individual, who had then conducted himself, ill might so long since have been brought to punishment if he deserved it, to stand up as the advocate of those whom Government, if it chose, might have consigned long since to the lash of the law. How could any man who had sat silent during the last 20 years now rise up and expatiate on facts, which, if true, ought to have been, and would have been, long since the subject of impeachment? It was unmanly thus to countenance that spirit of *calumny* out of doors which had long prevailed on this subject, *though without any just foundation.*”

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said, no person but the Noble Lord could smile at the state of vile and abject servitude to which they were reduced, who were removed from prison to prison, from one solitary dungeon to another, at the beck of the Noble Lord and his colleagues. The Noble Lord, indeed, might smile at the mention

of such tortures; and *after the scenes he had gone through in Ireland*, might think them lenient. After such transactions, it was little to be wondered at, that the Noble Lord should be found transferring men like cattle from one despot to another (for notwithstanding all the Noble Lord might say, he [Sir FRANCIS] would call despots despots), or taking credit to himself for a deliberate violation of the law of nations.

Mr. BENNETT said, if he would not say that Government *did* most improper acts, yet they might have encouraged them. There was a supineness in the House on these subjects; but *a man's heart must be colder than marble not to feel them!*

During this discussion, some affidavits were read by, I believe, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT; in consequence of which, Lord CASTLEREAGH said, those affidavits, he understood, had come from Mr. FINNERTY—*against whom, IN VINDICATION OF HIS CHARACTER, he had found it necessary to institute LEGAL PROCEEDINGS for a libel.*

This prosecution was in 1811, and the alleged libel consisted, I believe, in imputing to Lord CASTLEREAGH, that he had, from personal malice and ill-will, and in order to injure, harass, and oppress Mr. FINNERTY, issued an order, as Secretary of State, for Mr. FINNERTY to be sent home from Walcheren, whither he had proceeded for the purpose of collecting materials for a history of the expedition; and it further charged tyranny, cruelty, and oppression, on the part of Lord CASTLEREAGH, during Lord CAMDEN'S Government in Ireland, to-

wards Mr. FINNERTY, and others, and in the execution of Mr. ORR.*

* Mr. FINNERTY published a pamphlet in Dublin, in 1797, on Mr. ORR'S case; it was prosecuted as a libel, and he was found guilty. Mr. CURRAN, in defending Mr. FINNERTY, in one part of his speech, thus addressed the Jury:—

“Let me suppose that you had known the charge upon which Mr. ORR was apprehended—the charge of abjuring that bigotry which had torn and disgraced his country—of pledging himself to restore the People of his country to their place in the Constitution—and of binding himself never to be the betrayer of his fellow-labourers in that enterprise; that you had seen him upon that charge removed from his industry, and confined in a gaol; that through the slow and lingering progress of twelve tedious months you had seen him confined in a dungeon, shut out from the common use of air and of his own limbs; that day after day you had marked the unhappy captive cheered by no sound but the cries of his family, or the clinking of chains; that you had seen him at last brought to his trial; that you had seen the vile and perjured informer deposing against his life; that you had seen the drunken, and worn-out, and terrified Jury, give in a verdict of death; that you had seen the same Jury, when their returning sobriety had brought back their conscience, prostrate themselves before the humanity of the bench, and pray that the mercy of the Crown might save their characters from the reproach of an involuntary crime, their consciences from the torture of eternal self-condemnation, and their souls from the indelible stain of innocent blood. Let me suppose that you had seen the respite given, and that contrite and honest recommendation transmitted to that seat where mercy was presumed to dwell; that

In consequence of the Court of King's Bench, before whom *the indictment* against Mr. FINNERTY was to be tried, having refused to put off the trial until his witnesses arrived from Ireland, and elsewhere, Mr. FINNERTY, after having attended at the Crown-office to see the Jury struck, and inquired about those whose names were upon the list, thought proper to decline going to trial, and let judgment go by default. On being brought up for judgment, he put in his own affidavit, which, being in part read, Lord ELLENBOROUGH required him to amend by a future day,

when he again appeared, and after much altercation, Mr. FINNERTY said:—

“ ————— When I last appeared here, the first interruption I experienced was from the informality of Dr. O'CONNOR's affidavit; providentially I have received a more correct one since, from Bandon; I now offer it.

The COURT. Who is this O'CONNOR?

Mr. FINNERTY. He is a gentleman of respectability, who was, in the year 1799, transported to Botany Bay, where he remained nine years, upon the mere warrant of Lord CASTLEREAGH.

new and before unheard of crimes are discovered against the informer; that the royal mercy seems to relent, and that a new respite is sent to the prisoner; that time is taken, as the learned counsel for the Crown has expressed it, to see whether mercy could be extended or not! that after that period of lingering deliberation passed, a third respite is transmitted; that the unhappy captive himself feels the cheering hope of being restored to a family that he had adored, to a character that he had never stained, and to a country that he had ever loved; that you had seen his wife and children upon their knees, giving those tears to gratitude, which their locked and frozen hearts could not give to anguish and despair, and imploring the blessings of eternal providence upon his head, who had graciously spared the father, and restored him to his children; that you had seen the olive branch sent into his little ark, but no sign that the waters had subsided. “Alas! nor wife, nor children, more shall behold, nor friends, nor sacred home!” No seraph mercy unbars his dungeon, and leads him forth to light and life; but the minister of death hurries him to the scene of suffering and of shame; where, unmoved by the hostile array of artillery

and armed men collected together, to secure, or to insult, or to disturb him, he dies with a solemn declaration of his innocence, and utters his last breath in a prayer for the liberty of his country. Let me now ask of you, if any of you had addressed the public ear upon so foul and monstrous a subject, in what language would you have conveyed the feelings of horror and indignation?—would you have stooped to the meanness of qualified complaint?—would you have been mean enough?—but I entreat your forgiveness—I do not think meanly of you; had I thought so meanly of you, I could not suffer my mind to commune with you as it has done; had I thought you that base and vile instrument, attuned by hope and by fear into discord and falsehood, from whose vulgar string no groan of suffering could vibrate, no voice of integrity or honour could speak, let me honestly tell you, I should have scorned to fling my hand across it; I should have left it to a fitter minstrel: if I do not, therefore, grossly err in my opinion of you, I could use no language upon such a subject as this, that must not lag behind the rapidity of your feelings, and that would not disgrace those feelings, if it attempted to describe them.”

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. I reject this.

Mr. FINNERTY. I must again request to know upon what principle your Lordships mean to proceed towards me. The truth of a libel has been uniformly held by this Court to extenuate its guilt, and has always served to mitigate the punishment. Now either you believe the libel for which I appear before you, to be true, or you do not. If the former, and that you will deal with me accordingly, you may reject this affidavit: I have no objection. But if the latter, how can you consistently exclude me from the opportunity, or deny me the right of producing such evidence as must remove your disbelief—as must do away even any apology for scepticism—as must convince you that I do not deserve punishment for censuring such a man? If you do not believe Lord CASTLEREAGH guilty to the extent that I have stated in the alleged libel, I pledge myself to produce—indeed, I have here before me, a host of affidavits, confirming on his part, atrocities so enormous, as no man can hear without invoking the throne of justice for vengeance on his head. This Court has not acted upon such a principle: Lord MANSFIELD refused an information in General PLASTOE's case, in consequence of the character of that officer, and because the statement complained of was true. I offer this affidavit to prove that every word in my publication is true.

The COURT. We will not hear it.

Mr. FINNERTY. Here, then, is the affidavit of Mr. CLARE.

The COURT. Who is CLARE?

Mr. FINNERTY. The affidavit will tell that. The description will take up as much time as the reading. It has been sworn before a Judge of the King's Bench in Ireland.

Mr. CLARE's affidavit stated, that in the year 1798, various kinds of torture, such as whippings, picketings, half hangings, &c. &c. were practised in Dublin, close to the Castle gate. He swore also that Lord CASTLE-

REACH might have heard the cries of the sufferers in his office.

The COURT. Can it be endured, that such affidavits as this are to be put in, when we have expressed our determination on the subject, and given our advice?

Mr. GARROW. Certainly, my Lord, it ought not to be tolerated; he is only uttering fresh libels. You have given this man eight days to amend his affidavit, and he has chosen to remain obstinate.

The COURT. Have you, sir, any inoffensive affidavits?

Mr. FINNERTY. None that are inoffensive with regard to Lord CASTLEREAGH, and none that are offensive, as I conceive, with regard to the law, or to this Court. In consequence of your Lordships' *dictum*, that truth was no justification of a libel, and that therefore I should not be allowed to prove the truth of my letter, I let judgment go by default: I did so, because I understood, that on being brought up for judgment, I might produce the truth in mitigation. This was no idle fancy of my own; it was built upon your precedents and practice. Since your law was against me, I have deferred to it; but nothing on earth shall induce me to make any submission to Lord CASTLEREAGH. No, no, my Lords, remember your own words in the case of JONES: "*You have thought fit to charge his Lordship with acting in that high office from motives of personal ill-will towards a private individual, and of having made use of his authority and influence, as Secretary of State, to harass and oppress such individual, in such a way, as, if true, would not only render him unfit to fill that high station in which he had been placed, but would prove him so base an individual, that no gentleman could associate with him.*"—This was the language of your Lordship, addressed to Mr. JONES, when pronouncing sentence upon him for a libel upon Lord CASTLEREAGH, in consequence of my

letter. Now I am ready to prove, that CASTLEREAGH does deserve the description, which your Lordship charges me with applying to him, of being the basest of individuals. And will you then punish me for censuring the conduct of such a man?

The COURT.—We cannot hear this. You may now utter fresh libels against Lord CASTLEREAGH, which he can have no opportunity of rebutting.

Mr. FINNERTY. I thought I had fully obviated this objection about “fresh libels.” But, in fact, Lord CASTLEREAGH has an opportunity of rebutting my “fresh libels,” as you term them; for he can, as was done in Draper’s case, put in counter affidavits, if in his power to produce them. Nay, more; he will, by the admission of my affidavits, be afforded the opportunity, not only of repelling the charges contained in these affidavits, but of punishing for perjury those by whom the charges are made, if such charges are unfounded. Thus, if you receive my affidavits, the Noble Lord will have the means, not only of vindicating his own character, but of exhibiting his accusers to universal infamy. Do, then, in justice to CASTLEREAGH, as well as in justice to me, allow these affidavits to be read. I have shown you, that if they are false, they can produce no evil but to those with whom they originate; and if they are true, I ask you, in the name of all that is sacred, how can you reconcile it to your conscience to send me to a gaol for uttering the truth against such a man? Will you hear my affidavits?

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. I said before that we should not receive any affidavits of the same character and to the same purport as those you have already offered.

Mr. FINNERTY. I will then state the purport of a few, and your Lordships can receive or reject them as they proceed. I have here an affidavit of a father and son having been tortured side by side, in Dublin,

under Lord CASTLEREAGH’s Government, in the year 1798. The affidavit is from the father. Will you allow it to be read?

The COURT. No.

Mr. FINNERTY. Here is another affidavit from a Mr. HUGHES, whom CASTLEREAGH saw one or two days after the torture had been inflicted; his back raw with the scourge; his shirt one mass of blood, and his coat hanging loosely around him.

The COURT. Why, this is contumacy to the Court.

Mr. FINNERTY. I wish not to offer any contumacy; I desire not to repel your judgment, but to vindicate my own character. That character is dearer to me than life, and in comparison with its loss, any punishment within power’s limits to inflict, has little terrors for me. I offer to prove the truth of all my statements.—According to your law, I may be called a libeller; but if I had not these affidavits to produce, I might be called a liar also. The latter is an odious character, in every state of society; but I do not know that in the present state of England, a libel upon a public man furnishes any presumptive evidence against the morality or judgment of the author. I am, therefore, more anxious to rescue myself from the imputation of the one than of the other. Since the Court does not think proper to hear the whole of the affidavit of HUGHES, I will proceed to another.

Mr. Justice LE BLANC. Let the clerk read the affidavits, sir.

Mr. DIXON’s affidavit stated, that he was a yeoman in 1798; that he saw three peasants whipped and tortured without trial—

The COURT. What does this prove?

Mr. FINNERTY. It goes on to state that these cruelties were committed with CASTLEREAGH’s sanction and privity.

The COURT. You have been often told that these things were irrelevant. Do not compel us to send you back to

prison till next term, in order that you may come here to receive our judgment in a becoming manner.

The affidavits produced by Mr. FINNERTY, on the day he received his sentence of 18 months' imprisonment in Lincoln gaol, are, I presume, those which Lord CASTLEREAGH alluded to as having been read against him in the House of Commons, when he said he felt himself called upon, *in vindication of his own character*, to institute the above-mentioned proceedings against Mr. FINNERTY. Mr. FINNERTY, however, said in Court, "*If the vindication of character—if genuine justice were Lord CASTLEREAGH's object, an action would have been his course of proceeding; because, as the enlightened editor of Blackstone's Commentaries observes—'The chief excellence of the civil action for a libel consists in this, that it not only affords a reparation for the injury sustained, but is a full vindication of the innocence of the person traduced.'* But the motives of my prosecutor for declining to bring an action are obvious. They speak a volume to every intelligent mind. They show most clearly, that he sought only to gratify resentment; but did not think it prudent to hazard an investigation of character, and therefore chose to avail himself of the doctrine, that 'the greater the truth the greater the libel.'" So that, as to the mode of prosecution adopted by

Lord CASTLEREAGH *for vindicating his character*, there was variance of opinion between his Lordship and Mr. FINNERTY.

In conclusion of his speech on Friday, Lord CASTLEREAGH said,—"*If there had been any punishment of the kind, he would agree in calling it TORTURE; but there had been none such in Ireland. He abhorred torture for the purpose of extorting truth as much as the Hon. Gent. did; but such a practice had never prevailed in Ireland. The punishments had been punishments for offences committed, and had been the means of saving the country from much bloodshed; but while he vindicated the IRISH GOVERNMENT against the charge of inflicting TORTURE, he must at the same time say, that he had not been present at any of the punishments in question. He had never in the course of his life seen any punishment of the kind alluded to inflicted, except in his own militia regiment.*"

The printed speeches of Mr. CURRAN, delivered in Ireland, speak of the use of TORTURE as familiar. In one he said,—"*He did not wonder that the patrons of burning and TORTURE should be vexed that their favourite instruments were not employed in recruiting for rebellion.*" He also, speaking of the abatement of the troubles, and of their attendant horrors, most eloquently says,—"*I see no frightful spectacle of infuriated*

power or suffering humanity—I see no *TORTURES*—I hear no *shrieks*—I no longer see the human heart charred in the flame of its own wild and paltry passions—black and bloodless—capable only of catching and communicating that destructive fire by which it devours and is itself devoured.”

Again Mr. CURRAN, adverting to the *notoriety* of the fact, says, “When *TORTURE* was the daily and ordinary system of the executive Government, it was denied in London with a profligacy of effrontery, equal to the barbarity with which it was inflicted in Dublin!”

Here, therefore, in the popular speeches of Mr. CURRAN, are allusions to it as a well-known practice in Ireland: yet, in 1801, Lord CASTLEREAGH asserted in the House of Commons, as he now does in 1817, “that *TORTURE* never was inflicted in Ireland with the knowledge, authority, or approbation of Government.” Mr. JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD, a member of the Government, then observed, that “it was *unmanly to deny TORTURE, as it was notoriously practised in order to obtain confessions;*” and Lord CLARE, the Irish Lord Chancellor, avowed *TORTURE* in the House of Lords, and endeavoured to justify it.

My object in bringing these statements together, is to enable my readers to judge for themselves respecting charges of

TORTURE, which have been often urged, particularly of late; and on which, from want of information, or precise recollection, persons have been slow in forming an opinion. It is a very *tender* subject to remark upon; and therefore I shall close this Number and the Volume together, purposing to commence my next with one less painful, and of equal interest.

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,
16th July, 1817.

TO READERS.

The first Volume of the REFORMISTS' REGISTER being now concluded, may be had, Price Five Shillings, in extra boards.

I beg to inform Country Inquirers, who desire to have the *Reformists' Register*, that they should give their orders for it to country Booksellers, most of whom have usually a parcel of various publications every week from their agents in town, and these town agents will procure and forward the *Register*, in their weekly parcels, regularly; but Booksellers, and persons in the country, who take the *Reformists' Register* to sell again, may have them forwarded in any way they point out, by remitting with the order, or appointing payment by some person in London, at stated periods.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I cannot this week pay due attention to several Correspondents. In the next *REGISTER*, which will be the *first Number of the new Volume*, I purpose noticing various Communications.

W. H.

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THE
REFORMISTS'
REGISTER,
AND
WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

THE LAST PART.

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TO OCTOBER 25, 1817,
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23d Oct. 1817.

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HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 1.]

SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1817.

[Vol. II.

MORE

POLITICAL

PRIESTCRAFT.

THE LORD MAYOR'S CHAPLAIN, the Rev. G. F. BATES, preaches an ANTI-REFORM SERMON before his Lordship, &c., at St. Paul's—The Common Council refuse to thank him for it—Preface and Dedication of the Sermon as if thanked—Discussion in the Common Council thereon—City Sermons cost £200. or £300. a Year to print—made into Thread-papers—Mr. Chaplain BATES calls Moses and Ezra Christians, Egypt a City, and Conquest lawful—(Suppose Napoleon had conquered England?)—Attacks the Reformists—Exhorts his Congregation, consisting of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Serjeants at Law, Sheriffs, Common Council, &c. against Rebellion!!!—The Distressed and the Distressers—Imputes to Providence the Crimes of Men—Mr. Coteridge's affecting Narratives; Men displaced for Sheep—The sacred Character—The Wolf and the Lamb—Haman and Lord Castlereagh—Boiling Lobsters—The Shadow of the Constitution—Chaplain BATES'S cowardly Attack on me—Title and Dedication of a Church and King Parody on the Te Deum—Notice respecting Mr. BATES.

A SERMON TO ASSES—recom-

mended to Mr. Chaplain BATES, and his Admirers.

It is especially necessary when the Clergy *fly out* that they should be reminded of their duty; and therefore, when the Rev. DANIEL WILSON, M. A., Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, preached a *slave-making Sermon*, about three months ago, I took occasion to give that gentleman a Lecture, in two successive *Registers*,* which I have no doubt has very much benefitted him. I have now to notice another of these *high-flying* gentlemen; and, being no ceremony-monger, shall do it forthwith. May my present labours have the like good effect upon *this* object of my admonition!

On June the 8th, the first Sunday in Trinity Term, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of London, the JUDGES, the Worshipful the Aldermen, the Serjeants at Law, the Sheriffs, the Common Council of the City, and its Officers, went to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, according to annual custom, and there heard a Sermon preached by the Reverend GEORGE FERNE BATES, M. A. the Lord Mayor's Chaplain. At a subsequent Court of Common Council, the thanks of the Court were

* Vol. I. No. 14. p. 417. and No. 15. p. 449.

moved to the Chaplain, for his Sermon, according also to custom; which thanks, instead of being voted, likewise according to custom, were refused, wholly refused; the Court being of opinion the Sermon was improper, and expressing their decided disapprobation of it.

Notwithstanding this decision of the Court of Common Council, and just as if nothing had happened, *Mr. Chaplain BATES'S* Sermon was printed, *at the expense of the City*, with the following Preface on the leaf immediately following the title-page. I give the whole of it, *verbatim*, without the omission of a word; and thus it begins:—

(Copy)

WOOD, MAYOR.

Tuesday, the 10th Day of June, 1817,
and in the Fifty-seventh Year of
the Reign of George the Third, of
the United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Ireland King, &c.

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

That the Thanks of this Court be given to the Rev. GEORGE FERNE BATES, M. A., Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, for his excellent Sermon, preached before this Court at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on Sunday, the 8th Day of June, being the first Sunday in Trinity Term; and that he be desired to print the same, and cause a Copy thereof to be sent to every Member of this Court, and City Officers.

WOODTHORPE.

There ends the Preface and the contents of that leaf, and the next leaf begins with a Dedication, as follows:—

(Copy)

TO THE

Right Honble. MATTHEW WOOD,
Lord Mayor;

The Worshipful the Aldermen,
The Sheriffs,

AND

The Common Council of the City of
London,

THIS

SERMON

Is respectfully inscribed.

At the Common Council of Thursday, the 17th instant, Mr. FAVELL complained that the Resolution printed in front of the Sermon was not true, inasmuch as the Court had not voted such Resolution. Mr. DIXON said the words "*this Court*" referred to the Court of *Aldermen*. Mr. FAVELL said the Court of *Aldermen* was not mentioned, as by reference to the Resolution printed above will appear; and it is also worthy of remark, that the Sermon is *respectfully inscribed* in the next leaf, by Mr. Chaplain BATES, to the *Common Council*; and thus, by the Resolution of Thanks, and Dedication, it would appear that the *Common Council* gave Mr. Chaplain BATES their thanks, instead of having refused them. Mr. FAVELL, therefore, in order, as he said, that the Court of Common Council might not slip into the fame which the Court of *Aldermen* seemed to covet, moved, "That in future the Resolutions of the Court of Aldermen shall not be printed along with the Resolutions of this Court, unless so ordered by this Court." Mr. WALTHAM supported the motion. He said the City paid out of its exhausted

funds from £200. to £300. a year, *for printing Sermons which were never read, or, indeed, seen, by most of the Members of the Court.* It was a most useless expense. He had applied to the oldest and most religious Members of the Court, to get a peep at one of them, without effect. This excited his curiosity to know what became of these *documents*. He inquired amongst the officers of the Court, and here the answer was—"Oh—the Sermons—they make very good thread-papers for my little girl!" He could not think the Court of Aldermen would unanimously approve of *such* a Sermon, more especially as the Lord Mayor was one of its Members. Mr. DIXON said the *stir* made about the Sermon served to advertise it, and promote the interest of the preacher; for he had been asked by many persons where it was to be got. Mr. WAITHMAN replied that he well knew the discussions in that Court were calculated to serve the interests of the *Reverend Gentleman*—no man could be so dull as not to understand that; but whatever might be the result with respect to the Reverend Gentleman's *interests*, it was for the Members of that Court to do their duty. After seeing such infamous wretches as REYNOLDS and OLIVER applauded and rewarded, could it be doubted that *any individual who chooses to attack the rights of the People* will obtain the favour of the present Government?

Mr. OLDHAM OLDHAM has since given notice, that with a view to prevent discussions respecting these Sermons, as well as to save the money mentioned by Mr.

WAITHMAN, he intends moving, that no more Sermons be printed out of the City funds.

I have obtained a copy of the Sermon which has excited this discussion. It fully warrants the Common Council in withholding their thanks from the Lord Mayor's Chaplain for preaching it;—and, by the by, where his Lordship picked up this Chaplain may perhaps be asked, without meaning offence to his Lordship, whose conduct, during both his Mayoralties, is most excellent and praiseworthy. His Lordship is a man of the People, and *for* the People; but his Chaplain is of another *cast*: he belongs to a *privileged* order; he seems to think himself of a class to whom, as Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said at a late Westminster Meeting, ALGERNON SIDNEY would not allow the right to rule, unless they could prove they were born ready booted and spurred to ride the People, and that the People were born with saddles on their backs, ready to be ridden.

Mr. Chaplain BATES preached this Sermon in the Cathedral Church of the Metropolis, only three days after the memorable trial of Mr. WOOLER in Guildhall, and *the very day before* that whereon the State Prisoners were to be tried for high treason in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster; and what must not be forgotten, he preached it *before the Judges who were to try them*. The Chaplain's Sermon, now before me, I shall remark on from the beginning, and finish with it at the end.

The Title, which, as the Sermon is not to be sold, has no bookseller's name, the Preface,

the Dedication, and the blank pages, occupy the first eight pages. On the ninth page, Mr. Chaplain BATES takes the following verse for his text:—

“Whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the King, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.”*

The Sermon thus commences—
“The history of the Christian Church has upon record several instances of God’s timely interposition in the season of her depression. But two are more singularly eminent, as taking place at those particular eras which serve more decidedly to mark his goodness; and to which we may refer for direction, under any similar circumstances. Those I allude to, are the histories of Moses and Ezra.” Most unluckily the Chaplain forgot that the histories of Moses and Ezra are of men under the Jewish, and not under the Christian church. Mr. Chaplain BATES having blundered on the very threshold, in the very first paragraph of his discourse, blunders again in the same paragraph. He says, “Two of the greatest cities in the known world, and at that time the most remarkable for learning, power, and wealth, i. e. Egypt and Babylon, were the birth-places of these men.”† Now Egypt was not a city, but was a nation—a land of many cities: when the dearth was, Joseph gathered up all the food “in the land of Egypt, and

laid up the food in the cities.”‡ These obvious trips in the first paragraph, are only harbingers of the Reverend Chaplain’s errors on more material points, which he enforces with the authority of one under a due sense of his preaching before great men, in a great church, on a great occasion.

After detailing, to the great edification of the Lord Mayor, the Judges, the Aldermen, the Sergeants at Law, the Sheriffs, the Common Council, and the City Officers, the history and labours of Ezra, and what he compiled and copied in the Chaldaic language, which the Chaplain says was the old Phœnician, from which he also says the Greek was borrowed, and that it is used in Jewish coins, and that therefore it is likely to be the first written language; the Reverend Chaplain, after thus edifying his congregation, says, that Ezra being commissioned by an imperial decree, “it seems probable had made a request that he might go and build the city, as well as the temple of Jerusalem.”§ This decree, which Mr. Chaplain BATES calls an imperial decree, and he calls it so twice, is simply a “letter that the King Artaxerxes gave unto Ezra;”|| and Artaxerxes being stiled King, Mr. Chaplain BATES has no authority for calling it more than a royal letter. As to Ezra desiring to go and build the city as well as the temple, the Reverend Chaplain will find the temple built in the chapter before—it was finished on the third day of the

* Ezra, vii. 26.

† Sermon, page 10.

‡ Gen. xli. 48. xlvii. 6, 11, &c.

§ Sermon, page 15.

|| Ezra, vii. 11.

*month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius, the King.**

Mr. Chaplain BATES, after this little affair of the temple, proceeds to say, "that the Persian sovereign had by lawful conquest obtained the right of governing the Jews—and—as they were no longer properly *their own*, they were bound to obey the will of their lawful ruler."† Indeed! What, is conquest lawful?—Is it lawful to covet, and to be ambitious, and to go to war, and to pillage, and lay waste, take away lives by thousands, and occupy the land the survivors inhabited, because they were unable to keep it? And is it lawful to carry them away captive? And are the captors their lawful rulers? And is it unlawful for the captured to endeavour to free themselves, and regain their country and their independence? If this be so, then if NAPOLEON had invaded our country, and vanquished us, and transported our best citizens, and burnt our public buildings, and garrisoned our towns, and destroyed our fleets, and choked up our harbours, and made us tributaries to France, and slaves of his will, it would have been lawful conquest, and we should have been no longer properly *our own*, but bound to obey his will, and the will of his successors, as our lawful rulers for ever. This is coming to our own times, and close home, but I take it to be a fair, though a very brief exemplification of the doctrine of *submission*, preached by Mr. Chaplain BATES, before the Chief Magis-

trate of London, and the Judges of England.

Mr. Chaplain BATES very soon discloses the real object of his Sermon, which is, to disclaim what he thinks proper to call "*the flimsy arguments, the subtle artifices, and daring assertions of SELF-CONSTITUTED REFORMISTS; their apparent love of justice, and pretended hatred of speculation; their bold and unqualified declarations of what they deem gross evils in Church and State.*"‡ I would ask Mr. Chaplain BATES to name the men he calls *pretended* Reformers. Does he mean the LORD MAYOR, whose Chaplain he is, and before whom he preached the Sermon, who has uniformly advocated the principle of Reform, and practised it; or Mr. Alderman COMBE, or Mr. Alderman GOOD-BEHERE, or Mr. Alderman J. J. SMITH, or Mr. WAITHMAN, or Mr. FAVELL, or Mr. HURCOMBE, and other gentlemen, who usually act and vote with them in the Common Council, before whom he also preached—does he call *them* pretended Reformers; or Sir F. BURDETT, or the Hon. H. GREY BENNETT, or the Hon. T. BRAND, or Lord COCHRANE, or Mr. COKE, of Norfolk, or Sir RONALD FERGUSON, or Lord FOLKESTONE, or Mr. GRATTAN, or Sir ROBERT HERON, or Mr. LAMBTON, or the Hon. Mr. LYTTLETON, or Mr. MADOCKS, or Mr. MARTIN, of Tewkesbury, or General MATHEW, or Mr. P. MOORE, or Lord OSSULSTON, or Sir S. ROMILLY, or the Lords RUSSELL, or Mr. SHARP, or Mr. W. SMITH, or the Marquis of TAVISTOCK, or other Members

* Ezra vi. 15.

† Sermon, page 17.

‡ Sermon, page 21.

of the House of Commons, who act and vote as they do—does he call *them* pretended Reformers; or the Earl of DARNLEY, or Lord ERSKINE, or Earl GREY, or the Earl of GROSVENOR, or Lord HOLLAND, and other Peers of the like political persuasions; or Mr. JEREMY BENTHAM, or Major CARTWRIGHT, or Sir JOHN THROCKMORTON, or Mr. WALTER FAWKES, or Mr. GODFREY HIGGINS, or Mr. PETER WALKER, or Mr. NORTHMORE, or Mr. HALLETT, or Mr. CAPEL LOFFT, or other gentlemen of similar principles and views—does the Reverend Chaplain call *them* pretended Reformists; or, to use his own words, are *they self-constituted* Reformists, who use *flimsy arguments*, and *subtle artifices*, and make *daring assertions*—are *they apparent* lovers of justice, and *pretended* haters of peculation? Does Mr. Chaplain BATES so designate *these* Gentlemen; if not, who does he mean? Why not have named them in his Sermon? He will say, perhaps, it does not consist with the dignity of the pulpit to introduce names in a Sermon; neither does it consist with that dignity to introduce *politics* into the pulpit.

He himself previously admits, that “it may not be proper to dwell upon those topics on which men do and *will* differ,” [the sagacious Chaplain is aware that they *will* differ thereon, notwithstanding his preaching] “and which they continue to do,” he says, “provided such difference of opinion lead to no *dangerous* consequence” [of which “*dangerous* consequence,” my Lord Mayor’s Chaplain would set up men with capacity

and wits like himself, Lord help us! to judge]. “It is, nevertheless,” he continues, “the duty of every Minister, whether in the establishment or out of it, to use every lawful persuasive to deter men from the crimes of *“rebellion, anarchy, and tumult.”*” On this traitorous anti-climax of crimes—strung together in almost as bad order, as murder, and looking under ladies’ bonnets, and stealing Guy Fauxes on a Pope-day—I shall merely observe, that it is a little odd the Lord Mayor’s Chaplain should preach against rebellion, anarchy, and tumult, before the great Law and City Officers; as if my Lord ELLENBOROUGH and the Judges required to be admonished not to turn rebels just four-and-twenty hours before they were going to try Dr. WATSON; or as if the Common Council required a hint about anarchy; or the LORD MAYOR a caution against engaging in tumults; as if these grave and unsuspecting personages—to use the Reverend Chaplain’s words—as if “*they might, through their more wily associates, be drawn in to commit things worthy of death, banishment, confiscation of goods, or imprisonment!*” After this plain dealing with the Judges and the Citizens, and the intimation, that “it is not proper to dwell on these subjects,” the remaining half of the Reverend Chaplain’s Sermon is occupied by such “*dwelling*,” and he acquaints his hearers, that “distress of various kinds has been very generally felt, but it has been known to arise *not from men, or from any fortuitous*

"causes, but from circumstances beyond the controul of human agents."* Now till Mr. Chaplain BATES informs me how he knew that these distresses did *not* arise from men, I shall believe that they did; and I will tell him from what sort of men---from men like himself; what are called *good kind of men*; your smooth easy goers, whose feet are shod with velvet, and who walk softly through the world, as they look right and left, to see what is worth enjoying, and within reach. Mr. Chaplain BATES has a mighty dislike to people who object to this thing not being right, and the other thing not being right, and calls them *discontented* men; and so I call them too, and say they *are* discontented; and if the things they complain of as not being right are *wrong*, I say further, that they have a right to be discontented. Now as Mr. Cha lain BATES has taken to preach against the *discontented*, I have a right to ask him, why he does not preach against certain of the *contented*, who *cause* the discontent? He dare not tell me that a great portion of the discontent has not arisen from *men*, our own countrymen. When the rascals of the world, by their cunning and power, usurp over the unwary and the honest, does Mr. Chaplain BATES preach against *their* injustice; or does he confine his severities to the poor, distressed, goaded victims, who in their afflictions cry out, and there is none to help; and who in desperation turn round upon their oppressors? I affirm, and I *dare* Mr. BATES to deny it, that the weak and the feeble, and the

innocent, and the humble, have few friends amongst the great and wealthy; and that injury is heaped upon them by wholesale, without redress. It is a stale trick, to impute to unsearchable Providence, crimes of our own generation. It has become a pious fraud, on behalf of the great, to father their impiety to the little upon Heaven. I will ever expose these shocking attempts at general delusion, when I perceive them, from whatever quarter they proceed; and I shall now refer to Mr. COLERIDGE, whom I mention without apprehension of Mr. BATES objecting to *him* as an authority, and whose name I introduce here with feelings of great respect for the homage which his pen has honestly paid to the best feelings of our nature, on behalf of the *many* who are despised and rejected by the *few*. Mr. COLERIDGE affords me excellent illustration by a simple narrative, introduced by a philosophical observation, which I retain, because it connects with my latter remarks:---

"Human life," says Mr. COLERIDGE, "is but the malleable metal, out of which the thievish picklock, the slave's collar, and the assassin's stiletto are formed, as well as the clearing axe, the feeding ploughshare, the defensive sword, and the mechanic tool. But the subject is a painful one: and fortunately the labours of others, with the communications of medical men concerning the state of the manufacturing poor, have rendered it unnecessary. I will relate a speech made to me near Fort Augustus, as I was travel-

* Sermon, page 22.

ling on foot through the Highlands of Scotland. The speaker was an elderly and respectable widow, who expressed herself with that simple eloquence, which strong feeling seldom fails to call forth in humble life, but especially in women. She spoke English, as indeed most Highlanders do who speak it at all, with a propriety of phrase and a discrimination of tone and emphasis that more than compensated for the scantiness of her vocabulary. After an affecting account of her own wrongs and ejectionment (which, however, she said, bore with comparative lightness on her, who had had saved up for her a wherewithal to live, and was blessed with a son well to do in the world), she made a movement with her hand in a circle, directing my eye meanwhile to various objects as marking its outline: and then observed with a deep sigh, and a suppressed and slow voice, which she suddenly raised and quickened after the first drop or cadence—Within this space—how short a time back! there lived a hundred and seventy-three persons: and now there is only a shepherd, and an underling or two. Yes, sir! One hundred and seventy-three Christian souls, man, woman, boy, girl, and babe; and in almost every home an old man by the fire-side, who would tell you of the troubles; before our roads were made; and many a brave youth among them who loved the birth-place of his forefathers, yet would swing about his broadsword, and want but a word to march off to the battles over sea; aye, sir, and many a good lass,

who had a respect for herself! Well! but they are gone, and with them the bristled bear,* and the pink haver,† and the potatoe plot that looked as gay as any flower-garden with its blossoms! I sometimes fancy that the very birds are gone, all but the crows and the gleads! Well, and what then? Instead of us *all*, there is *one shepherd man*, and it may be a pair of small lads—and a many many *sheep*! And do you think, sir! that God allows of such proceedings?

“Some days before this conversation,” says Mr. COLERIDGE, “and while I was on the shores of the Loch Kathern, I heard a sad counterpart to the widow’s tale, and told with a far fiercer indignation, of a ‘*Laird*’ who had raised a company from the country round about, for the love that was borne to his name, and who gained high preferment in consequence: and that it was but a small part of those that he took away whom he brought back again. And what were the thanks which the folks had both for those that came back with him, some blind, and more in danger of blindness; and for those that had perished in the hospitals, and for those that fell in battle, fighting before or beside him? Why, that their fathers were all turned out of their farms before the year was over, and sent to wander like so many gipsies, unless they would consent to shed their gray hairs, at ten-pence a day, over the new canals. Had there been a price set upon his head, and his ene-

* A species of barley.

† A species of oats.

mies had been coming upon him, he needed but have whistled, and a hundred brave lads would have made a wall of flame round about him with the flash of their broad-swords! Now if the —— should come among us, as (it is said) they will, let him whistle to his *sheep*, and see if *they* will fight for him! The frequency with which I heard, during my solitary walk from the end of Loch Lomond to Inverness, confident expectations of the kind expressed in his concluding words—nay, far too often, eager hopes mingled with vindictive resolves—I spoke of, with complaint and regret, to an elderly man, whom by his dress and way of speaking, I took to be a schoolmaster. Long shall I recollect his reply: ‘O, sir, *it kills a man’s love for his country*,—the hardships of life coming by change and with injustice!’”

What will Mr. Chaplain BATES say to facts like these, which speak for themselves?—Why he will say that Mr. COLERIDGE had better not have said any thing about them. That’s the way in which the oily-tongued gentlemen get over facts. But then *they are* facts; and if Mr. Chaplain BATES will not see them, thousands will. They are real events; occurrences too credibly vouched to be denied;—and mark—mark it well—they who *suffer*, do not arraign Providence; *they* know it is not Providence, but the injustice of man to man that murders their happiness; and Mr. Chaplain BATES knows so too, and so do all, who, like him, whine and preach about such being “circumstances beyond the controul of human

agents.” As to the sacred profession, as it is called—the priesthood—the established clergy—I will maintain, whatever worthy and excellent men may be amongst them, that not a noble scoundrel ever lived, but he could get a Chaplain; and therefore the “sacred character” is of itself no preservative against worldly impurity and subserviency to mammon. The very wolf in the fable might have had a Chaplain, from—

“The *things* that mount the rostrum with
a skip,
And then skip down again; pronounce a
text;
Cry—hem, and reading what they never
wrote
Just fifteen minutes, huddle up their work,
And with a well-bred whisper close the
scene!”*

This fable of the wolf and the lamb is much in point as to present affairs. They both went to drink at a brook; the wolf standing on high ground, and the lamb lower down the current. The wolf intending to pick a quarrel, said to the lamb, “What do you mean by mudding the water so that I cannot drink.” The lamb mildly answered, he could not conceive how that was possible; for the water ran from the wolf to him, and not from him to the wolf. “Rascal,” cries the wolf, “I don’t care for that; you used bad language about me half a year ago.” “Sir,” says the poor lamb, “I was not born then.” The wolf drawing nearer, fell into a passion—“Sirrah,” says he, “if it was not you, it was your father; and that’s all one.” So he seized on the innocent helpless lamb, tore it to pieces,

* Cowper’s Task, B. 2.

and made a meal of it. Old CROXALL has an excellent moral upon this fable, which is most applicable now:---

"Wherever," says CROXALL, "*ill people are in power, innocence and integrity are sure to be persecuted; the more vicious the community is, the better countenance they have for their own villanous measures: to practise honesty in bad times, is being liable to suspicion enough; but if any one should dare to prescribe it, it is ten to one but he would be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors; for to stand up for justice in a degenerate, corrupt state, is tacitly to upbraid the Government, and seldom fails of pulling down vengeance upon the head of him that offers to stir in its defence. Where cruelty and malice are in combination with power, nothing is so easy as for them to find a pretence to tyrannize over innocence, and exercise all manner of injustice.*"

Mr. BATES will find no difficulty in applying this moral; but then it mightily disjoins a fine theory he has of things having "been studiously formed for our benefit, and nothing but wilful contumacy and opposition can cause them to have a contrary tendency."* This is the argument of the whole race of tyrants and despots since the beginning of the world. Every divine-right man broaches the same opinion. All the legitimate Prime Ministers, from HAMAN, who was hanged on a gallows fifty cubits high, to my Lord CASTLEREAGH, who is not hanged, say so too. But then *we* understand what it

means. We, and our fathers before us, have been so often wheedled and fleeced, and coaxed and fleeced again, that now, when we see the shearers with the cords, we know they are come to tie our limbs, and throw us down, and snip off what little wool has grown since last shearing time. This part of the Reverend Gentleman's Sermon reminds me of a silly cook-wench---"Curse them lobsters," says she, "I cannot think what makes 'em squeal so---its of no use; they mought as well be quiet whilst they boils; and I'm sure there's a good a fire under 'em. Do'ee Molly blow the bellows a bit." And then how the Chaplain treats our present situation. We "have long sat *with delight*," says he, "under the grateful shadow of a free Constitution." The shadow of the Constitution! The SHADOW, did he say? Yes---the SHADOW! And because we have the shadow of the Constitution, we have been delighted, have we, Mr. Chaplain? What, better satisfied with the shadow than the substance---than with the Constitution itself? I will not play on a slip of his Reverence's pen; I have no doubt *he* is as well contented with the shadow as the reality. It makes no difference to him---*he* has a feast of fat things before him---*he* will never become a "*self-constituted Reformer*"---*he* therefore will never be in a condition to require the protection of the Constitution itself, against those who have undermined and destroyed, and rendered it a shadow.

There is a certain portion of this Sermon in which I am personally interested. Mr. BATES

* Sermon, page 28.

thought proper that the Cathedral of St. Paul, when he preached there, should not only be devoted to a political attack against Reformists in general, but that it should resound with his denunciations against *me*. He seized the opportunity, which preaching before the Corporation, the Judges, and the Serjeants at Law, gave him, to bring *me* to their recollection in a way wholly disgraceful to him as a clergyman and a gentleman. Mr. BATES knew---for every body in England who saw a newspaper, and every clergymen in London, whether he read a newspaper or not, knew---that I had been charged by the Attorney-General, in the Court of King's Bench, on three *ex-officio* Informations which he had filed against me, for political Parodies on the Litany, the Athanasian Creed, and the Catechism. There was a fourth political Parody, for which no information was filed---the Parody on the *Te Deum*. Mr. BATES took advantage of having the very Judges for his hearers, before whom I had refused to plead to the three informations, and before one of whom I must have been tried; and of the presence of the Serjeants at Law (the *Attorney-General*, Sir SAMUEL SHEPHERD, *my prosecutor*, being a Serjeant), to remind them of this *fourth* Parody, for which I had *not* been prosecuted. It was not sufficient for him that at the very moment he was preaching I was a prisoner in the King's Bench prison, under *three* prosecutions, when even allusion to my case would have been indelicate, especially considering who were his auditors; but he distinctly called

attention to the *Te Deum*, which he said had "lost nothing by frequent repetition, much less by any recent abominable attempts to lessen its influence by blasphemous parody." This was not the passing observation of an extempore preacher, but read from a written Sermon, composed with labour, and with a view to effect. However, the Attorney-General thought proper not to take the *hint*; and Mr. BATES has the mortification of knowing, that though what he said about the prosecuted Parodies and the *Te Deum* occupy nearly one twelfth of his Sermon, the *Te Deum* remained unprosecuted. I have heard of the bitter spirit of a persecuting priest—I have now experienced it; and Mr. Chaplain BATES's persecution being every way calculated to do me more injury than that of any other person, I do not feel myself bound to especial tenderness in noticing him. Mr. Chaplain BATES attacked me in St. Paul's Cathedral, where, had I been present, I did not dare defend myself—like a coward: Mr. Chaplain BATES did it before my Judges and my Prosecutor, whilst I was in confinement on three of his prosecutions---like an assassin: Mr. Chaplain BATES called the Political Parody on the *Te Deum* an *attempt* to lessen the influence of the original *---I charge him with falsehood. Mr. Chaplain BATES has neither been cloistered all his life, nor confined to the cure of souls in a remote parish: he has seen the world---is a man of the world---and knows more, I believe, of the good things of this world than of the next. He

* Sermon, p. 23.

is consequently no novice; and, therefore, when he afterwards affirms that "an attack was *indirectly* made against the Constitution, *by aiming to bring into contempt the services of that Church* which is in union with it," I again charge him with asserting a falsehood. There was no aim to bring into contempt the services of the Church. The Parodies were squibs---mere *political* squibs---nothing but political squibs---as every man without bigotry, whether Churchman or Dissenter, who reads them, will immediately perceive.

But why did Mr. Chaplain BATES shut his eyes to the *loyal* Parody of the *Te Deum*, which for invective beats *my* Parody hollow? That all high-flying Churchmen like Mr. Chaplain BATES might have a specimen of a *legitimate* Parody by the wits of their own school---by the *Church and King* Parody makers---I published the *loyal* Parody on the *Te Deum*, verbatim; * that is, the *English* Parody: for this *Church and King* Parody is in six different languages; that is to say, in the English, Latin, German, Italian, French, and Spanish languages: and as the *Church and King* Parody itself is most *loyal* and most *curious*, so the Title and Dedication are equally *loyal* and *curious*. I did not print it before, but I will *now*, from the printed copy before me:---

* Vol. I. No. 7. p. 218.

(Copy)

Te Deum,

AND PATRIOTIC EFFUSIONS,

AS SUNG IN

RUSSIA, PRUSSIA, GERMANY,
FRANCE, ITALY, & SPAIN,

IN HONOUR OF THE

Brilliant and Glorious Victories of
the Russians,

OVER

Buonaparte

AND HIS ARMIES.

DEDICATED

TO THE

Marquis of Wellington,

Commander in Chief of the British
Forces in the Peninsula;

TO THE

Commander in Chief of the Russian
Armies,

FIELD MARSHAL

PRINCE KUTUSOFF SMOLENSKO;

AND TO THE

PRINCE PLATOFF,

Commander of the Cavalry of the
Don Cossacks.

This *Church and King* Parody of the *Te Deum*, in six languages, loyally dedicated to the Duke of WELLINGTON, Prince KUTUSOFF, and the Hetman PLATOFF, was sung, be it remembered, in all the states, whose Sovereigns, in conjunction with our PRINCE REGENT, form the *Holy Alliance*. Now, why Mr. Chaplain BATES did not point out the *Church and King* Parody, as fit for prosecution, is pretty clear; and it is as clear to me, that when Mr. Chaplain BATES reads this, instead of giving due explanation thereon, he will twist and writhe, and bite his nails, and

wish me at that place which it would shock the ears of a polite congregation to name.

I know nothing more of Mr. Chaplain BATES at present, than as the preacher of the Trinity Sunday Sermon. I have not done with the Sermon, and I want to learn something about the man; I shall therefore be thankful for prompt information respecting Mr. Chaplain BATES---but scandal I will have nothing to do with. In the mean time, I shall put on my hat, and go into quarters where he is likely to be known; or even take the stage, if need be. I am a pretty sifting inquirer, when I set about an inquiry in earnest. I am not to be put off with, "I can't tell," here; or be frightened by, "I won't tell," there; but I go right on, in all directions. Truth being my object on such occasions, I will look for it in quarters that it is to be obtained from, and I *will* have it. That is, I will go any distance, and call on any person, and put up with any rebuffs, to get at a *fact*. If two grains of wheat in a bushel of chaff be worth the finding, I will find them. So that I shall be able in my next, I hope, to render a pretty good account of the Lord Mayor's Chaplain, as well as his Sermon. I suppose he now and then reads Sermons, as well as preaches them. I give him the opportunity of looking at one, which he ought to have read long before---it is a "Sermon to Asses." Wishing him, therefore, *patience, moderation, and a good understanding for half an hour*, I for the present leave him.

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,
23d July, 1817.

A SERMON TO ASSES.

[I have recommended this to Mr. Chaplain BATES—it will edify his admirers as well as his Reverence. Its author is the late Rev. JAMES MURRAY, of Newcastle. He wrote the articles on Tithes, and Titheloving Priests, in Vol. I. pp. 501 and 511.

Mr. MURRAY published—

1. Sermons to Asses, 12mo. 1768.
2. Sermons to Doctors in Divinity, being the second volume of Sermons to Asses, 12mo. 1771.
3. Lectures to Lords Spiritual, or an advice to the Bishops, 12mo. 1774.

They are now very scarce, and form an excellent manual of civil and religious liberty. The following is the conclusion of Mr. MURRAY's third Sermon to Asses.]

IN matters of religious concern, it is necessary to have mankind well persuaded of the rights and importance of the clergy, and the divinity of the canons and creeds of churches, before they will submit to be used like asses. The *jure divino* of episcopacy and presbytery are pieces of trapping that the prophets of the church prepare for those asses they intend to ride upon. If once they can persuade mankind that the clergy have power to make laws to bind the consciences of the whole community, they may turn them as they please.

If it would not give offence to some who have more zeal than understanding, I should compare the articles of the church of England, and the confession of faith of the church of Scotland, to the trapping of Balaam's ass; for it is by means of these that the clergy ride upon the backs of the people. The excommunications of those churches I would compare to the prophet's staff, with which he belaboured his ass; for it is evident when common Christians start aside, and

begin to think for themselves, and are not tractable enough to serve their devout masters, that they curse them for heretics and schismatics. And though these common believers should be never so well convinced in their own mind of the truth of their own opinion, or conscience, like the angel in the case before us, should stand in their way, it is no matter of consequence to the prophets that rule them—they must suffer for their impertinence, and be belaboured for their disobedience. The people in general that thus submit to religious slavery, resemble the prophet's ass; for though they complain of hard usage, they still acknowledge their masters, and say, Are not we your asses?

There are several sorts of human asses that resemble the prophet's beast. There are some that start now and then, and reprove the madness of the prophets, but yet continue under subjection, and are good beasts of burden, notwithstanding. Of this sort are those who are always crying out against the defections of churches and church governors, but are subject at the same time to all those impositions that are laid upon them;—these are braying, noisy, but yet tame asses; they mean no harm, notwithstanding all the noise they make. They only start because they are a little frightened by some scarecrow that happens to be in their way. If their ghostly riders lift their rod, and but labour them a little sharply, they will be ready to make apologies for their conduct, and return to their duty.

If conscience, the messenger of God within them, at any time startle them, as the angel did

Balaam's ass, yet a degree of sound discipline, which may either affect their reputation or worldly interest, will make them return to their old tract, and say, Are not we thine asses? The articles of the church, and the Athanasian creed, are like the two laps of Balaam's saddle, which are well girded upon some members of the church, by the force of canons and the power of deprivation. Such as shall be so giddy as to refuse to take on their trapping peaceably, shall be made sensible of their folly, by being deprived of their livings, and loaded with church censures.

It is by means of such trapping as this now mentioned that the authority of the clergy is supported; for they could not ride without their saddle. Were once the people to receive nothing as their creed but the scriptures, the clergy would soon have no more authority than what their good services and good conversation procured them. They would then be obliged to be helpers of the joy of Christians, but should no longer be Lords of their faith. Good men will always respect their teachers, as long as they are examples of goodness, and condescend to men of low degree: but such as understand the New Testament will reject all dominion over their consciences, but the lordship of Jesus Christ: they will laugh at clerical jurisdiction, and reject all religious dictators. When men have not the exercise of private judgment allowed them as their natural privilege, but are marked down for heretics for every deviation from the national creed, they are much in the same situation with the prophet's ass.

No Christians have any reason to quarrel with the religion of any country where toleration is allowed; but they have yet reason to complain, when the toleration is restricted, and men's opinions are attended with loss to themselves, when they are both good members of society, and good subjects of civil government. Any Christian may charitably enough say that all political religions serve no other purpose but to get honour and money from the state, and in return to denounce its curses against the supposed enemies of their mutual dignity. An enslaved people serve the same purpose to the clergy in this case, that Balaam's ass did to him;—carry them to seek riches and honour: for it is always through means of the populace that ambitious men raise themselves to high stations, and advance themselves to wealth and riches. Where the government of churches and states is arbitrary, the enslaved people are obliged to serve the interests of both, with their labour and substance: the populace are made use of as asses, to carry them whithersoever they please to direct them. It often happens that they complain of ill usage which they receive from their superiors, but as long as they have not a just sense of their own liberties, they proceed no farther than some fruitless complaints; and then conclude, Are not we thine asses, upon which thou hast ridden ever since we were thine?

When mankind are once instructed in their natural rights and privileges, they will not only complain, but struggle to

get clear of oppression. Wise men know what it is to obey just laws, but will never tamely submit to slavery and bondage. It is a base degeneracy to rest satisfied with what is contrary to nature, and nothing is more contrary to the nature of rational creatures, than to want liberty; to submit to arbitrary government, without resistance, argues the want of sense of the rights of human nature. Men may yield when they are conquered, but they cannot reasonably acknowledge power to be just, where there is no moral institution. When government is not established upon moral principles, but managed by the arbitrary power of one, or a few, at the expense of the liberty of the rest of a community, their acknowledgment of that power is an obedience like that of the prophet's ass. The first slavery that men are generally brought under, is that of the mind; for while the mind acts freely, and is kept clear of the chains of ignorance and prejudice, it will be very difficult to enslave them. It requires the aid of false teachers to seduce mankind, before a state can deprive them of their civil privileges. It seems to be a fact, though I have not seen it often taken notice of, that the blending of civil and religious offices, or sacred and secular things, has been an introduction to slavery in all nations where arbitrary government has been introduced. Where they have been kept distinct, there freedom has more universally prevailed. It may seem a paradox, but it may be demonstrated, that if there were no alliance between church and state, there

would be more civil and religious liberty than otherwise. When church officers are advanced to civil preferments, or civil magistrates allowed to discharge religious offices in the church, they will be ready to make each of these offices subservient to the ends of secular interest, by having a double temptation laid in their way. The minister will be ready to assume the prerogative of the magistrate, and the magistrate to enforce the dignity of the minister, by exerting his authority in favour of the sacred function; and so in a double respect become lords over the people. For this reason men will not dare even to express the truth they are convinced of, should it seem to differ from the authorized religion, because of a double danger they are exposed to; of being either heartily cursed by the priesthood, or severely punished by the magistracy. The mind being thus cramped in her operations, turns at last servile in her affections; the consequence is ignorance and bondage.

This alliance also makes the teachers indolent, in the discharge of the most material part of their duty, which is to instruct men in the principles of knowledge, and to endeavour to free their minds from the power of ignorance. This they cannot do without first teaching them the rights of private judgment, and the liberty they have in judging for themselves in all things which respect the conscience. But when their advantage does not arise from their instructing mankind, but in

keeping them ignorant of their true interest, they will seldom be disposed to teach them what would soon let them into the secrets of their policy.

It will never appear to the supporters of the alliance between church and state to be advantageous to their scheme, to instruct men in the rights of private judgment, and Christian liberty. Did men once understand their own liberties, the clergy would have no asses to ride upon, to carry them to riches and preferment. Were men once well instructed in their natural privileges, the alliance would soon come to nothing: for if mankind considered themselves as all equally concerned with what pertained to their consciences, and that they must answer for themselves at the day of judgment, they would never give consent to an alliance, where the right of individuals to judge for themselves in matters of the last consequence is entirely taken away. When they submit to such religious slavery willingly, they are not one degree better than Balaam's ass, who, although she complained, yet spoke with great submission to her master, *Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine?*

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HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 2.]

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1817.

[Vol. II

THE
SHADOW
OF THE
CONSTITUTION.

The Shadow not over all alike; for instance, Mr. Chaplain BATES, and "he that died on Friday"—Expense of a POOR WOMAN'S Living, per Week—Dreadful Distress—Men Dying in the Street for want of Food—A Sailor eating Dog's-meat—A Man found Dead in the Fields—Two others dropped down Dead—Another committed Suicide—One who famished gradually—Another in a Hay-cart—A remarkable Instance of Starvation "by the Visitation of God"—An aged Woman's Attempt to destroy herself for Want—A Mother's Despair—Suicide by the Father of a Family of nine Children—Preserving Human Life, and preserving Game—Case of MATTHEW LITHGOE, a Manchester Petitioner, now under Prosecution—Ministerial Insignificance.

Mr. LEMAITRE'S Petition, and interesting Narrative.

MAIDSTONE, Kent,
July 29, 1817.

IN my last *Register* I stated that I should put on my hat and go into quarters where the Lord Mayor's Chaplain, Mr. BATES, would be likely to be known; or even take the stage,

if occasion required. This I have done. Understanding the Reverend Gentleman to be Vicar of *West Malling*, in Kent, about 28 miles from London, I set out in the stage for that place on Saturday, where I remained that night, and on the following day proceeded to this town, which is about six miles farther; where I now commence the present sheet. Before I relate any thing respecting Mr. Chaplain BATES, it will be as well to conclude my remarks on his Political Sermon against us Reformists.

The shadow of the Constitution which Mr. Chaplain BATES praised so much, and which he called a 'grateful' shadow, he treats with great solemnity. He says,—“though the poor have not fully understood the nature and principles of this shadow, they have shared its blessings, enjoyed its advantages, and have been protected by its equitable arrangements in as ample a degree as any of their more wealthy superiors.” I deny this—I say it is not true. Mr. Chaplain BATES, enjoying the distinction of body Chaplain to the Lord Mayor, basking in the sunshine of Royal favour as Chaplain to the Duke of KENT, honoured by the attendance of the Lord Mayor and the Duke of SUSSEX at *Malling Church*, to hear him preach, and

holding two livings in pleasant places—it is possible that Mr. Chaplain BATES may have so much of the *shadow* himself, that he really does not know who are destitute of a like ample degree of it. It also is possible Mr. Chaplain BATES may not read the newspapers; and seeing nothing at the Mansion-House but civic hospitality and my Lord Mayor's table—enjoying the honour of preaching before Aldermen and Judges—reposing in the groves at *Malling*, or beside its still waters—the Reverend Gentleman may be ignorant of the wretchedness and misery of thousands, from whom the protecting “*shadow* hath returned backward ten degrees,” and who are either dying or have died destitute of all protection. It is but Friday that an inquest was held on an unhappy person named FISHER, who was found dead, after living in a state of great wretchedness. He was a well-informed man, and never asked for assistance. The landlady with whom he lived gave him the leavings of her tea every morning. He was wasted to a skeleton. “It is evident,” says the Coroner, “this man died by ‘the visitation of God.’” “I am ‘satisfied,’” says a Jurymen, “that ‘he died for want of the necessities of life.’” Perhaps this poor creature was one of Mr. BATES's hearers at St. Paul's. How long had he “sat with delight” under the protection of the *shadow*? Does Mr. Chaplain BATES forget cases of heart-breaking misery, too many, and too recent, and too well authenticated, to be doubted for a moment?

The shifts to which many have been reduced to provide for keeping body and soul together are most humiliating and distressing. The following account of the mode and expense of living of a worthy and industrious woman who had seen better days, was communicated to me a few months ago, by a respectable and benevolent gentleman, who took down the particulars it contains from her own lips. Let the Rev. Mr. BATES, and those who roll in the chariots of luxury, who treat as factious and rebellious the murmurs and complaints of the poor, reduced to the necessity of racking their ingenuity, to linger on in a miserable state of existence; those who after voting away the money of the poor, impose taxes on almost every article of life; and who treat as traitors those who pray for Reform, read with attention this astonishing detail:—

Expense and System of Living per Week.

	s.	d.
Coffee---1½ oz. at 1½d per oz.	0	2¼
Sugar---¼ lb. at 7d. per lb.	0	1¾
Bread---Half a quartern loaf, either of the stale bread left on hand at the baker's, or cheap bread---average 1s. 2d. per quartern.	0	7
Cheese---Rind left at the taverns, or the parings at the cheese-mongers	0	2
Meat---The broken victuals of the taverns, in plates of 6d. each---3 plates in a fortnight, divided with another woman.	0	4½
Potatoes, or other vegetables.	0	2
Beer---Half a pint on Sundays only---water, or the moisture of the vegetables, serving on other days for beverage.	0	1½

Carried over. . . 1 8¾

Brought forward . . .	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Coals---Half a peck	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Small Coal---Half a peck	0	2
Shavings or Chips, to kindle the small coal, begged from car- penters' shops	0	0
Candles	0	2
Soap---1 oz. at 10d. per lb. . . .	0	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Rent of a garret (thought cheap) per week	1	3
	3	6 $\frac{3}{4}$

Salt, mustard, pepper, milk, &c. never
or seldom taken; and nothing
mentioned here for clothes, shoes,
&c.

" Ah! little think the gay licentious proud,
Whom pleasure, power, and affluence sur-
round;
They, who their thoughtless hours in giddy
mirth,
And wanton, often cruel, riot waste;
How many pine in want, and dungeons
glooms,
Shut from the common air, and common
use
Of their own limbs; how many drink the
cup
Of baleful grief, or eat the bitter bread
Of misery: sore pierc'd by wintry winds,
How many shrink into the sordid hut
Of cheerless poverty."

A very few weeks ago a friend
rushed into my parlour, throw-
ing himself into a chair, and co-
vering his face with his hands, in
great distress. I instantly in-
quired the occasion of his emo-
tion. " Oh!" said he, " I cannot
bear to witness the extreme dis-
tress any longer. Almost
every body I knew in humble
life is in the workhouse, or
dying for want; and this mo-
ment I met with a circumstance
which has quite overthrown
me. I came down Harp-alley,
and a man with a box in
his hand met me, and asked
me how I did—I did not
know him. He seemed sur-

prised, and told me his name.
" I scarcely recollected him, he
was so altered. I asked him if
he had been ill;—he told me
he had been out of employment
several months, and had parted
with every thing he had in the
world, to keep his family, who
were starving, except that box,
which he had made years
ago, and was trying to sell
amongst the old brokers, for
any thing he could get, as his
wife and children had nothing
to eat till he got home. This
man was one of my father's best
and most careful workmen. I
found all he related to be true.
The recollection of what he
was, and what he is, breaks my
heart." A day or two after
this, a professional gentleman,
with high university honours,
told me he had come from a
friend's, on the steps of whose
door a poor man had fallen down.
He was asked what was the
matter with him; he said he was
too weak to walk, for want of
food; and before the servants
could give him refreshment, he
died. Just before this, I was in-
formed a man had been found
dying near the Temple; and hav-
ing died, was taken to the bone-
house. I went and saw the body.
He was a decent man, about
sixty. I felt his breast, it was
scarcely covered with skin, the
bones appeared starting through.
He was a miserable object, and I
have no doubt starved to death.
A Coroner's Inquest sat on the
body, and some of the Jury were
of the same opinion; but the Co-
roner managed to get for a ver-
dict, that the man died by the
visitation of God. On turning
over a very imperfect file of

newspapers of this year, I find many striking relations, from which I desire to present a few to the recollection of the Reverend Gentleman, and those who like him talk of the indigent being "protected in as ample a degree as any of their more wealthy superiors." I hope the following will be perused with care:—

An instance of *ravenous hunger* in London will be long remembered. Of the crowds of famishing objects in the streets and highways, speaking piteously to the passengers' eye, three or four poor seamen were collected under one of the alcoves of Westminster Bridge. One man begged; the others were lying upon the benches. A lady gave him a penny; the poor creature instantly ran to a barrow with DOG'S MEAT, which had just passed by, *bought a piece, and swallowed it in a minute.* A naval lieutenant, who saw this—one who had himself felt some hardships, and seen some trying scenes—was actually overcome by the sight, and could not prevent the tears from running down his cheeks. He gave the man a 3s. piece. A sort of distracted adoration of his benefactor ensued. He went directly to the other seamen, said a few words, and was going off with them. His benefactor asked him where? —He said he was going to a cook's shop, with his fellows: all he knew of them was, that they had been without food as long as he had.——Soon after this, a young man dropped down, apparently in a dying state, in Black-horse-alley, Fleet-street. He was carried to the workhouse, and

medical assistance procured; when it appeared that *his complaint was starvation*, and bread proved to be the necessary medicine.——A Coroner's inquest was held upon the body of JOHN MOORE, of Lisson-grove, New-road. Jemima Moore, daughter of the deceased, 12 years of age, said, that at night her father complained of being sick. Soon after he went out, and staying an unreasonable time, they went in search of him, but could not find him until about six o'clock in the morning, when they found him in a hole full of mud: *her father had not earned ten shillings for the last ten months*, and on the day previous to his going out at night, they only had some bread and gruel the whole of the day, and her father being in a *very weak state* of health, she supposed he fell in the hole by accident: they were allowed 3s. a week from the parish, but paid 2s. 9d. of it for rent: they were in great distress, and the little work her mother could do charging, was the whole means of the family existing; her father was in work about twelve months ago, but he was obliged to leave it, in consequence of a sore leg: *they had not a bed to sleep on: his death was caused by weakness, for want of nourishment.*——

CHARLES FOWLER, another poor creature, a tailor, had been out of work most part of the winter; since last Christmas his parish allowed him *three shillings per week*, which was the sole support of his wife and two children. His wife was brought to bed of a third child, and the parish increased his pension on that account to 7s. which he went to

receive, but *was so weak from previous want*, that a woman who attended his wife in her lying-in, went out of humanity with him to the workhouse, and having received the money, they were returning home, when he dropped down in Gravel-lane, and expired on the spot!——JAMES LAMB, a poor old stone-mason, dropped down dead. It appeared in evidence before the Coroner's inquest, that two of his sons had formerly contributed to his support; but they having been out of employment for 23 weeks, the income of the whole family did not exceed 3s. 6d. per week, and their father perished.——A waterman, rowing his boat between Westminster-bridge and Hungerford stairs, perceived something floating, which proved to be the body of ROBERT BLACKETER, a journeyman tailor, a native of Sunderland. It appeared that he had no friends in town, and got but a few days' work lately. The last time he was seen alive was on Friday se'nnight, at his house of call. The Coroner and Jury were of opinion he committed *suicide through want*.——An inquest on ANTHONY EDMONDS, another unhappy object, disclosed the following circumstances. He also was a tailor out of work, and had lodged at Mr. Davies's, in Short's-gardens. There were four beds in the room he slept in, and he was assisted by his fellow-lodgers, also poor men. He was in great distress for want of employment. On the day of his death, Charles Mark, one of his fellow-lodgers, gave him some dinner. At night the poor creature drank half a pint of small beer, and went to bed. In the

morning he was dead and cold. He disturbed none of his fellow-lodgers: he had *famished gradually*, and he died in silence.——

——Opposite to the Talbot Inn, in the Borough, another hapless man was found in a hay-cart, quite dead. He had been seen begging, in great distress, was nearly destitute of clothes, and appeared to be in a *famished state*.——The case of one miserable being was attended by very remarkable incidents, both before his decease and afterwards. He was found alive by a watchman of the parish of St. Anne, Soho, who, according to parish policy, took him into the adjoining parish of St. Giles in the Fields, and there left him to die. About two o'clock in the morning, he was found by an inhabitant of that parish, lying at his door, who supposing him in liquor, called 'Watch.' Daniel Hogan, watchman of High-street, Bloomsbury, deposed before the Coroner, that on answering to the call, he asked the deceased where he came from; he answered, in a very faint manner, that he was a waterman. Hogan then said, I asked him why he did not get home; he said that he had not drank any liquor that day, nor earned a penny for several months, for he could not get work to do. I called Sullivan, my partner, to assist me in taking him to the watch-house; we lifted him on his feet, he appeared very ill, and so weak that he could not stand; I and my partner were taking him to the watch-house, and we met a Mr. Cloney, a housekeeper of St. Giles's; he asked us where we were going to take the deceased;

Isaid to the watch-house or work-house; he said we were fools to burden the parish with him, and told us to put the deceased upon his back, and he would rid the parish of him, by putting him in the parish of St. Pancras; I and my partner put him on Mr. Cloney's back, and he carried him to Butcher's Court, corner of Tottenham Court Road, that being in St. Pancras parish; he laid him down and left him there. My partner came to me some time afterwards, and told me that he thought the deceased was in great distress, which induced me to go to him. I found that he was worse than he was when I before saw him; I spoke to him, but he was unable to answer me; my partner put him on my back to carry him to St. Giles's watch-house; he died on the way, and I took him to the workhouse; he was not cold when he got there. Daniel Sullivan, the other watchman, gave similar evidence, adding "before he was removed, a man offered him soup, but he could not eat it, he was so ill, I am of opinion, *for the want of food*. He said that he had not earned a penny for six months, and that he wanted to go to Birk's, in George Street, where he lodged. I inquired at Birk's house to-day, and by the description they knew him, but not by name; he had lodged there some weeks, and was in very great distress." The Jury then took a view of the body, and found slight marks upon his head and chest, which they were of opinion he must have received by a fall. The body was quite emaciated, *a mere heap of bones*; he had every appearance of *dying for want*!—

ONE OF THE JURY observed,—“ I think he died *for want*.”—ANOTHER JURYMEN said,—“ If we bring in a verdict that he died *for want* of food, it will be a stigma upon the parish.”—Mr. STIRLING, THE CORONER, remarked,—“ It will certainly be a slur upon the parish, and there is no evidence that he was starved to death: he had food offered him, and *could not* eat it; besides, such a report would be *disagreeable*!”—Accordingly, the Foreman then gave a verdict—died by the visitation of God!!!——At a Coroner's inquest on SARAH MATTHEWS, it appeared, that at bedtime she lighted a fire in her room, and laid down on straw before it, to keep herself warm. In the morning, she was found on the straw, which was partly burned, in a state nearly insensible; and her body being dreadfully injured from the fire, she was taken to the hospital, where she died. She was a very good hard-working woman, but *had been so distressed lately, that she had parted with every thing she possessed, even the bed which she lay upon*.——Another helpless female, being between sixty and seventy years old, attempted to drown herself, by precipitating herself under one of the bridges of the Fleet River, at Battle Bridge. A young girl saw the act, and her screams brought assistance. The poor creature was with difficulty rescued from death, and it appeared, on inquiry, that *poverty* rendered the few remaining years of this aged woman's life intolerable to her.——Suicide was attempted in Hyde Park, by a hapless mother, who was observed walking with

an infant in her arms, close to the Serpentine River, by two labourers. They saw her kiss the child and lay it on the grass several times; the last time she appeared in great agony, and when she had put the child on the grass, she rushed into the water. One of the men jumped after her. She struggled to get from him, but he held her fast, and was in danger of being himself drowned, when the other labourer leaped in, and got her out. She said that her name was CATHERINE DENNETT, that she had resolved to put an end to her existence, and assigned as the cause, that she *had not had any food for more than two days, and had scarcely any clothes to her back, as she had been under the necessity of pledging them to obtain food.*——At Hammer-smith, R. MINTOR, a market gardener, *the father of a distressed family of nine children, unable to bear accumulated misery, destroyed himself.* On the inquest, his afflicted widow stated, that on the morning of his death she got up about seven o'clock:—her husband had risen two hours before her. She went towards the stable door, and found him hanging by a cord from the beam of the stable; she ran into the house for a knife, and cut him down; she had not power to untie the cord from his neck. One of her daughters came up and screamed very loud. A gentleman who was passing came and untied the cord, and went immediately for medical assistance. The surgeons used means to recover him ineffectually. Distress had driven him to the commission of the act. He had been doing very respect-

ably till within this last twelve months. He had *nine children dependant upon him.* He had not been able to pay his rent, and had been afraid every day of being put in prison. For the last week the family had lived upon charity. On further inquiry it appeared that the unhappy parent had gone into the grounds of a neighbouring gardener, and was in the act of taking some vegetables *to keep his children from starving,* when the gardener caught him in the fact. He ran home, and from the fear of being exposed, together with the miserable situation of his family, *put himself to death.*

I am too wearied to continue the sad catalogue of victims, to whom the shadow of the Constitution afforded much less protection than to those who consider the preservation of their fellow-creatures of less concern than the preservation of game. I find in the *Courier* newspaper, I have just looked at, an advertisement, which seems to set the *feeling* of these persons in a pretty clear light.

(Copy)

A CAUTION to Lords of Manors, *not to grant leases of their manors, or to entangle themselves with promises of deputations, &c., because as soon as they have the monopoly of game, it will be a very small manor that does not produce them from two hundred to five hundred pounds per ann.; moreover, when their manors are fully stocked, they may purchase the farms within their manors for a trifle.*

N. B. *An Act should be obtained to make the destruction of ants, and eggs of pheasants and partridges, or killing hares and rabbits with young, FELONY, without benefit of clergy.*

From this it is to be concluded

that human life is nothing, compared with the rearing of young partridges, who feed on ants; or compared with the existence of the said *ants*, that partridges may eat them. Will Mr. Chaplain BATES, after reading the last 12 columns, condescend to publish an estimate of the *delight* which the persons mentioned in the said 12 columns have received from the delightful *shadow* he talked about? His publication may be improved by a short discourse on the value of ants and the lives of human beings, and on the comparative value of the lives of the different classes of human beings who sit under the said *shadow*.

Seeing what *we* have seen, and what Mr. Chaplain BATES might have seen throughout the land, and of which he must have heard much, the Reverend Gentleman says, "*if* our freedom be within narrower bounds than formerly, "*if* our privileges be diminished, "*or* our comforts *in some measure* "invaded, every one must, or "ought to know, that it is the "disaffected and refractory whom "we have to thank for the suspension of our dear-bought "rights;" and so I think, but differ with Mr. Chaplain BATES, as to the *persons* who are disaffected and refractory. I charge disaffection and refractoriness upon those who have over-taxed, over-worked, and starved the People into discontent. *They* are the disaffected and refractory, who, from disaffection to our liberties, and from refractoriness to our remonstrances, heap insult upon injustice, and call for admiration of their cruelty. Here is a letter addressed to *the People*,

representing the treatment endured by our countrymen from such men as I have described:—

Manchester, July 21st, 1817.

SIR,

Supposing that a fair statement of the proceedings instituted against the persons taken into custody at the *Blanket Meeting*, which took place at Manchester, on the 10th of March, would throw additional light upon the conduct of the present Administration, I submit to your perusal the following statement of facts, to which we are ready to give our affidavits, at any time when called upon.

The meeting was in St. Peter's field, Manchester, where we met to arrange the business of peaceably proceeding to lay our petitions before His R. H. the PRINCE REGENT. *While all was peace and order, we were suddenly surrounded by a body of military and police officers, our pockets searched, our bundles taken from us; and GEORGE GRIMSHAW had upwards of £5. taken from him, which has never yet been returned.*

Now, Mr. Editor, I have always understood that the Riot Act should be read, before the military can be legally brought against a meeting; but I solemnly declare I never heard it read on the present occasion. Probably the Magistrates, knowing who the really riotous persons were, might have read the riot act to the military and special constables, but I never heard it read to the meeting.

From this place we were taken to the New Bailey, and confined in what they call the Lock-up, for

nine days and nights. We were put from 27 to 30 in a room, so small, that we could not all lie down at one time; during which time we never had our clothes off, and nothing to lie upon but the bare flags; we petitioned for straw, but were refused.

Our close confinement in these dirty filthy places caused many of us to begin to be very unhealthy. One man, of the name of SHAWCROSS, almost lost the use of his legs; he was upwards of 60 years of age. Another was seized with a disorder in his head. In fact, symptoms of sickness appeared general. We requested the doctor to attend us, who ordered us out into the open yard, where we were *compelled to remain for 6 or 8 hours at a time.* This treatment had almost as prejudicial an effect as our confinement, and most of us caught violent colds, so that even our loathsome cells became a desirable asylum. Our breakfasts were a little oatmeal and water, (alias gruel), very often sour, with a little bread made of unsound flour. Our dinners were an ounce and a half of cheese of bad quality, and 4 ounces of bad bread. For supper the same as breakfast.

At the expiration of nine days, five of us (all but nine had been previously liberated) were removed to Lancaster, without half an hour's previous notice, and *chained to an imputed murderer.* In this state we were delivered to Mr. HIGGINS, the jailor, who told us he should take our chains off then, but he should have none of our seditious, or political preaching there; if he had, he should put them on again. We

now paid 1s. to Mr. HIGGINS, jun. for a copy of our commitment. We were here charged with sedition and conspiracy, though we never in our lives had seen one another before.

As our names appeared in the calendar, and being frequently told that a true bill had been found against us, we expected to be tried at the County Assizes, but in this we were disappointed. We were now told that the Judge had left an order for the detention of our bodies till bailed out. Our friends not immediately bailing us out, we were informed by Mr. HIGGINS, that he did not know whether we should be tried at the King's Bench, or by a special commission. Being ignorant what steps to pursue, we wrote a memorandum to Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, and another to Lord SIDMOUTH, to which we never received any answer.

During the sessions at Manchester, Mr. HIGGINS being at that place, the Rev. Mr. ROWLEY ordered us into the chapel, and after having satisfied himself as to what religion we professed, he told us that we were not going the way to be liberated, but that *we ought to plead guilty, and make a full confession of the oaths of secrecy that we had taken.* We replied that we knew nothing about any oaths, and that we had nothing to confess. He said Mr. HIGGINS had the care of our bodies, but he thought proper to look after our souls; and said *he wished us to make a full confession, and acknowledge our guilt, and then we should be released.* He said, probably you do not know that COBBETT, that seditious writer, is run off to America,

and taken BURDETT in for a large sum of money; that COCHRANE and BURDETT, and the heads of them, had led us into it, and had now left us; that HUNT had turned King's evidence, and no doubt would hang a great many; and *it was owing to these men that we could not perceive that we had a set of wise Ministers, and that our distress was occasioned by a transition from war to peace, together with a bad harvest; and he was very sorry we stood so much in our own light, as not to see that the Ministers were our friends, and that if we would acknowledge our guilt, we should be released.* After this we received two letters from OSWALD MILNE, solicitor, Manchester, in which we were requested to plead *guilty*. One particularly to myself (MATTHEW LITHGOE), requested that I would plead *guilty*, and I should then be sent home to my wife and family. However, we all pleaded *not guilty*, before this newly-elected tribunal; Mr. HIGGINS, *who read the letters, now told us we were very foolish, for we might be liberated if we would plead guilty.*

About this time, Mr. HIGGINS, jun. told us, that if we did not put in plea, judgment would go by default in the Court of King's Bench. Now, Mr. Editor, to do this was impossible; we had no funds out of which to pay an attorney. The jailor detained our bodies, and Mr. NADEN, of Manchester, had taken our little property. Yet *we were to be punished for not doing what the authors of our punishment prevented us from doing.*

The next communication we

received, was to inform us we were only kept till bail was given; and myself and WILLIAMS were then bailed out, with the understanding that we were to be surrendered at Lancaster. Bail was also given for PETER LEVER, and GEORGE GRIMSHAW; and 9s. paid as bail fees; but they now refuse to liberate them.

Since my release, my bail has received letters from Mr. Solicitor MILNE, stating, that if I did not put in plea in the Court of King's Bench, their goods and chattels would be distrained upon. I have this day been at Mr. MILNE's office, and one of my bail along with me. Mr. MILNE read a letter to us, which he said came from the Secretary of State's office. I am here charged with a misdemeanor, and was again requested to plead *guilty*, and told *if I so pleaded, myself and bail would be released from our recognizances, and that if I took care of myself, and kept from those seditious meetings, I might never be called upon; but if I was, it would only be to receive judgment.* On my final refusal to plead *guilty*, he told me *I was a damned fool, and stood in my own light, and that I might as well be clear as not.*

Now, Mr. Editor, I should wish to know what a man in my situation must do; I am without money, and to aggravate my distress, am unable to work, from the effects of a rheumatic complaint which I caught in prison. I have offered to surrender myself, but they refuse to receive me; and I suppose I must be punished for not doing what it is impossible for me to do. In the hope that you will notice my case, as well as

the case of those still in prison, and that you, or some of your correspondents, will advise us in your valuable pamphlet what to do,

I remain, Sir, yours, &c.

MATTHEW LITHGOE.

If MATTHEW LITHGOE's statements be correct, they deserve Mr. Chaplain BATES's most serious consideration. I have, in former *Registers*, stated how the Manchester men were arrested at their meeting for petitioning, and have given a correct copy of their Petition; but MATTHEW LITHGOE's letter brings incidents together which Mr. Chaplain BATES may think had better be kept *private*; — the Reverend Gentleman and myself differ too much in our sentiments generally, to agree upon this point; and I have given, and shall give them, all the publicity possible. MATTHEW LITHGOE having met others in a field, to arrange the business of peaceably proceeding to lay their Petitions before the Regent, the following circumstances are related to have happened:—

1. They were surrounded by the *military*, and arrested.
2. From 27 to 30 were put in the *Lock-up*, a room so small *they could not all lie down at one time*.
3. They were *refused straw to lie upon*.
4. They lay upon the *bare stones*.
5. Upon complaint to the doctor, they were ordered into the open yard, and there *compelled to remain* for six or eight hours at a time.
6. Having been so confined for

nine days and nights, MATTHEW LITHGOE, and four others, were chained to a man charged with murder, and sent to Lancaster gaol.

7. After having been thus treated, they were told Ministers were their friends, and were recommended to throw themselves on *their mercy* — to plead *guilty*.
8. MATTHEW LITHGOE was told, by letter from the Secretary of State's office, that if he would plead *guilty*, and went to no more meetings, he might never be called upon to receive judgment.
9. MATTHEW LITHGOE refused to plead *guilty*, and was called a damned fool by the lawyer.
10. MATTHEW LITHGOE is informed, if he does not plead in the Court of King's Bench, that his bail will be distrained upon.
11. MATTHEW LITHGOE, without money, unable to work, from rheumatism caught in prison, and therefore without the means of pleading, offered to surrender himself to prison again, rather than plead *guilty*, and his prosecutors refused to accept him.

How much of the *shadow* of the Constitution has MATTHEW LITHGOE? It would take Mr. Chaplain BATES some time to convince MATTHEW LITHGOE that he has had the *shadow* "in as ample a degree as his more wealthy superiors." The Reverend Gentleman is bound, by virtue of his assertions, to give advice to MATTHEW LITHGOE, who is called on to plead, has not money to employ a lawyer, and says, "I

"suppose I must be punished for not doing what it is impossible for me to do." Mr. Chaplain BATES has a pretty good share of the *shadow*; enough, I think, to spare a little of it to MATTHEW LITHGOE, who asks advice and direction. I really do not know how to advise LITHGOE myself; I know not with *what* he is charged, or *how* charged; and, being no lawyer, cannot give him a lawyer's advice; but were I in his situation, called on to plead in the Court of King's Bench, I should immediately write to Mr. LITCHFIELD, the Solicitor to the Treasury, in Lincoln's Inn; and to Sir SAMUEL SHEPHERD, the Attorney-General, also in Lincoln's Inn. From one of these gentlemen he would certainly receive an answer of some kind, and, as certainly, one to the point. The real persuasion on my own mind is, that a representation of *facts* to them would put the matter at rest for ever.

Ministers have received so many defeats, every new victory is such a body-blow, the People are so tranquil in their triumphs, and the Country manifests its contempt for all that is going forward so heartily, that Ministers may as well order their coffins as order prosecutions. Neither *Mister* REYNOLDS, the informer, on a Grand Jury; nor *Mister* CASTLE, the other informer, dressed up in his Bow-street clothes for a witness; nor *Mister* OLIVER, the informer and spy, with Mr. *Morality* KECK to give him a character, have been able to get them a conviction in London:—and then in the *country*! why, were they hung up for scare-crows, the very birds would perch

upon them, so little is there fearful about them.

WILLIAM HONE.

CHURCH and STATE will keep a little longer.

In my next Number I shall notice the *Raving Distracted Purples* of the Borough of MAIDSTONE.

MR. LEMAITRE.

[The following Petition and Narrative of this Gentleman, from the Journals of the House of Commons, should be read by every Man in the Country.]

"A Petition of PAUL THOMAS LEMAITRE, of the City of London, was presented and read; setting forth, that at a distance of 200 miles from the metropolis, the Petitioner lately heard reports of the proposition having been made by his Majesty's Ministers to Parliament for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; the Petitioner thought it an imperious duty he owed himself, his family, and his country, to submit to the House the following *narrative*, in order that the amount of confidence to be placed in the hands of the great officers of state should be duly appreciated by the House. The Petitioner accordingly hastened to town, but he arrived a few hours too late; the discussion of the measure of the Suspension Bill was already near its close, and shortly after the Petitioner reached the lobby of the House, was passed. The general reports that have reached the ears of the Petitioner, that it is now proposed

to obtain their assent to a similar Bill, extending the suspension for a farther period of time, determines the Petitioner to entreat the earnest attention of the House to this his Petition, containing a detail of facts he will not attempt to characterize, and a recital of particulars in which several of his Majesty's present advisers have acted a distinguished part.

NARRATIVE.

"That on the 27th of September, 1794, the Petitioner being then only *eighteen years of age*, was *arrested on a charge of treasonable practices*, and having undergone various examinations before the Privy Council, was fully committed on a charge of high treason; that the Petitioner, having endured all the horrors of *solitary confinement for thirty-two weeks* in the Cold-Bath-Fields prison, not to mention the cruel oppressions of its keeper, during which period he had frequently demanded, in applications to the Privy Council, to be brought to a public trial, his father was informed by Mr. Justice FORD, then private secretary to the Duke of PORTLAND, Secretary of State, that upon giving two sureties of fifty pounds each he should be liberated; and these terms the Petitioner was constrained to accept.

"That after a short interval the Petitioner received a letter from Mr. Secretary DUNDAS, requiring his attendance at the Treasury Chambers; the Petitioner attended at the time appointed, and sent in his card to the Privy Council, then sitting; and having waited from the morning until it was late in the

day without having received any communication, the Petitioner expressed to several his impatience, and was at length informed the Privy Council had broken up, and the Members long since had left the office; the Petitioner in course retired.

"That shortly after this proceeding, the Petitioner was informed, at 11 o'clock at night, his name had been included with others in a *bill of indictment for high treason*. The Petitioner immediately retained counsel to surrender him. At the opening of the Court the next morning, the Judge inquired of the Petitioner as to his identity; and the Petitioner answered, that although his description as he understood had not been faithfully given in the indictment, he the Petitioner had been lately involved in a similar accusation, and that as he desired nothing so much as a public opportunity for the justification of his character, he now most anxiously presented himself; the Petitioner, as he anticipated, was committed to the gaol of Newgate.

"That after an imprisonment of some weeks, the Petitioner was conducted to the bar of the Old Bailey, and was there placed beside three individuals, one of whom (his bookseller) he had never had a moment's conversation with, except upon matters of business; a second, with whom a private word had never passed; and a third, who to his knowledge he had never in the course of his life either seen or heard of, previously at least to his apprehension: the Petitioner being called upon to plead to the indictment then read to him, waved

the informality of erroneous description, and pleaded not guilty. After the anxiety, labour, and expense of preparing a defence, and after suffering an imprisonment of sixteen weeks, the Petitioner was again put to the bar, where Mr. Attorney-General, now Lord Chancellor ELDON, informed the Court he had no evidence to produce, and the Petitioner was acquitted.

"That the Petitioner was again arrested, in 1798, and was again committed to the gaol of Newgate on a charge of high treason.

"That after upwards of one year's close and solitary confinement, the communication of the physician's report by the gaoler, Mr. KIRBY, to the Privy Council, that the debilitated state of the Petitioner's health was likely to prove fatal, procured, as the Petitioner believes, a proposition made him by the said gaoler, Mr. KIRBY, that the Petitioner might obtain his liberation upon the condition that he would give security to leave the country during the war. The Petitioner gave for answer, that in whatever danger his health might be involved, he would agree to no terms short of the full and public justification of his character, too long suspended in doubt, and yet dearer to him than the life he now hazarded. The Petitioner was shortly after removed to Reading gaol.

"The Petitioner begs leave to inform the House, that during these several and long periods of confinement, the Habeas Corpus Act Suspension Bill had been several times renewed, and the Petitioner having learned that a proposition was now again made

for its renewal for another considerable period of time, forwarded, through the kind interference of Mr. CHARLES GREY, a Petition to the House of Commons, alleging that the Petitioner, with a full consciousness of entire innocence, had suffered two years of *uninterrupting solitary and close confinement*, besides the heavy suffering of former imprisonments, and the ruinous expenses of an unnecessary defence, praying the House that they would call the Petitioner to their bar, and institute such inquiry as should shield him from continued incarceration; but this Petition he was informed, through a communication he had the honour to receive from Mr. GREY, was rejected.

"That the Petitioner having been at length confined upon this occasion about three years, was called upon by a King's Messenger and other officers, and conveyed back to London, to be enlarged upon his own recognizance; that having been taken before Mr. Justice FORD, this gentleman congratulated the Petitioner upon the instructions he had received to offer liberation from such long imprisonment upon terms amounting to little more than form, namely, *personal recognizance for one thousand pounds*; the Petitioner, however, refused to accede to these terms, alleging that the length and severity of the imprisonment made it more imperiously necessary that he and the public should become at last acquainted with the grounds upon which he had been oppressed by such accumulated suffering; that he understood the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill was about to expire,

and that the Minister advising its suspension had tendered and had had his resignation accepted by his Majesty; that therefore the Petitioner considered that *the reign of the laws* being about to be resumed in full efficiency, it became him, in defence of his character, so many years unjustly subjected to suspicion, to suffer rather again for a short season, and be thereby enabled to challenge and meet the machinations of those who had heaped upon his head such accumulated suffering. Mr. Justice FORD expostulated, but the Petitioner felt it no less a public than a private duty to maintain firmly his opinion, and was committed to the Parliament Street Hotel, in charge of the Messenger: hence the Petitioner addressed a Memorial to his Grace the late Duke of PORTLAND, demanding an *unconditional liberation or a public trial*; but the answer to this application was in the shape of a new warrant of commitment for high treason to Tothill-Fields Bridewell, in which prison the Petitioner was compelled to pay two guineas and a half per week for lodging and board, or associate with the felons. At the next ensuing Term the Petitioner applied to the Court of King's Bench for an Habeas, which Lord KENYON having desired time to consider of, the next day *refused*, as he expressed himself in answer to the expostulations of the Petitioner's solicitor, *upon his responsibility*. After a short interval, a proposition was made in Parliament again to renew the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; the Petitioner verily believing the dread which the Ministers entertained of the expo-

sure of their measures—an exposure which the examination of his case would necessarily involve, was mainly instrumental in inducing this measure, repeated his Petitions, renewed the detail of his sufferings, and intreated that no measure should be adopted which might have for effect to perpetuate them; but *the Suspension Bill was once more passed*, and received the Royal Assent. Mr. Justice FORD, on the following morning, called at the prison, and renewing the proposal of the former terms of enlargement, the Petitioner, unable to sustain singly a conflict with power so disproportionate, and the prospect of a defence of character at the probable sacrifice of interminable imprisonment, agreed at length to give his own recognizance for future appearance if called upon. Restoration to society, with at best an equivocal character, with the deepest sacrifice of property and of health, and with a more frightful and fatal wound in the loss of *a dear parent*, who having in the first stage of persecution been informed by the officers that they had seized upon the Petitioner the damning evidence of guilt, had taken to her bed, and *rose no more!* These considerations weighed down the mind of the Petitioner with the most bitter agony, and in order to obtain the means of a *public investigation* of such extraordinary transactions, he determined, upon mature consideration, to bring actions against his Majesty's Ministers and the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench: the Petitioner gave his solicitor instructions accordingly; but to his utter mortification, he found

Bills immediately introduced into both Houses of Parliament, for the indemnity of all the parties concerned. The Petitioner lost not a moment in petitioning against these measures; but his exertions were fruitless, his Petitions unavailing.

"The Petitioner has been many years endeavouring to recover his station in society; and to resist the too fatal consequences attending such treatment, he had repeatedly petitioned to have the charges against him, if any had really existed, investigated at the bar of the House, and for some remuneration for the greater part of seven years of sufferings and expenses of the most afflicting nature; he had adopted whatever of other expedients at any time presented which might lead to an examination of his case, and the justification of his conduct and character; but *having made every endeavour, and urged his claims in vain*, he has for some time sought to bring his mind into a state of resignation, and with a knowledge that, as far as regarded the Petitioner, the old pretences for the Suspension of the Act of Habeas Corpus were utterly and in every respect groundless, the Petitioner embraces this opportunity *most solemnly to declare* before his country, personified by the House, and with an equal solemnity as if he stood in the presence of Almighty God, that *never in word nor in deed, neither in whisper, insinuation, nor in fact, had he ever received knowledge or intimation, nor was he ever party to any of the alleged treasons of*

which he has understood himself to stand charged, and on account of which he has suffered so grievously, nor of any other treasons or conspiracies whatever.

"That after the sad experience of the past, the Petitioner trembles for the future; and believing himself as much or as little deserving of censure and surveillance at this period as at any former period of his life, and that in consequence of the renewal of the Suspension Bill now proposed, may be a renewal of suffering however unmerited, the Petitioner anxiously *implores the House that they will allow him to verify these allegations at their bar, if they be doubted*; that the House will refuse their assent to the proposed Suspension Bill, which will, if passed into a law, again have for effect to put the Petitioner and the whole People of England out of the protection of those revered laws securing their personal freedom, which may involve the family of the Petitioner in utter ruin, and again subject the character for integrity and love of country he has been endeavouring to re-establish, to a repetition of the bitter, cruel, and destructive calumny too nearly alike consequent upon such suspicion and actual guilt."

June 23, 1817.

CORRESPONDENCE.

J. B. W. I am obliged to for his *True Copy*. He will further oblige me if he *can* favour me with the original.

M—Y is *too pretty*.

Can an OLD SEA OFFICER send me the Publications?

My GREENFIELD STREET Correspondent should have *Counsel's* Opinion—mine is not worth a straw in his case.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 3.]

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1817.

[Vol. II.

TRIUMPHS

OF THE PEOPLE.

MACKINLEY'S Acquittal in Scotland---Acquittals of the YORK and HUDDERSFIELD Men, &c.---Who pays for it all---Supposed Visit of the REGENT to a Corrupt Corporation; to Ilchester, and its 100 Families in the Boroughmonger's Work-house; to Gatton, where ONE Elector sends TWO Members to Parliament, namely, himself and his Son, and a supposed Dialogue between him and the REGENT; to the Raving Distracted Purples at Maidstone—Notice of a Clean Sample of the MAIDSTONE PURPLES.

II. ON PETITIONING---Consequences of the PITT System---Hard Labour without Reflection, and Oppression without Redress---III. Mr. HAZLITT'S Character of CORIOLANUS---A Contrast between Power and Weakness, and Riches and Poverty---IV. PEACE no Blessing, whilst Taxation keeps us Miserable.

The trial of ANDREW MAC-KINLEY, in Scotland, on the 18th instant, has ended; and is another and most signal defeat of Ministerial machination. He was charged before the High Court of Justiciary, in Edinburgh, with administering unlawful oaths.

The first witness against the Prisoner was JOHN CAMPBELL. Being asked, Have you received any reward, or promise of a reward, for being a witness? CAMPBELL answered "*I have, my Lord.*" The Court was astonished. The question was again put, and CAMPBELL gave the like answer. The Lord Justice Clerk cautioned and admonished him as to the nature of an oath. CAMPBELL said he had a due sense of that solemn obligation; he knew he must answer to God for what he said; and that he might be believed in Court, he offered to produce witnesses to the truth of his testimony. He was then examined by the Court, and deposed that he was apprehended, with the Prisoner, on the 22d of February last, without cause or warrant; and on the Thursday or Wednesday following, examined before the Sheriff Depute of Lanarkshire, and asked if he knew what he was brought before him for? He told the Sheriff he did not; and the Sheriff insisted that he did, and that *it would be wisdom in him to make his breast clean.* The Sheriff left him alone with Mr. SALMOND (the *Procurator Fiscal*), who said, "JOHN, perhaps you do not know that I know so much about this affair; I know more about it than you think I do; you do not know that I have the oath you took at LEGGATT'S,

on the 1st of January." He then showed him *a scroll of an oath*, saying, "you see, JOHN, I have got it." He then added, "you and other persons," whom he named, "took that oath at LEGGATT'S, on the 1st of January." CAMPBELL told him that he had *not* taken that oath. After *ill-usage, threats, and stratagems*, practised upon him by the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, to induce him to become a witness at several examinations, Mr. SALMOND began *railing against the Prisoners, as villains who had betrayed the witness*; he said that it was only his regard for witness that made him wish him to become an evidence; and said, "I assure you *I have six men who will swear you took that oath*; and you are as sure to be *hanged* as you are in life." CAMPBELL replied, that it might be possible to get two or three persons to perjure themselves, but he did not think it possible to get six to do so. After this he said to witness, "you will ruin yourself if you take this way; but if you take the other way, you may do yourself much good." Mr. SALMOND said, that the *Lord Advocate* was in Glasgow; and that he would come under any obligation he (witness) chose, if he would be a witness. Mr. DRUMMOND, Advocate Depute, examined him, and stated, that he might go to another town, and change his name; that he had been thinking of a plan of writing to Lord SIDMOUTH *to get him into the Exercise*. Mr. DRUMMOND had been with him several times in the Castle, and asked, on one of these occasions, what the witness wanted to have? when he re-

mained silent. Mr. DRUMMOND called again a few days afterwards, when he said, "Now, CAMPBELL, this is the last time; you must be determined now." He then asked if he had written to Lord SIDMOUTH? and was answered no, as witness had rejected the offer. He was then asked if he had made up his mind? when he answered that he had upon conditions, which were that he should receive a passport to go to the Continent; when he was told by Mr. DRUMMOND, that he supposed there was nobody could stop him. He answered, that being a mechanic, he did not believe the laws of the country would allow him to quit it. Mr. D. replied, with a smile—is *that* all? There is no question but you will get that, *and means to carry you there*. Witness then said, that on these conditions he was willing to become a witness, if his wife was included. Mr. DRUMMOND desired him to write to her, and to mark a *one pound note* on the letter, which he would enclose. He desired him to inform his wife that he was to be a witness, and to tell her to leave Glasgow, and to go to witness's father's to stay for the present. The letter, however, was not sent, as the *Lord Advocate* objected to its being sent to the person to whose care it was directed; but to direct it to Mr. SALMOND. Mr. DRUMMOND, however, directed the money to be given to his wife, at Glasgow. An examination afterwards took place in presence of the Sheriff, Sheriff Substitute, Solicitor General, and Mr. DRUMMOND: the terms formerly agreed upon, viz. that he should receive

a passport for himself and wife to go to Prussia, and means afforded to convey them thither, were discussed. A pause here took place: when Mr. DRUMMOND said to witness, "Now, CAMPBELL, you know whether you can be a witness on these terms or not: do you believe we are able to do for you what you expect, *without its being put down on paper?*" Witness answered, he knew they were able, if they were willing. Mr. DRUMMOND replied, "Could you rely upon us for that?" Witness answered, "May I?" Mr. DRUMMOND answered, "You may." To which witness replied, "Then I shall rely upon you as gentlemen." Shortly after this, witness was allowed to write his declaration himself, with the exception of one part relating to a Mr. KERR.—Mr. DRUMMOND visited witness after this declaration, when he ordered the gaoler to procure plenty of books for witness to read, which he got to the amount of about 100 volumes. Shortly after, witness wrote to Mr. DRUMMOND for some clothes and money. Witness received a pair of shoes; but with regard to money, he was answered, he would get none till after the first trial, when he would get money; this was about three weeks ago. He wrote another letter to Mr. DRUMMOND, stating a part of what had been put down in his declaration, as a gentle demand for money, when he received the same answer. Both answers were conveyed to him by the gaoler, who told him he had them from Mr. DRUMMOND.

Mr. JEFFRAY proposed to call Sir WILLIAM RAE, the Sheriff, to corroborate CAMPBELL's declara-

tion, which was opposed by the LORD ADVOCATE.

The COURT spoke at some length upon the competency of CAMPBELL, and decided that he could not be examined; and after four witnesses, all prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh, were called in succession, who all denied that any oath, such as stated in the indictment, was administered, the LORD ADVOCATE rose, and addressed the Court, stating, that in consequence of *the disappointment* he had experienced in *the turn which the evidence he had adduced had taken*, he found he could not receive the verdict which his former impressions led him to expect; he therefore would not take up the valuable time of the Judges and Jury.

The Jury acquitted the Prisoner.

The termination of this case of MACKINLEY is a great moral lesson to Ministers. MACKINLEY had been taken into custody on the 22d of February, on a charge of *treason*; since which time he has been kept in *close and solitary confinement*, and been three times indicted by the Lord Advocate for *high treason*, without being tried; and now being tried, behold the result—that the *first* witness swears he was *tampered* with by the following persons, viz. the *Sheriff Depute of Lanarkshire*, Mr. SALMOND, *Procurator Fiscal*, and Mr. DRUMMOND, *Advocate Depute*; and that in the course of this *tampering* he was told, if he did *not* give evidence against MACKINLEY, he would be *hanged*; and if he *did*, he would be made an *Exciseman*!

The Lord Advocate, who put Mr. MACKINLEY on his trial, did

so, I have no doubt, most unwillingly. It may be seen in a former *Register*,* that Mr. MACONCHIE, for that is the Lord Advocate's name, made his *first* speech in the House of Commons on the first reading of the first Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, in the last sessions—he supported it with all his might—he did all he could to get a clause against the liberty of the subject in Scotland; “Because,” said Mr. MACONCHIE, “in 1715, 1722, and “1745, the Law Officers who “then sat in that House, meant “to put the People of Scotland “out of the pale of the law, as “much as the People of Eng- “land.” My observation in the *Register* on that remark of the learned Lord Advocate was,— “When I heard your Lordship’s “support of the *Habeas Suspen- “sion Bill*, I involuntarily ex- “claimed, whilst looking at you “from the gallery of the House, “for this he was ordained;” and I further inquired, “was I mis- taken, my Lord?” It seems I was not mistaken—I was right. Mr. MACKINLEY is *tried*, and dis- charged. The noble Lord Advocate would no doubt prefer hav- ing him still in close and solitary confinement, under the suspen- sion of the Habeas Corpus Act; which, by an amendment of the Lords, does not in its operation extend to Scotland. Putting men upon their trial—bringing them before juries of their country, does not suit Ministers. When they have done so, they have, in almost every instance, been de- feated. Six men, tried for Lud- ditism, at York, last Friday week, were acquitted; and the Hud-

dersfield rioters, tried the follow- ing day, were also acquitted. A person who was present at the trials says, the Prisoners were persons of good character and excellent conduct—sober, hard- working, honest, dutiful, and quiet lads. They were proved so upon oath from the witness box, by their masters, their neigh- bours, and their townsmen; by those who had known them from their infancy, and who were most exposed to the consequences of their irregularities, had they been guilty of any intentional wickedness. The interesting ap- pearance of the young men who were acquitted, their extreme youth—two of them being only about 19—their demeanour in Court, and the almost parental fondness of their masters, who spoke to their characters in all their relations in life, affected the by-standers almost to tears.

These misfortunes to the pro- jects of Ministers come tumbling in head-over-heels faster than they were formed; and, I dare to say, remind them of the common saying, about bringing an old house over their heads. Beside the affair of MACKINLEY and the poor Yorkshiremen, there are the acquittal of Mr. WOOLER, the acquittal of WATSON, the rash proceedings against WRIGHT, and the oppressive proceedings against myself—what a clatter! Then there is the discovery of the SPIES—*Squire* REYNOLDS and *Mister* OLIVER, and the Wretch CASTLE. These are rare and wonderful things, but we have the misfortune to pay for them all. A man when he gets into a certain office, has nothing in the world to do but take offence at

* Vol. I. p. 264.

whoever he pleases, and order prosecutions against him. If the Defendant is convicted, he receives his sentence; and no mercy, unless indeed he craves it with great humility; and then the abject creature is let out of prison a few months before his time, to be pitied by all sturdy hearts who know how to feel for their fellow-creatures, and to suffer in their own persons for speaking the truth. All this the People pay for; and most dearly too. A Minister who happens to have an ill temper, and who cannot bear contradiction, is a most expensive servant. He orders an information to be filed, with as much ease as he orders his carriage; and for this plain reason, he does not pay if he is beaten. The law bills for the Government prosecutions this year alone, and the charges attendant on such prosecutions, are, I am assured, nearly *Eighty thousand pounds!* This sum, judiciously applied, would have done wonders in relieving the distresses and calming the discontents of the People. Suppose a Minister had said to the Prince Regent, "Sir, you have now an opportunity of doing great good; make a progress through the kingdom, show yourself to the people, sift into their complaints, promise to redress their grievances; and where you find distress urgent, relieve it upon the spot. Here is a sum of £80,000. at your disposal; travel in any way most agreeable to your Royal Highness; see things with your own eyes, and we will gladly listen to your recommendations."

How many narratives of distress he would hear, how many

poor creatures save from wretchedness and death! He might have recorded, that he could not travel five miles without learning facts he never knew, though he had lived half a century; that not a city, not a village, not a hamlet, but furnished its tale. Here a rich corporation had long outlived the end of its institution; its members were wealthy, and ignorant, and overbearing, and oppressed their fellow-townsmen; they levied contributions, and created jobs for themselves, and fared sumptuously every day; and suffered human beings to drop down and die in their streets for lack of food. There, at *Ilchester*, where all the borough was pulled down, except sixty houses, as related in a former *Register*,* in order to limit the number of voters, he might have seen the electors and their families all turned into a large workhouse, which the borough-monger, Sir WILLIAM MANNERS, who destroyed their habitations, built on purpose to receive them. Had his Royal Highness heard that the little borough of GATTON, about 20 miles from London, was worth seeing, he might have gone thither, and had an interview with its proprietor, Sir MARK WOOD, and held the following

Dialogue.

Q. You are proprietor of this borough, Sir MARK?

A. I am, may it please your Royal Highness.

Q. How many Members does it send to Parliament?

A. *Two*, Sir.

Q. Who are they?

A. Myself and my son.

* Vol. I. p. 144.

Q. You are much beloved, then, in the borough, Sir MARK?

A. There are not many tell me otherwise, your Royal Highness.

Q. Were there any opposition candidates?

A. None, Sir.

Q. What is the qualification for an elector?

A. Being an inhabitant, paying scot and lot.

Q. Only *six electors*, then! for I see you have *only six houses* in the place?

A. Only ONE elector, please your Royal Highness.

Q. What, *one* elector, and return *two* members! how is that? But what becomes of the other five householders?

A. By buying the borough, I am the freeholder of the six houses; I let five by the week, pay the taxes myself, live in the other; and thus, being the only elector, return myself and my son as Members, at the election!

And then his Royal Highness might have visited the borough of *Maidstone*, and heard what I heard, and what I shall relate at length in my next Register, respecting the *Purples*, as they are called—the *raving distracted Purples*. The name scarcely requires explanation. In the small pox, it denotes disease and death. “The child has a shock-*ing* sort,” says the nurse; “it has the *Purples*, and if there are too many, it will die.” Just so it is with these *Maidstone Purples*. They were too many for the borough; but they have lately dwindled almost into insignificance. Were the Prince REGENT to visit *Maidstone*, he would see *boroughmongering*, and the *consequences* of *boroughmongering*, in

the appearance of the town. The *Purples* themselves all flat and dull, and low-hearted—beaten, disgraced, and scarcely daring to show their heads; such is the situation of the high-flying, tantivy, church-and-king *Purples*; the BILLY PITT the Tory-*Purples*! I shall have a curious tale respecting them in my next. It's true it is warm weather, and that they are upon the *go*; but they have kept one week, and they'll keep till the next. I wish the REGENT could take a look at them *incog*, and see to what a state of humiliation they have brought the town and trade of *Maidstone*. This borough is an excellent specimen of the *borough system*; and, as they say amongst the hop-merchants, I will draw a *clean sample* of it. I repeat that I wish the REGENT could see this place, and these *men*. Sure I am that a *patriot Prince* would feel himself disgraced and degraded below a hedge beggar, if, knowing the state of the country, he for one instant consented to rule over its intellect and independence, by such hands as those of the miserable faction, who at *Maidstone* call themselves *Purples*.

There are three Communications in this sheet. A Friend pointed out certain just and noble thoughts in Mr. HAZLITT's character of CORIOLANUS, which will be read with admiration in the extracts that follow. The paper signed JUSTUS, is by the author of the excellent poem entitled *Famishing*.* My correspondent who signs W. W. well deserves attention. There is no lack of labourers in the vine-

* In Vol. I. p. 382.

yard at present; the minds of the People are open to receive instruction, and it will be their own fault if knowledge do not make them wise.

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,
August 6, 1817.

To Mr. William Hone.

LONDON, Aug. 3, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

As you deemed it not inconsistent with your plan to insert the extract from COWPER'S *Task*, which I sent you, in your *Reformists' Register*,* you may perhaps consider the following transcript not undeserving a place in the same bold (not too bold, I hope, for the author's safety) and patriotic publication. Allow me, before I extract the passage, to tender my thanks for your illuminating weekly pamphlet. Go on: but pray beware that your honest zeal does not hurry your pen beyond the bounds of prudence. If any writers ought to revise and re-revise their printed sentiments, it is those who, like yourself, are in *these* times of political and arbitrary restraint, publicly advocating the cause of the People at large---the many; and warmly pleading for their unalienable rights. Though unknown to you personally, I feel a respect for your abilities, and the truly courageous stand you have lately made. And when I read the account of your sudden arrest, and undeserved and cruel incarceration, I could not restrain the indignant spirit I felt, but let it burst forth in expressions which happily were uttered within my own walls, and the bosom of my own

family. What a period have we lived to see, when a Briton, pleading for the birth-right privileges of Britons, is considered as a pest to society, and becomes an object of illegal and malignant persecution! But I must restrain my pen. Permit me once more to recommend a patient revision of your sentiments, before committing them to the press. Your situation reminds me of BUNYAN'S Pilgrim, treading with extreme caution over the *enchanted ground*, where gins, and traps, and pitfalls, were planted through the whole of his way.

A FRIEND.

MR. HAZLITT'S CHARACTER

OF

CORIOLANUS.

"SHAKESPEAR has in this play shown himself well versed in history and state affairs. CORIOLANUS is a store-house of political common-places. Any one who studies it may save himself the trouble of reading BURKE'S *Reflections*, or PAINE'S *Rights of Man*, or the *Debates* in both Houses of Parliament, since the French Revolution or our own. The arguments for and against aristocracy and democracy, on the *privileges* of the few and the *claims* of the many, on liberty and slavery, on power and the abuse of it, on peace and war, are here very ably handled, with the spirit of a poet, and the acuteness of a philosopher. SHAKESPEAR himself seems to have a leaning to the *arbitrary* side of the question, perhaps from some feeling of contempt for his own origin; and to have spared no occasion

* Vol. 1, p. 734.

of baiting the rabble. What he says of them is very true: what he says of their betters is also very true, though he dwells less upon it. The cause of the People is indeed but little calculated as a subject for poetry: it admits of rhetoric, which goes into argument and explanation; but it presents no immediate or distinct images to the mind, 'no jetting frieze, buttress, or coigne of vantage,' for poetry 'to make its pendant bed and procreate cradle in.' The language of poetry naturally falls in with the language of power. * * * * *

* * The principle of poetry is a very anti-levelling principle. It aims at effect, it exists by contrast. It admits of no medium. It is every thing by excess. It rises above the ordinary standard of sufferings and crimes. It presents a dazzling appearance. It shows its head turretted, crowned, and crested. Its front is gilt and blood-stained. Before it 'it carries noise, and behind it tears.' It has its altars and its victims, and its sacrifices---human sacrifices. Kings, Priests, Nobles, are its train-bearers---tyrants and slaves its executioners. 'Carnage is its daughter.' Poetry is right royal. It puts the *individual* for the *species*, the *one* above the infinite *many*, *might* before *right*. A lion hunting a flock of sheep, or a herd of wild asses, is a more poetical object than they: and we even take part with the lordly beast, because our vanity, or some other feeling, makes us disposed to place ourselves in the situation of the stronger party. So we feel some concern for the poor citizens of Rome, when they meet together to compare their

wants and grievances, till CORIOLANUS comes in, and with blows and big words drives this set of 'poor rats, this rascal scum,' to their homes and beggary before him. There is nothing heroic in a multitude of miserable rogues not wishing to be starved, or complaining that they are like to be so: but when a single man comes forward to brave their cries, and to make them submit to the last indignities, from mere pride and self-will, our admiration of his prowess is immediately converted into contempt for their pusillanimity. The insolence of power is stronger than the plea of necessity. The tame submission to usurped authority, or even the natural resistance to it, has nothing to excite or flatter the imagination: it is the assumption of a right to insult or oppress others that carries an imposing air of superiority with it. We would rather be the oppressor than the oppressed. The love of power in ourselves, and the admiration of it in others, are both natural to man; the one makes him a tyrant, the other a slave. Wrong, dressed out in pride, pomp, and circumstance, has more attraction than abstract right. CORIOLANUS complains of the fickleness of the People; yet the instant he cannot gratify his pride and obstinacy at their expense, he turns his arms against his country. If his country was not worth defending, why did he build his pride on its defence? He is a conqueror and a hero; he conquers other countries, and makes this a plea for enslaving his own; and when he is prevented from doing so, he leagues with his enemies to destroy his

country. He rates the People 'as if he were a god to punish, and not a man of their infirmity.' He scoffs at one of their Tribunes, for maintaining their rights and franchises: 'Mark you his absolute *shall!*' not marking his own absolute *will* to take every thing from them, his impatience of the slightest opposition to his own pretensions being in proportion to their arrogance and absurdity. If the great and powerful had the beneficence and wisdom of gods, then all this would have been well: if, with a greater knowledge of what is good for the People, they had as great a care for their interest as they have for themselves; if they were seated above the world, sympathising with the welfare, but not feeling the passions of men; receiving neither good nor hurt from them, but bestowing their benefits as free gifts on them; they might then rule over them like another Providence. But this is not the case. CORIOLANUS is unwilling that the Senate should show their '*cares*' for the People, lest their '*cares*' should be construed into '*fears*,' to the subversion of all due authority.

* * * * * The great have private feelings of their own, to which the interests of justice and humanity must courtesy. Their interests are so far from being the same as those of the community, that they are in direct and necessary opposition to them; their power is at the expense of *our* weakness; their riches of *our* poverty; their pride of *our* degradation; their splendour of *our* wretchedness; their tyranny of *our* servitude. If they had the superior know-

ledge ascribed to them, which they have not, it would render them only so much the more formidable, and from gods would convert them into devils. The whole dramatic moral of CORIOLANUS is, that those who have little shall have less; and that those who have much shall take all that others have left. The People are poor; therefore they ought to be starved. They are slaves; therefore they ought to be beaten. They work hard; therefore they ought to be treated like beasts of burden. They are ignorant, therefore they ought not to be allowed to feel that they want food, or clothing, or rest—that they are enslaved, oppressed and miserable. This is the logic of the imagination and the passions; which seek to aggrandise what excites admiration, and to heap contempt on misery; to *raise power into tyranny, and to make tyranny absolute*; to thrust down that which is low still lower, and to make wretches desperate: to exalt magistrates into kings, kings into gods; to degrade subjects to the rank of slaves, and slaves to the condition of brutes. The history of mankind is a romance, a masque, a tragedy, constructed upon the principles of *poetical justice*; it is a noble or a royal hunt, in which what is sport to the few is death to the many; and in which the spectators halloo and encourage the strong to set upon the weak, and cry havoc in the chase, though they do not share in the spoil. We may depend on it, that what men delight to read in books, they will, when able, put in practice in reality."—pp. 69—75.

ON PETITIONING.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM
AND PHILANTHROPY.

For a former Letter, see Vol I. page 667.

*Fellow Countrymen, Assertors of
your Constitutional Rights,*

For you ask for nothing but what your Constitution expressly guarantees to you, and complain of nothing but what is decidedly hostile to it—Are you not *grateful* for what your representatives have done for you? Do you not feel disposed to be extremely *patient* under the restraints they have been so reluctantly obliged to impose on your liberty, in order that you (spendthrifts as you are) might not dilapidate it, ere the proper time came for its enjoyment? A representative, according to Dr. JOHNSON'S old-fashioned idea, is “a substitute in power;” and pretty substitutes you have got, Gentlemen. Why, they have not half the accommodating liberality of the Fool of SHAKESPEAR, who had no objection to his comrade's being called a king, provided he might be *viceroy* over him. But the great majority of your substitutes are not so easily satisfied; they have no ambition to reign over kings, or even *freemen*. Nothing short of absolute slaves can enjoy the blessings of their legislation and governance.—Slaves themselves to the will of the Minister, they have sworn at the shrine of cupidity, eternal hatred to every thing that savours of freedom, even its very *shadow*! Being at one and the same time your servants and your masters, your substitutes and your tyrants,

they are, Gentlemen—*your representatives!* and you petition them? You pray that your substitutes would be graciously pleased not to continue to contravene and abrogate the laws of the land, by which they are deputed to defend and enforce. You petition them? Yes, by all the weaknesses of humanity, you *petition!* Away with the slavish solecism! That which you have a right to possess, you have a right to demand; and every one who volunteers as an advocate for such demand, and does not legally *enforce* it, boldly, and as matter of right, and not of favour, is a traitor to the cause he affects to espouse. Standing as we do, Gentlemen, on the rock of reason, truth must be our weapon, and justice the *Ægis* of our defence; we must prove before God and our country, that having pledged ourselves to the achievement of our liberties, we cannot recede; and rather than submit to the Cerberus of corruption, we will perish in the contest, as may become freemen. In the exercise of this privilege of petitioning, you have faithfully and simply stated the miseries under which you groan; and in adverting to the causes, as connected with the dreadful effects, you have also pointed out the remedy, with a degree of accuracy scarcely to be expected from men busied in the toil of unproductive labour, or inhumed in the sepulchre of never-ceasing care, “where hope never comes, that comes to all;” to bring you to which state has been, and still is, one of the great objects of the cold calculating policy of the present Ministers,

and which they inherit from their oracle—PITT:—he, who to purchase the evanescent gratification of an inordinate ambition, which he scarcely obtained, and to divide the torrent of ameliorated opinion, which he could not stem, desperately mortgaged the resources, and with them the liberties of his country; and *therewith* blasted the bud of freedom in its very spring. This object was to stifle inquiry; and this they had nearly accomplished, by taxing the People to such a degree, as to absorb the far greater part of their laborious earnings; thus leaving so scanty and insufficient a portion of time for absolutely necessary provision, that the majority had neither leisure nor means for cultivating their intellect. Always labouring, yet always poor, they had no solicitude but for their daily food; they rose early and toiled late, and sung of Britains' glory, and "Britons never will be slaves," unthinking and unthought of, except when an additional penny was to be extorted from their hard-earned pittance, to keep them within the *frugal* bounds prescribed by Ministerial rapacity. False and hollow was the glory, and fatal the labour, that left no opportunity for mental improvement; for no poverty is so effectually degrading as that of the mind—no tyranny so successful as that which dominates in the absence of talent. Now, when employment has failed from the inability to requite it, no longer lashed to the car of labour, the People open their eyes to the villanous deceptions that have been practised on them—they

begin to think; and feeling at last the dreadful ruin to which they are fast verging, they look to where, in honest times, they might have been justified in expecting relief—to the grand council of the nation, where the concentrated wisdom and patriotism of the whole country were supposed to sit on the bench of legislative justice, to interpose the shield of the laws between the oppressors and the oppressed, and to enact salutary regulations for "the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them who do well." But they had forgotten, or not till then observed, that this august assembly had changed its complexion; that from being the organ of the People's voice, it had degenerated into a thing indeed! a strong hold of intrigue, corruption, and baseness; a den of—what, Gentlemen?—of men mis-called representatives of the People!

And this brings me again to the point whence I digressed, namely, your petitioning the Honourable House; and although you condescended to petition, yet, as some of your Petitions had the air of demands, that was made a pretence for getting rid of them altogether; for the Honourable House must not be insulted by being told the truth, which in *some* cases you know is the foulest of libels! There was "the rub:" you did not speak flattery to the Ministers; you did not ascribe their crimes to any but themselves: after detecting them with their hands in the pockets of the People, you had the impudence to charge them with being robbers; and having

fresh in your recollection their system of oppression and foul misrule, you told these *servants* of the *Crown*, that their responsibility, of which they were so lavish, could give you no indemnity for the past, no security for the future; you did not put on sackcloth and ashes, and come reverently before them; you did not worship the sordid image of their erecting. How could you, Gentlemen? It was too base and heterogeneous a mixture of the brass, the iron, and the clay, to be for a moment the object of your adoration, or even regard; and although its superior parts were decorated with the silver of speciousness, and the gold of uncontrouled authority; though it displayed its tinselled trappings to the gaudy sun of power, and seemed to promise shelter and security to all who would accede to its dominion; still you could not banish from your memory the crimes, the miseries, and the blood that cemented the clay on which it stood.

When you asked them for the restitution of the laws which they had superseded, what was their answer? Why, that they conceived, with all due submission, that you were a pack of fools, and knaves, and asses, and did not know what was good for yourselves; and that consequently it would be a waste of their valuable time, even to talk to you about it. Surely you cannot but be *grateful* for such treatment—"Out, out upon't, 'tis foul."

But this is not all, Gentlemen; you are indebted to your Ministers (I beg pardon), his Majesty's Ministers, for many things, for

which you are, in duty bound, to hold them in everlasting remembrance. They have fettered your right of holding public meetings, and have interdicted private ones, or societies (however harmless their pursuits), unless you choose to hold them under the inquisitorial inspection of themselves, or their officious myrmidons; they have shut up Englishmen in prison, without charging them (on oath) with any offence; they have brought others to trial, upon the evidence of hired witnesses; and, not to enumerate a tithe of their proceedings contrary to the ancient laws, they have suspended the Habeas Corpus! that "eye and soul" of all the laws, without which the rest are mere non-entities.—To give a sort of colour to all this, they have employed wretches the most degraded, to hunt and sift after disaffection, and to lacerate the tortured feelings of hopeless misery—to drive despair to its delirium, and watch if by chance its ebullitions may be construed into a spirit of resistance to authority, to which feeling they have been prompted by these demons, "pleading their devilish counsel," like Satan at the ear of Eve.

And can you rest satisfied with such men for your governors? Will you tamely submit to their misrule? No, you will not! You will proceed fairly as men, and openly as freemen, in every legal manner, whether by petitioning the Regent, or otherwise, to procure their dismissal from his councils for ever. You will no longer suffer those who have amassed princely fortunes from the plunder of the public, and who

resort to every species of oppression to support the falling system, in the ruin of which they are so inextricably involved, to lord it over the honestest part of the community. You will not long allow the rule of such a man as Lord CASTLEREAGH, who has been convicted of selling seats in the Honourable House, which, were it *indeed* honourable, would, long ere this, have expelled him with indignation.

And does *he*, or do *they*, expect to obtain immunity from punishment? Oh! let them not—convince them that the patience of a nation cannot be outraged without signal retribution. Determine not to remain slaves, and you must, you will be free.—Manes of departed Philanthropists, of SIDNEY, of RUSSELL, of HAMPDEN, and the whole army of martyred patriots, speed the wished-for period!

Let us, my fellow-countrymen, no longer labour under the curse of Issachar;* let us all put our shoulders to the wheel, and injustice will fly before the touch of truth, and with it the selfish times,

“When ruffian pride
Usurps the throne of justice, turns the
 pompe
Of public power, the majesty of rule,
The sword, the laurels, and the purple robe,
To slavish empty pageants, to adorn
A tyrant's walk, and glitter in the eyes
Of such as bow the knee.”†

JUSTUS.

August 1, 1817.

P. S. I am fully sensible, and proud to acknowledge, that there are many very excellent men in both Houses of Parliament, in their *present* state; but they will

* Gen. chap. xlvix. ver. 14, 15.

† ARENSIDE.

be among the first to allow the justness of my observations; and for the rest, “let the stricken deer go weep.” *On ne taille point le crayon de la vérité.*

PEACE NO BLESSING.

To Mr. William Hone.

SIR,

PREVIOUS to the opening of the present session of Parliament, a great majority of the nation indulged the hope that more than usual attention would be bestowed by both branches of the legislature to the situation of the country; and that it would evince its justice and wisdom in devising means for at least ameliorating the distress which preyed like a vulture upon the vitals of the community. That such expectations were entertained, the unprecedented number of Petitions for Reform, and for the removal of grievous imposts, &c. are ample proofs; at the same time that universal and unexampled distress prevailed has been *verbally* admitted by the Ministers, and unequivocally testified by the imbecile plans of themselves and partizans to afford some relief: of which the speculative theories of Mr. OWEN, and an eleemosynary grant of a million or two of Exchequer Bills, furnish examples. Of the labours of what is called the *Finance Committee*, who have published half a dozen Reports, little need be said, or little expected, seeing who the Members are that compose the said Committee; which,

according to an account in the *Morning Chronicle*, are 21 in number; of whom 11 represent rotten boroughs, 15 constantly vote with Ministers, and 18 voted for the continuance of the Income Tax, last year.

The wisdom of Parliament has been exemplified in their rejection of a portion of the Petitions presented, and in their mode of treating the complaints, and attending to the prayers, of those they condescended to receive; while the justice of a British senate is recorded in the enactment of laws suspending the rights of Englishmen, and subversive of the Constitution. The present session is on the eve of closing its labours, and posterity will read with astonishment and indignation, that after 25 years of war and privation, which had reduced the country to the brink of pauperism, her legislators were assembled during six months, without duly inquiring into the causes of such distress—without doing one efficient act towards alleviating her sufferings—but allowing themselves to be imposed upon by a desperate faction, which heaps insult and chains upon a people, whose greatest fault consisted in demanding justice. In such a situation, it is natural that the People of England should endeavour to become intimately acquainted with the causes of their misery; and indeed it is the duty of every one to do so.

In pursuing this subject, we should, however, discard the exaggerated, diminished, or distorted speculations which are afforded by adopting any of the optic glasses of political rancour,

and content ourselves with viewing the plain and undisguised fact of universal distress with the naked eye of good sense and benevolence. In doing this, our feelings will be sufficiently wounded, by finding that the present is a calamity more afflicting than any parallel case of distress in the annals of our country. It is true that the visitations of misfortune upon our forefathers were frequent and severe, but then they were transient and partial; while the miseries which have fallen upon the present generation are universal, are rapidly augmenting, and are becoming permanent.

It has been asserted, that when a nation reaches a certain climax of intellectual knowledge, refinement and luxury, with enervating influence, produce a natural decay, beyond the possibility of human wisdom to avert or arrest. This doctrine of fatality, independent of its absurdity, does not apply in any way to the British nation; for, except a few, the habits of Englishmen are undoubtedly far short of the refinement and luxury known and practised in France and Italy; while her intellectual knowledge is equal, if not superior, to that of any other nation in the world: and to which intellectual knowledge may be ascribed that useful mechanical improvement which has eminently exalted her agriculture, and enabled her manufactures to outrival every other nation—a superiority which she would long continue to maintain, were not her energies cramped by a rankling poison pervading the whole political structure, creating a disease, the acuteness

of which has been assuaged by the balsam of political quackery, and the danger of which has long been concealed by the tinsel drapery of false glory—but which nevertheless has been steadily and silently going on to the present crisis. The balsam which assuaged, and the drapery which concealed the disease are torn away together; and its ravages are exposed in a bloated, ulcerous, and emaciated carcase, writhing under a frightful accumulation of suffering, which cannot be absorbed by the ordinary process of the system.

The existence of some radical defect in the policy of our Government has been long indicated by the progressive increase of the poor rates during the last forty years, which increase has been from one million and a half to eight millions:—in the present year, if we include the voluntary contributions, the sum raised for the relief of indigence will probably reach 12 millions. Such a prodigious increase must clearly point out some system at work, which has had the effect of rendering the means of existence uncertain and capricious, by ruining the agriculture and commerce of the country, and thus plunging perhaps a fourth of its population into pauperism.

If we look into the situation of England previous to the American war, we shall find that means of employment in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, were ample even for a redundant population; and we find such employment diffused throughout the kingdom, bearing a just proportion; but an infatuated Ministry, engaged in wicked and

impolitic wars, by pushing the energies of the country to an unprecedented extreme, have destroyed that just proportion, by engaging the attention and labour of an immense number of hands, and thus furnishing a means of support which ceased with the war. That is to say, soldiers, sailors, shipwrights, dock labourers, armourers, and artizans employed in manufactories of war materials, the amount of which has been calculated at not less than 500,000, who existed upon the public expenditure, and who are now discharged, to seek employment which they are unable to find; because, as has been before observed, the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country are almost annihilated.—What is the cause of a depressed agriculture? Taxation.—What is the cause of ruined manufactures? Taxation.—What is the cause of a stagnant commerce? Taxation.—But let us endeavour to prove this.

If a nation be commercial, and not a great maritime power, its usual streams of enterprise and profit are blocked up, and its population decreases during the belligerent ascendancy of its rivals; and therefore its government has not the power of raising supplies by mortgaging its revenue, or by laying on additional taxes to pay the interest of a debt, because it cannot contract one. But if a maritime and commercial nation gains superiority on the seas, its contests with other states are no hindrance to its prosperity during such contests; but, on the contrary, calls forth an energy of trade and commerce, great in proportion as it

has the power of rendering it exclusive: and thus the government of such a state has the power of raising supplies upon an increased revenue, and of imposing taxes in proportion to its wants; because its commerce being exclusive, its manufactures will procure their price, although greatly advanced in consequence of the imposts of its government.

The peace which comes to the nation where industry has lain dormant, and whose government has been incapable of raising supplies upon a population incapable of additional taxation, sets its machine in motion again upon the same principles as previous to the war, and thus will bring its manufactures into the market at their former prices, which is sufficient to ensure a sale. But the peace which comes to a nation that has pushed its energies to an extreme—that is, whose government has established a debt, the interest of which must be paid—where the taxes which have been laid on to meet this demand must be continued—such a nation cannot any longer have a commerce; because the war prices of its manufactures, which must still continue, will be infinitely above the prices of the manufactures of other nations; and consequently such a nation will nowhere find a market for its produce.

Thus we see that the grinding power of taxation is alone the

cause of all our misery. In order to pay the interest upon a debt, the greater part of which was wantonly accumulated for the purpose of crushing the progress of freedom, upwards of forty millions sterling are annually taken from the pockets of the People; and thus are the prices of food and raiment kept to an enormous height—thus is the manufacturer unable to compete with the manufacturer of other nations—and thus is our commerce destroyed. Surely something might have been done, ere this, to remedy these evils, had a virtuous Parliament taken the business into their own hands.

There must be by this time nearly two hundred millions of stock standing in the names of the Sinking-Fund Commissioners—Why is not the nation benefitted by this? Why are we to continue, during such unparalleled sufferings, to pay annually ten millions of taxes to ourselves?—But it is useless to hope for any good from the men who are deaf to the sufferings and wishes of the People—from men whose sole object appears to be the acquirement of unlawful power, for the purpose of crushing that spirit of inquiry which they are well aware must one day hurl them from their mad career.

W. W.

July 8, 1817.

Price Two-Pence.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1817.

[VOL. II.]

MR. O'CONNOR'S NARRATIVE OF HIS *PERSECUTIONS*, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Mr. O'CONNOR'S Seat at Connor Ville, near Bantry Bay—Arrival of the French—His hospitable Reception of the Wexford Militia—Suspected of Treason—Comes to England—Returns to Ireland, and gives Security for the Peace—Arrested at Bandon—Liberated—Arrested again, confined seven Months in a Dungeon, tried for High Treason, on suborned Evidence, acquitted instantly, and protects the Judge from Outrage—Comes to London, is arrested again, sent to Dublin, brought back to London the Day he arrives, sent again to Dublin, in Custody with his Brother, ARTHUR O'CONNOR, who had been acquitted at Maidstone—Refuses Proposals from Government—Execution of BYRNE—Again rejects Proposals, which are accepted by his Brother—His Estate plundered by the Military—Confined in Scotland—Resides in Middlesex, on Conditions—Licensed to go to Ireland—Compelled to sell Connor Ville—Buys Dangan, of Marquis Wellesley, for £40,000—Causes of his Persecution—ARRESTED on being charged with Mail Robbery by a Witch under Sentence of Death—His ADDRESS thereon.

MR. O'CONNOR'S ADDRESS.

FROM a desire to make the People of England acquainted

with Ireland, of which they know worse than nothing, receiving as they do all their accounts through the medium of a description of persons in the constant habit of calumniating that People; and from a wish to give the People of England the means of forming a judgment between the Government of Ireland (during the residence there of Lords CAMDEN and CORNWALLIS) and me; it cannot, especially at this moment, be thought obtrusive in me to lay before a just, but prejudiced public, a faithful narrative of those facts which took place in my particular case, commencing on the 27th of December, 1796, and ending on the 8th of May, 1803; a space of nearly seven years, during the whole of which time, a continued fire of persecution was kept up at me.

CONNOR VILLE, the former place of my residence, is situated about 14 miles from Bantry Bay, where a French fleet made its appearance on the 23d of December, 1796. To oppose a landing of the troops on board this fleet, about 5000 of the Irish Militia had advanced, and occupied the villages about me. For the manner in which my tenants, my friends, and myself, treated these men, I refer to the panegyrics in the Houses of Parliament, in England and Ireland, at the time. We cheered them in their dis-

dress; we administered to their wants, of which they had no ordinary share. On the 27th of December, about 9 o'clock at night, such a hideous night as my remembrance cannot parallel, I was informed that my porters' lodges were full of soldiers, in quest of quarters. I went to them. They were in a sad plight. I found them to be two companies of the Wexford militia, with seven or eight officers. Day or night, rough or smooth, my countrymen were welcome to me.—I had then a large house, well stored. I was in the midst of plenty; full of happiness. I brought all the men to my house. My mind has no register of the time they remained with me, nor what I did for them. My tenants were very good to those with them. My friends (that was, the whole country, far and wide) opened their doors to this native army—let them want for nothing; and even when the terror of invasion had subsided, my tenants and myself presented the poor fellows with the billet-money, to which we were entitled, to buy them shoes and stockings. I did my utmost to make the situation of the officers as comfortable as possible; and this I will say, that I received from all more thanks than were due, and experienced their gratitude far exceeding the obligation. I learned afterwards, that these officers (strangers heretofore to me) had been directed by some agitators to my house, in the expectation of my not admitting them, which was the opinion also of all the officers in that army. I dare say, such of them as live at this day, will acknowledge that they re-

ceived a more hearty welcome at Connor Ville, than at the house of the most "*loyal*" man in Ireland; that is, the man that has the largest pension, or most lucrative sinecure, or post, in the kingdom. Whilst this division of the army was in their cantonments, in my neighbourhood, when the men lost their muskets, bayonets, and ammunition, which frequently happened, they came to me; I had the things restored to them. The soldiers became attached to me. Long, indeed always, before these events, I had been an object of great jealousy and hatred; I had ever been in the habit of committing a crying sin in Ireland. I had borne myself so to all the people, that they were greatly attached to me. I had appointed arbitrators in every parish, through an immense district, who decided all controversies; the occupation of the petty-fogging lawyer was nearly gone; I curbed the vice of drunkenness; I prevented riots; I did all the good I could. It will not, therefore, surprize any person, in the least conversant with the character or complexion of the ruling factions in Ireland, that I was an abomination to them; and when to these vices, in their eyes, the thanks of the poor soldiers were super-added, my crimes were not to be endured, and I became an object of suspicion and distrust.

In this state of things (the French force having long left the coast) a young man, from my neighbourhood, had gone in the beginning of March to see some friends of his at Bantry, where he was arrested for administering the oath of union. On being questioned, he acknowledged

that he had received it *from my steward*, a lad not more than 18 years of age, who was also arrested; and both were conveyed to the prison of Cork, where every means were used to extort confessions from them, to implicate me. They declared, however, that I was the last person to whom they would disclose any thing of the kind. Their honesty and persistence in truth were called treason to their country, and attachment to me; and a Council was called together, in Dublin, at which it was determined, that *I was very dangerous*, and a warrant was issued to arrest me *on suspicion*—the act of Habeas Corpus being at the time suspended. The secret, however, was not well kept. I discovered the plot. I lay down in my own house the night on which I knew that an attempt was to be made to seize on me by a large detachment of horse (attended by Lords, Esquires, and Generals, and the Staff); and before they had marched half a mile from their quarters, I was (at the distance of 12 miles) apprized of their having set out. They made their search for me, and a considerable dépôt of arms, which they were informed were secreted in the lofts and cellars of my house: neither were there, and they marched back. The next day I wrote to the Judge, who was then holding the assizes at Cork, saying, that “if he *would give me assurance of a TRIAL then*, for any thing that *could be alleged against me*, I *would go to him*; otherwise, that *I would not surrender*.” As he was not authorized to give me the assurance I demanded, and as I preferred the liberty of the common air, and the use of my

own limbs, to unlimited imprisonment, I stood out till the latter end of April; when finding my health somewhat hurt from the manner of my living, particularly from damp, I left home, and came to England, on the 27th of April, where I remained till the middle of June, when I received advice from home, that several of my tenants, and others of the poor people, to the amount of 51, had been flung into prison; and that two unhappy men had been *induced* to swear against them. The same packet also contained a proclamation that had been issued by Lord CAMDEN, on the 17th of May before, inviting every person to come in and surrender, and give security for the peace, *on an assurance of being no further questioned*. Very happy at the opportunity this proclamation afforded me, to develope the conspiracy against the people in prison, and to aid them in their defence, I returned to Ireland, surrendered myself at Mallow, to Lord KINSALE and Sir JAMES COTTON, on the faith of the proclamation; and performed the terms required of me, which was to give bail to be of the peace for seven years; of all which I apprized Lord CAMDEN and his secretary, and Mr. PELHAM, now Lord CHICHESTER, the 18th of June. From Mallow I went home, on the 5th of July; and, on the 14th, was arrested by Brigadier General EYRE COOTE, at his camp, *whither he had invited me*. Before he detained me, he looked, for greater certainty, into his orderly book, and there found, as he said, an order, dated the 1st of July, to arrest me. On his having done so, he

was at a loss what to do with me, and attended me to Bandon, where I was to remain till he should hear from Dublin. On the third day of my stay in Bandon, I received a letter from Mr. PELHAM, dated in Dublin, the same day I was arrested at the camp, near Bandon, 180 miles from town, saying, that Lord CAMDEN wished much to see me in Dublin; and that, if I would comply, I might depend upon my person being perfectly safe from arrest; and that I should be permitted to return home immediately. This letter I communicated to Mr. COOTE, who said, that as Government did not know of my arrest at the time Mr. PELHAM wrote, he could not let me go till he received an answer from Dublin to his letter, apprizing the Government of my being in custody. In a few days he received his orders, which were to send a military officer to attend me; and Captain ROCHE and I set out for Dublin. The Captain had a sword, and he had on his sash and gorget. There is a high hill between Bandon and Cork; we alighted from our carriage; it is a place of rendezvous; some 20 or 30 carriers were assembled here; they had not seen me since my return from England. Captain ROCHE first saw his danger; his sword could not defend him; his sash and gorget could not protect him. I perceived the workings of his mind; a look of kindness from me to him would save his life; I superadded a word of esteem. Capt. ROCHE was not molested. We arrived in Cork that evening, where we halted for the night. A man of the city got access to me. Cork is the place of my nativity; I

have friends there: would that every man could say the same where he is best known! I discovered that it was intended to offer violence to Captain ROCHE; I prevented it. *I took him in safety to Dublin.* On our way we called at the camp at Ardfinnan, where the Wexford Militia lay. All the officers requested of Captain ROCHE to tell Lord CAMDEN the services I rendered them, and the thanks they owed me. We arrived in Dublin, and saw Lord CHICHESTER, who liberated me from arrest, and wrote to Mr. COOKE that I was not to be molested again. I returned home, and in the beginning of September I went to the assizes of Cork, for the purpose of defending my tenants against the conspiracy before mentioned. I sent them all to their homes, and prosecuted the witnesses, *who were both transported for perjury, to Botany Bay.*

I now hoped to enjoy with my family that peace which innocence has always a right to expect. I was cruelly deceived. An unsigned, unsworn-to paper, was sent up to the Grand Jury, on the 17th day of the assizes, when two of the Judges had left the county; and *a bill of indictment* was found against me, *for high treason.* On this paper, I was arrested and flung into prison, where, *in a dungeon nine feet square*, filthy beyond description, I lay rotting for seven months, never having felt the influence of the sun, nor been breathed on by the air, during the whole time; at the end of which, I was conveyed from this dungeon to the Court, to go through "a trial," upon charges of every species of *treason and rebellion.* Two wit-

nesses were brought up under a strong military guard. They were sworn. What did they depose? *That they knew nothing of me*; that one of these papers was written without the knowledge of the witnesses; that when it was read to him, he declared it to be false, and refused to swear to it; that he was offered £300. a year to swear to it, and threatened to be instantly shot if he persisted in his refusal, and he did persist. The other witness swore, that what was called his information, was all written down without consulting him; that when he refused to sign it, he was threatened to be hanged; and that, at length, he was prevailed on to put his name to it, on his receiving an assurance that it never was to appear, and that it was only a matter of form. *I was acquitted instantly.* All the people, all the military, expressed their joy; the Judge trembled; he was seen stretching out his imploring arms from the bench to me, in the dock, amongst robbers and murderers; he was heard to cry to me for mercy to protect him; and I did protect him: not a hair of his head was touched. On my being released, I did not return even to my house; I did not even take one day's repose. No; my beloved brother was a prisoner at Maidstone; he is one year younger than I am; we were reared and educated together; never one day or night apart for eighteen years. The thought of him banished every other idea from my mind: I set off to him that very night, and arrived in London in four days, as quickly as I could travel. I wrote to the Duke of PORTLAND for permission to be admitted to my brother; I

received his answer at five o'clock next morning, *by four King's Messengers, with a warrant to arrest me*; and from my bed was I taken to the house of Mr. SYLVESTER, and that evening was I taken off for Ireland. We landed about ten miles from Dublin, at night; I saved Mr. SYLVESTER and the Bow Street Constable, my companion, from a watery grave, and conducted them safe to Dublin, where we arrived at three o'clock in the morning. I now, for the first time since I left London, lay down, and had not been in my bed more than three hours, when Mr. SYLVESTER awaked me, to tell me that another King's Messenger had that moment arrived from the Duke of PORTLAND, *to take me back instantly to London.* This was about seven o'clock in the morning; about twelve, Mr. SYLVESTER informed me, that Mr. COOKE desired to see me at the Castle. Mark the instability of fortune.—Behold O'CONNOR, brought by a constable, to have the liberty of being admitted to the presence of *Mr. EDWARD COOKE!* I did see him; the interview was not of long duration; the conversation was not of many words; but it is important. I asked him the meaning of these proceedings; what post-haste treason I had committed in the four days that I travelled from Cork to London, above 400 miles. Hear his answer—"We do not pretend to have any charge against you; but we know your power, and suspect your inclination; had my advice been taken, you should not have been brought to trial in Cork. My opinion was, that you should have been kept in confinement under the

"suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; and it now appears I was right." Well, that afternoon, about two o'clock, I was obliged to set off back again towards London, where we arrived on the fourth morning, having been forced to perform journeys of nearly 1200 miles, and across the Irish Sea three times, in thirteen days and nights; during the whole of which time, I never was permitted to take off my clothes, nor to lay down *for more than seven hours!* I was kept in custody at the house of Mr. SYLVESTER, till my brother's acquittal at Maidstone, when we were both taken to Dublin, where we were lodged in the same prison room, on the 2d of June, 1798. In July, a special commission was opened in Dublin, for the trial of all those against whom any charges had been exhibited; amongst whom neither my brother nor I were. Three had been executed. Mr. BYRNE, a relation of the Marchioness of BUCKINGHAM, was condemned, and was to be executed on the 24th of July. On Sunday, the 22d, some *negociation* was set on foot, in a way never yet ascertained, between the Government and some of the state prisoners in Dublin, of which it appears that neither my brother nor I had any intimation till Tuesday, when Mr. DOBBS and the Sheriff of Dublin entered our apartment, and showed us a paper, purporting to be an acquiescence, on the part of seventy-three of the prisoners, to give information of any arms, ammunition, and plans of warfare; and to emigrate, on condition of a general amnesty; and of pardon for Mr. BYRNE, who was to die that day; and for

Mr. OLIVER BOND, who was at that moment on his trial, *if he SHOULD be condemned.* My brother and I declined entering into any agreement. Mr. BYRNE was ordered for instant execution, which instantly took place; Mr. BOND was to die on the Friday. We heard no more of the paper till Thursday evening, late; when the same Mr. DOBBS, accompanied by Mr. SAMUEL NELSON, one of the prisoners from another of the prisons, came to that where my brother and I lay. All the prisoners were called together; Mr. DOBBS produced a letter he had just received from Mr. COOKE, stating, "that if my brother and I would enter into a treaty with the Government, by which we should engage to give every information in our power of all matters relating to the rebellion, and particularly our relations with *foreign states*, there should be a general amnesty, Mr. BOND should be pardoned, and we should be permitted to emigrate to any country, not at war with England; but that if we persisted in our refusal, military commissions should be issued in the north, for the trial of the prisoners there, the *Courts should proceed in Dublin*, and the yeomanry should remain *on active duty!*" We both refused. We said, *if there are any charges against us*, proceed upon them. Why proceed against others, because we will not enter into any negociation? We went to our own room, whither Mr. DOBBS presently came. He represented to us the dreadful scenes of slaughter and devastation that would follow close upon our declaration. It

appears that my brother was influenced by these considerations, and to save an unarmed people, he consented to sacrifice himself; but I heard these such proposals and threats with a very different ear. My answer was, *that I set at defiance all their machinations; that I was ready to meet any charge that could be brought against me; but that I never would enter into any agreement with the Castle of Dublin during my life. Nothing now was left unattempted to induce me by very fair promises, or to intimidate me by the most alarming threats, to sign this agreement. All were unavailing. At length Mr. MARSDEN came, as if secretly and as a friend, to let me know what, by chance, he had heard at the Castle. That it was determined to seize my estate, if I did not comply.—My answer was, that I was prepared against every thing; that I was absolute never to comply. In consequence of which, orders were despatched to the officer commanding at Bandon, to send detachments of horse and foot to take possession of my house, which they did, to the amount of between 2 and 300 men; they expelled four of my infant children, and my servants; the officers broke open my cellars, and drank all my wine; they ordered the men to kill my sheep and oxen, on which the whole party subsisted; they converted my iron gates into shoes for their horses; they made firing of windows, doors, and frames of the house and offices; burned all my farming utensils; destroyed my gardens and the wall trees, the hot-house, green-house, and all the plants; turned all their horses out into young plantations,*

which were all ruined; stole every thing moveable; and committed every species of devastation for eight or nine weeks that they remained there; for which I never received one penny as remuneration, from that day to this. After this visitation, it was again demanded of me to sign the paper. My answer was always the same. Still was I kept a prisoner; and when those who had entered into the agreement were sent to Scotland, I was forced by Justice ATKINSON and a company of Buckinghamshire Militia, at the very point of the bayonet, into a coach, conveyed on board a tender, and conducted to Fort George, in which military garrison I was kept for a year and ten months, where, by the lenient treatment I received, I lost the use of my limbs, and was reduced to the very verge of life; at the end of which time I was brought to London, and LET GO on the 24th of January, 1801, upon a dreadful recognizance to some immense amount, *not to return to Ireland*, and to reside in such part of England as the King of England should from time to time appoint (and Middlesex was named) during the then war. I took a house at Southgate, in Middlesex, where I resided for half a year; but having no land there, I looked out for a place with land, to occupy my time. I found one to suit me at Elstree. As I was a stranger, and as the rent amounted to £500. a year, I applied to my old friend and companion, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, who immediately became my security. There I lived for one year, when the treaty of Amiens taking place, I was desirous of returning to my own country,

and applied to Sir RICHARD FORD, the Magistrate, before whom I acknowledged the recognizance, to get it up. *In vain.* After many fruitless efforts, he at length informed me, that it was determined *never* to give it up, as long as *I retained the power of living in the South of Ireland.* I judged it better to part with CONNOR VILLE than be shut out from my country. I got A LICENCE to go to Ireland, and, on the 1st of May, 1803, I let a *lease for ever of the place of my earliest days.* Whereupon, I got up my recognizance immediately. I purchased, for forty thousand pounds, *from Lord WELLESLEY,* the castle and estate of Dangan, within a few miles of Dublin, where I have resided with my family ever since, coming over occasionally to visit Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, and a few other friends in England, where, *though I have estates,* I have never been known, directly or indirectly, to interfere with any concerns of the country. I never attended a public meeting or a public dinner; though I have many friends, I seldom associate with any one but Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and his family. My fortune is ample; and neither I nor any one of my family ever eat one morsel *that was not produced from our own estates.* We never received any of the People's money in the shape of pensions and places, nor was any man's meat or comforts ever diminished by one of us. Surely, then, I must be *a most disloyal traitor!* In fine, many, very many, of the People of Ireland love me; the Militia was attached to me. I surrendered on the solemn faith of a proclamation, which faith, towards me, was broken;

I protected Capt. ROCHE; I defended the Judge; I saved Mr. SYLVESTER and the Bow Street Constable. There is no kind of place that has not been my prison; my own house, camps, guard-houses, taverns and hotels, castles, wherries, packet-boats, messengers' houses, court-houses, bridewells, state prisons (as they are called), tenders, garrisons, palaces; and, as a prisoner, have I been travelled about from my own house in the south, to Carrickfergus, in the north of Ireland; from the western extremity of Wales, to Maidstone, nearly the eastern extremity of England; from Dublin to Fort St. George, in Scotland, within forty miles of John O'Grot's house, to London. In mail-coaches, hackney-coaches, post-carriages, and carts; on foot, and on horseback: and all because (for I know of no other cause) that, ten years before the French Revolution, I saw the absolute necessity of a *Reform in the Commons in Ireland,* which was acknowledged afterwards by the factions of England and Ireland; and because I would not consent to a legislative Union, which I regarded as equally ruinous to both parts of the kingdom.

On the whole, then, let the People of England, *now that they are in possession of their sober senses,* decide between my accusers and me, whether the laws were infringed by ME, who have gone through every ordeal; who have always courted investigation and inquiry; who for years NEVER CEASED TO DEMAND TRIAL; or by THEM, who sought the protection of a BILL OF INDEMNITY, passed by an assembly, of which they themselves made a part.

This narrative of facts is by Mr. O'CONNOR himself. The last attempt upon his character and life I will endeavour to place before the reader as plainly as possible, beginning with the announcement of it in the *Cork Advertiser*.

"Last Tuesday, April 22, ROGER O'CONNOR, Esq. was apprehended at *Palace Anne*, near Bandon, and is now in custody in Cork, on a charge of having been *an accomplice in the robbery of the Galway mail-coach*, in the year 1812, when it was attacked at Cappagh-hill, county of Kildare, and robbed of a considerable sum in *Bank post-bills*, and a *gold repeating watch*, the property of Mr. PEARCE, of Loughrea. It appears that the Magistrates of the head police-office, Dublin, *having received information* of Mr. O'CONNOR, and his son, ARTHUR O'CONNOR, having been concerned in the above robbery, despatched Mr. ROBERT GILBERT, a peace-officer in their employment, with warrants for the apprehension of both these gentlemen; and the warrants having been duly backed by the Mayor of Cork, Mr. GILBERT proceeded, in the first instance, to Fort Robert, in this county, where he arrested the son, who was confined by severe illness to his bed. Being authorised by a search-warrant, he *made a search* at Fort Robert, and found a pawnbroker's ticket for a *gold repeating watch*, which had been pawned in this city by the son, *under a fictitious name*; which watch is now in Mr. GILBERT's possession. There is yet, however, no proof of its being the same as that which was taken at the robbery of the Galway mail-coach. Mr. G. then

"proceeded to Palace Anne; and arrested the father. On their arrival in this city, bail was tendered to the Mayor, for Mr. O'CONNOR's appearance to answer the charge, but refused, on the ground of its not being legally bailable. A Magistrate of this county having guaranteed the appearance of Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR, when called on, and his state of health not permitting his removal with safety, he was suffered to remain for the present at Fort Robert. In the warrants for the arrest of those gentlemen, Mr. COLLIS, of this city, whose activity as a peace-officer is well known to the Magistrates of the head office, Dublin, was named, in conjunction with Mr. GILBERT, as a special bailiff, and assisted in their execution."

This paragraph, coupling the simple fact of Mr. O'CONNOR's arrest with the circumstances of finding the gold watch pawned in a fictitious name, and the thief-takers' reporter's compliment to the thief-takers, show the colour that was attempted to be given to the affair in its earliest stage.

Mr. O'CONNOR being in custody, immediately published the following

ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

Malignity towards me has arrived at the height. I am charged with assisting in murder and robbery, together with one of my dear children, at the time a schoolboy of 16 years of age, after a lapse of nearly five years. To attempt to develope this horrible conspiracy against me, is not at this moment within my

power; for the present, I have to request of my numerous and faithful friends to rest perfectly assured that I am actually possessed of the honour and integrity for which I trust they have valued me. Whilst I take the liberty of recommending to those who, from motives peculiar to themselves and their present interests, are adverse to me, to practise what they pretend to admire; to withhold their judgment till the facts are before them; and then, if my reputation does not pass through this to me new ordeal of moral turpitude, let my name and memory be consigned to that infamy which ought and ever must attach to crime and baseness. Misfortunes have long been familiar to me, Since the 4th of February, 1794 there has been no relaxation of persecution against me, in one shape or another; and though to the superficial observer it may appear that what is called *politics* can have no concern in this conspiracy, the more accurate investigator will clearly discover it to have originated from nothing else.

I defy the whole world, in truth, to breathe a taint upon my name and character. I have ever considered both as my best inheritance, which I had hoped would, and which, with the blessing of the Omnipotent, will descend unspotted to my children.

I am, with every sentiment of respect, and affection, and esteem,

Your faithful

O'CONNOR.

Cork, April 23, 1817.

It was intended to take Mr. O'CONNOR to Dublin by the Cork mid-day mail of Saturday, April 26, under a military escort; but it happened that Mr. Peace-Officer

GILBERT found Mr. O'CONNOR so little inclined to attempt an escape, and so willing to accompany him, that Mr. O'CONNOR left Cork with his peace-officer the day before. The next day (Saturday) the guard of dragoons, according to their orders, proceed to escort the coach in which Mr. O'CONNOR was *not*, and actually kept the passengers close prisoners until within two stages of Dublin, when the mistake having been explained, the passengers were set at liberty, and the military withdrew. On Monday, the 28th, Mr. O'CONNOR underwent a private examination at the head police-office in Dublin, where he had remained in custody; and on Tuesday, the 29th, the Court of King's Bench granted a Habeas Corpus to bring Mr. O'CONNOR into Court, with copies of the informations on which he was arrested.

Accordingly, on the 1st of May, Mr. O'CONNOR appeared in the Court of King's Bench, in custody of GILBERT and LYNCH, peace-officers; and in a short time afterwards, the Lord *Chief Justice*, and Mr. Justices DAY, DALY, and OSBORNE, took their seats on the Bench.

Mr. ROLLESTON rose in Mr. O'CONNOR's behalf, to move that the return be read. It stated that he was apprehended under the warrant of FREDERIC DARLEY, Esq., backed by EDWARD ALLEN, Esq., of Cork; which warrant stated that he had received information, on oath, that ROGER O'CONNOR and ARTHUR O'CONNOR were aiding, abetting, and assisting, in robbing the Galway mail-coach, at Cappagh-hill, in the county of Kildare, on the 2d of October, 1812; and

that on the 26th of April, the said ROGER O'CONNOR was brought to the head police-office in custody, where he has since remained for examination; and that he has been detained there, at his own request, in preference to being sent to Newgate.

Mr. McNALLY.—I believe, my Lords, unless I am under a very great mistake, it does not state that he is charged with feloniously robbing.

CHIEF JUSTICE.—It does not state so. We have read the informations carefully, and we do not think ourselves warranted in admitting him to bail.

Mr. O'CONNOR now rose, and addressed the Bench at very considerable length. He said, he felt himself impressed with the idea of the impossibility of his leaving the Court with justice to his feelings, without addressing a few words to their Lordships: there were many in Court, who, perhaps, were not aware that the charge now brought against him took place nearly five years back, and that the robbery was committed nine miles from his house; and he wished it should be known how he has since acted. The officers of the Post-office, who carry on the prosecution, are aware that the mail bags were found in his demesne, and that he brought them up to his house, where they remained from an early hour in the morning, until late in the evening; that he wrote to Mr. LEES, of the Post-office, stating the circumstance; and that he also gave information to the Postmaster, at Summerhill, for which he received Mr. LEES' thanks. He went down to the county Cork on law business, on a commission issued

by the Court of Exchequer, for the examination of witnesses, where he was arrested on this charge:—he most solemnly protested his innocence, and declared it was an abominable conspiracy against his character, his property, and his life. He called upon GILBERT, the peace-officer who arrested him, and who then sat next him, to say whether he could have kept him a prisoner, but for his (Mr. O'CONNOR's) interference with the country people, who collected to the number of at least one thousand persons, to rescue him, and who only dispersed at his entreaties. Mr. O'CONNOR called upon him to say whether he and the peace-officer from Cork did not proceed along the road, the night being extremely dark, upwards of two miles a-head of him; and whether he did not follow them into Cork, accompanied by a friend. He was not, he said, in duress, while he was in Cork, and might have gone wherever he pleased. *For upwards of twenty years he had been the victim of unmerited persecution*—he had never flinched from his enemies, nor would he now—he came determined to meet the charge, which he again declared was an atrocious conspiracy. *Since the year 1797, he had been persecuted, because he refused an earldom from the Earl of CHICHESTER*; he appealed to their Lordships, and to all who heard him, whether it was probable that a man of his property, education, and habits, would associate with a lawless banditti, composed of robbers and murderers—his heart revolted at the idea. He had nine children, whom he adored; and he implored their Lordships not to lend them-

selves to such an abominable conspiracy: he had reason to believe that the informations were given by a man of the name of OWENS, *now under sentence of death for felony*. Many falsehoods and misrepresentations had gone abroad, but he with confidence appealed to Mr. Serjeant JEBB (*Counsel for the prosecution*), then in Court, whether he did not refuse to give OWENS a character, when he had reason to suspect his being guilty of atrocities. Mr. O'CONNOR again declared his innocence, and his readiness to meet the charge; and entreated their Lordships to admit him to bail, which he was ready to give to any amount whatever.

The Court refusing to admit Mr. O'CONNOR to bail, committed him to Newgate; and he published the following

ADDRESS.

It is not possible that I could silently submit to the gross insult offered to me—this savage assault upon my reputation. Permit me to offer to all who have manifested an attachment to me thanks, bearing some semblance to their friendship; to request of every description of people to regulate themselves with propriety; refraining from the fabrication and dissemination of falsehoods, awaiting a proper time for forming an accurate judgment. There is no one instance in which fame has been busy with my character in this transaction, that she has not already been detected in falsehood, to the disgrace of her associates—not to their shame; alas! of shame they have no idea! From the day of the robbery in question, I did my utmost to discover the perpetrators; I

recovered the wreck of my property, and acted in the only manner in which upon any occasion I am capable, as a gentleman and an honest man. I went to the assizes at Naas, on the first investigation of the business; whispers were presently afloat—I could not shut my ears, though I smiled at the vile reports I heard of tales of infamous wretches who dared to make use of my name. I ordered my gates to be closed against them. Four years and a half elapse; a wretch is detected in a highway-robbery—a monster, by his own confession stained with guilt of the blackest hue. He is condemned to die on the 29th of March; he exhibits symptoms of a desire to cling to life—life of which he had often deprived the peaceful and the industrious, leaving widows and orphans to bewail their heavy loss. Thrice he is reprieved, on offering to make disclosures; much of his enormities on the two first occasions he discovers; *to save his life*, he gives information against O'CONNOR! A highwayman by profession, a murderer by trade, makes no scruple of adding perjury to his crimes!—at length he introduces my name.

Immediately my house, and my son's house, are surrounded with troops, and ransacked—then pour forth falsehoods of the most scandalous description, of arms, watches, and bank-bills, taken out of the identical mail, being found under our roofs. In a short time the truth appears, that I had neither arms, watches, nor bank-bills! Had I any or all of them, what then? I should be possessed of them, or any other property, as I ought to be pos-

sessed. Next a report is spread, that I fled to avoid being arrested. What is the fact? My eldest son and I left home, on Sunday, the 13th of April, fifteen days after it had been publicly known all over my neighbourhood, that the condemned monster had prolonged his existence by making disclosures. We came to Dublin, dined, and lay at the hotel I have frequented these twelve years; my son returned home; I walked about the town the whole of the day; and, to mark even so trifling an incident, I did, by chance (contrary to my usual custom), take my seat in the Cork mail, on the evening of Monday, the 14th of April, in my own name.

"There is a Providence doth shape our ends,
Rough hew them how we will."

I arrived in Cork on the next night, remained there until Friday morning, publicly transacting business, when I rode to my brother's house, 20 miles distance; and on Tuesday morning, having engaged myself to spend the day with my relation, Mr. BERNARD, I was arrested at his house, by a peace-officer from Dublin, on a charge of aiding, abetting, and assisting, in robbing a mail-coach, in October, 1812. The man asked me if I had a gold repeating watch. I replied, *I had not then* any watch, but that I had given a gold repeater to my son ARTHUR last May, on his leaving Dangan to reside in Munster; upon which the police-officer exclaimed, that my son had *denied having any watch*. Mr. BERNARD, Captain WHITE, the police-man, and I, rode back to my brother's house, where my son lay ill in bed; I

asked him what had become of the watch I had given him? He replied, "I pawned it in Cork, father, for a few pounds, being in want of money."

A paper is produced by my son, by which it appeared, that he had called himself BROWN, not wishing to give his own name at the pawnbroker's. One would think little explanation was necessary for a gold watch being in the possession of one of my family; but it seems things are come to that pass. I told Captain WHITE how I came by that watch, and it was I who gave it to my son. I came out to take horse (and now for the principal feature of this and every other conspiracy—this being *the first against my character,—the tenth against my life, within the last twenty-four years*), the place was full of men determined to oppose my removal: what was my conduct? I told them the first man that stirred made me his enemy for life. Does this savour of fear?—does this argue consciousness of guilt, or of integrity?—Charged with a highway robbery, in custody of a single constable, *I ride through my own country, thronged with a population that adored me*. This is my crime,—this the genuine source of all the plots and conspiracies formed against my life and character.

We arrived in Cork at night; for the last 12 miles I was accompanied by a near and dear relation, at whose house we dined on the road; he rode with me in the rear of Captain WHITE, and the peace-officers, who were not in sight. Did I evade?—not for worlds! In Cork, Captain WHITE took me to his hospitable house, where I remained in his

family, my near relations, until Friday. What—who was to restrain me? My character, my honour, my fearless integrity. Let political nonsense distract, divide, torment; let the people of Cork pursue their notions or their interests as they may, and affect to hold opinions different from their ideas of mine; yet it would be no easy matter to persuade any man or woman in Cork that I could do a dishonourable, mean, or unbecoming act. On Friday I stepped into the mail, and came to Dublin; you are acquainted with the subsequent transactions, through the medium of the public prints. That public opinion has stamped its mark of reprobation upon this foul conspiracy, and that I have felt the warmth of true friends since this shaft has been aimed at me, are circumstances most consolatory; whilst the attachment of an individual, whose retiring modesty has not yet suffered me to hold up his name to general admiration, has enabled me to defeat one branch of disorder, by relieving my property from restraint, and, under the present circumstances, from sale and dispersion. That the extensive lonesome woods of Dangan (seldom entered by me) have been the scene of much infamy, I make no doubt—that the lower classes in that neighbourhood had the reputation, long before I ever saw the place, and long since, of being of the very worst description of the human race, and that such was my invariable opinion of them, is a well-known fact—and that I am the last man upon earth that any of them would have their unlawful practices known to, is equally a fact, and

equally well known. But that I should have a fellowship—that I should taint my pride by coming within the foul breath of such vermin—if any man could harbour such a thought, I must say he has a base heart, and a most extraordinary head.

As I know it will be a satisfaction to my friends, I take this opportunity of informing them, that I have not been in such good health these twenty years, and that I have not been treated in this prison with insult or indignity. I conjure them to rest perfectly satisfied, that though the consequences of this hideous conspiracy may prove very prejudicial to me and to my family, I set at defiance all the arts, all the machinations of the conspirators—*my name is not liable to fear, because my life has been free from self-reproach*. If I may be permitted to use the expression, I may indeed say with truth, that having during my life rendered to every one all the kindness within my power, and never done an act of unkindness to any one, I have suffered persecution under which few men would not have sunk; through all which I have been sustained by the most potent of all allies—a *good conscience*! Easy of access, I have never denied my aid or protection to the unfortunate; but in the time we live—

“Our virtues are holy traitors to us!”

Wishing charity to my numerous enemies, health and happiness to my more numerous friends, I am,

O'CONNOR.

Newgate, May 7, 1817.

In the same spirit which animated Mr. O'CONNOR to acquaint the People of England with his

former sufferings, he has continued to address the public on their continuation. I lay his sentiments before the reader, that he may judge of the man who has just been *acquitted* of the charges brought against him by the wretch OWENS, who, steeped in crime, and at the point of execution, would have sworn informations against an unborn babe, to save his own neck; and who, before he could be allowed to take an oath, as a witness against Mr. O'CONNOR, received a free pardon.

This persecuted gentleman has endured a series of cruel oppressions, which seem to be endless; and, inasmuch as they are unmerited, and originated in English policy, Englishmen ought to blush for their country. The late Dr. LAURENCE, the bosom intimate of Mr. BURKE, who was also his executor, the editor of his works, and the confidential friend of many of the most leading characters in the PITT administration, testified his regret at the treatment of Mr. O'CONNOR by the creatures of that administration, and affirmed of him, that he was an excellent and ill-used man, the victim of other men's vices and errors. I well recollect the first time I heard of Mr. O'CONNOR being in this country. I shall never forget it, because it was attended by an unasked, an unexpected testimony of respect to his virtues. I was going by the stage to St. Albans, and the coach stopping at an inn on the Barnet road, a youth asked the coachman, if he had a parcel for Mr. O'CONNOR. I passed into the inn, musing on the

name; certain saddened feelings arose at the recollection of it. The young man followed soon after, with the parcel. I observed to him, as he stood in the passage, "O'CONNOR is not a common name in England." "No, sir," said he; "nor in Ireland—the gentleman this is for, is not a little man in his own country." "Does he live in this neighbourhood?" "Hard by, sir; I came over to meet the coach, expecting this parcel; but Mr. O'CONNOR is from Ireland—Mr. ROGER O'CONNOR?" "The brother of Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR?" "The same, sir." The young man related that Government had lately released Mr. ROGER O'CONNOR from Fort St. George, in Scotland, and permitted him to reside in the neighbourhood; "but *it's only on good behaviour*, sir," he continued; "though I think it's impossible for Mr. O'CONNOR to be a bad man any where. He is a *good* man, sir. He is *too* good a man to do any thing bad. I know nothing about politics, but I am sure Mr. O'CONNOR can do nothing bad. I have lived with him some time, and see a good deal of him. He is a kind man, with a good heart. I would sooner believe that I was the most wicked monster living, than that Mr. O'CONNOR could do a bad thing, or ask any body about him to do what's bad. I think he must be loved like an angel in Ireland, among his own people."—"I never heard any harm of Mr. O'CONNOR."—"I see you don't know him, sir; any gentleman might be proud to know Mr. O'CONNOR; but he lives

"very much by himself; and perhaps it's best. He is too good a man to be too much amongst the great; and he is a persecuted man, because they who are worse than he is, suppose he can never forgive injuries. I wish you knew him, sir."—This was told me very calmly by the young man; I found he spoke from no mercenary considerations, and I had said nothing to excite him to enthusiasm; I was a stranger to him, and the coach being ready to start, there ended our conversation. But I shall never forget it. The youth was intelligent, and we were both at a period of life, when the heart in its purity pays homage to virtue. I admired him for his spontaneous tribute of respect to his master; and from that moment entertained kind sentiments for Mr. ROGER O'CONNOR, which his subsequent conduct has in no instance falsified. About seven years afterwards, I think in the year 1808, I saw and spoke to Mr. O'CONNOR for the first time, when the interview with his servant came fresh into my mind. I found him a plain man, of plain speech, and as people say, as plain as a pike-staff. His habits have partaken somewhat of solemnity, perhaps from his much endurance of wrong; but every one who knows him speaks of his mind and character with esteem and affection. And yet this gentleman, too distinguished for honour and bravery to be forgotten or forgiven,

was desired to leave his country—was offered his life upon condition of living any where but in his native land. The very offer carried with it a threat, that, if he remained, his life would be in danger. But a truly courageous man does not know what fear is, when he is desired to be afraid by those who wish him to be afraid. Then it is that real courage rouses itself, and setting danger at defiance, prepares for the conflict, by drawing the sword and throwing away the scabbard. He who preserves his liberty and life by running away, has no claim to courage. A man may save each in fifty ways, but neither are worth having without honour and self-esteem, and the respect of the few who possess both. Thinking in this way, Mr. O'CONNOR rejected the overtures made to him with disdain. He seemed to have before him the solemn injunction of Mr. HORNE TOOKE. "Be moderate and firm," said Mr. TOOKE; "be moderate and firm.—If we can do no better for our country, *let our carcasses at least manure the soil that fed us.* Our ancestors in the last century, who fled from slavery, loved liberty *well*; but they who staid, and, by their sufferings and exertions, vindicated and established it, loved liberty *better*, and deserved better of posterity."

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,

August 13, 1817.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 5.]

SATURDAY, AUGUST 23, 1817.

[VOL. II.]

LET US ALONE, MR. OWEN!

ROBERT OWEN, Esq. a Benevolent Cotton-Spinner, and a Justice of Peace, takes a *NEW VIEW OF SOCIETY*, and imagines Men Cabbage-Plants—His Birth, Parentage, and Behaviour, until 46 Years of Age—He ably states the Evils of Society—"Change Places; and, handy-dandy, which is the Justice? and which is the Thief?"—An Alternative; Starve or Hang!—Mr. OWEN'S bad PLAN—Public Meeting to consider it—Mr. WOOLER'S excellent Speech, at length—Mr. WAITHMAN'S Sentiments—One Hundred Millions wanting for the Plan—The Principle of POPULATION stated—Thousand Acre Island—BROTHERS and KANT—Mr. OWEN'S Feet on the Earth, and his Head above the Stars, taking a New View of Society—We are over-legislated for—LET US ALONE—His Plan of a Community of Goods leads to a frightful Equality—to National Pauperism—and REVOLUTION!

ROBERT OWEN, Esq., a benevolent cotton-spinner, and one of His Majesty's Justices of the

Peace for the county of Lanark, having seen the world, and afterwards cast his eye over his very well-regulated manufactory in the said county, imagines he has taken a *New View of Society*, and conceives that all human beings are so many plants, which have been out of the earth for a few thousand years, and require to be re-set. He accordingly determines to dibble them in squares, after a new fashion; to hoe and water them himself; and to make due provision for removing the *off-sets*.

The reader shall determine if this is not a tolerably fair sketch of this gentleman's *Plan*, taken after his own method, without ceremony; for, of all men alive, Mr. OWEN is a personage of the least ceremony. For instance, on Friday, the 25th of July last, Mr. OWEN saw in Newgate, a boy only 16 years of age, double ironed; whereupon Mr. OWEN affirmed, that if a system of coercion and punishment be rational and necessary, "my Lord SIDMOUTH, "ought rather to have been double "ironed, and in the place of the "boy!"* I concur with the Justice of the Peace for the county of Lanark; and as soon as the Noble Secretary can be safely and legally double ironed, I really see no objection to his Lordship's being accommodated

* Times, 30th July.

with the opportunity of leisurely admiring *the New View of Society* and the view of the *Surry Hills* at the same time. Mr. OWEN will have no right to complain on the score of courtesy, if I use him with as little ceremony as he has used the Noble Lord. I give Mr. OWEN credit for possessing, and believe him to possess, mild and amiable dispositions in as ample degree as he says Lord SIDMOUTH does; but these are not the only qualities requisite in an individual who erects himself into a statesman and legislator for all mankind. A good-natured man is proverbially a great many removes from a wise man; and a *very* good-natured man is the last man whom we ask advice from in situations of difficulty. If he bustles into our company, and thrusts it upon us, whether we will or not, he may wonder that he is not attended to; and if he persists in his attempts, we must get rid of him as well as we can, and let him wonder on.

Mr. OWEN, the author of the *New View of Society*, gives the following account of himself:—

“I was born in Newtown, Montgomeryshire: left it, and came to London when about ten years of age; soon after went to Mr. JAMES M'GUFFOG, of Stamford, in Lincolnshire, where I remained upwards of three years; returned to town, and was a short time with Messrs. FLINT and PALMER, London Bridge. I went afterwards to Manchester, and was some time with Mr. JOHN SATTERSFIELD, whom I left while yet a boy, to commence business on a limited scale, in

“making machinery and spinning cotton, part of the time in partnership with Mr. JONES, and part on my own account; afterwards I undertook to manage the spinning establishments of the late Mr. DRINKWATER, of Manchester, at the latter place, and at Norwich, in Cheshire, in which occupation I remained three or four years. I then formed a partnership to carry on a cotton-spinning business with Messrs. MOULSON and SCARTH, of Manchester; built the Chorlton Mills, and commenced a new firm, under the designation of the Chorlton Twist Company, along with Messrs. BORRADAILE and ATKINSON, of London, and Messrs. H. and J. BARTON, and Co. of Manchester. Some time afterwards we purchased the mills and establishments at New Larnark, where I have been before the public for eighteen years past; and I am now forty-six years old.”

In 1813, when, according to my calculation, Mr. OWEN was forty-two years old, he published his *New View of Society*,* dedicated to Mr. WILBERFORCE. In this work Mr. OWEN very ably pictures some of the evils of society in its present state, and this is the most valuable part of his book. For instance:—he inquires

“How much longer shall we continue to allow generation after generation to be taught crime from their infancy, and, when so taught, hunt them like beasts of the forest, until they are entangled beyond escape in the toils and nets of the law? when, if the circumstances from youth of those poor

* 8vo. Cadell and Davies, and Murray,

unpitied sufferers had been reversed with those who are even surrounded with the pomp and dignity of justice, these latter would have been at the bar of the culprit, and the former would have been in the judgment seat.

“Had the present Judges of these realms, whose conduct compels the admiration of surrounding states, been born and educated in St. Giles’s, or some similar situation, is it not reasonable to conclude, as they possess native energies and abilities, that ere this they would have been at the head of their *then* profession; and, in consequence of that superiority and proficiency, have already suffered imprisonment, transportation, or death? Or can we for a moment hesitate to decide, that if some of those men whom our laws, dispensed by the present Judges, have doomed to suffer capital punishments, had been born, trained, and surrounded as these Judges were born, trained, and surrounded; that *some of those so imprisoned, transported, or hanged, would have been the identical individuals who would have passed the same awful sentences on our present highly esteemed dignitaries of the law?*”

Again, on the deficiency of employment, he truly states that—

“After an extended and anxious endeavour to procure employment, the applicant often returns unsuccessful; he cannot, by his most strenuous exertions, procure an honest and independent existence: therefore, with intentions perhaps as good, and a mind as capable of great and benevolent actions as the re-

mainder of his fellow men, he has no other resources left but to starve; apply to his parish for relief, and thus suffer the greatest degradation; or rely on his own native exertions, and, to supply himself and family with bread, resort to what are termed dishonest means.

“Some minds thus circumstanced are so delicately formed, that they will not accept the one, or adopt the other of the two latter modes to sustain life, and in consequence, *they actually starve.* These, however, it may be supposed, are not very numerous. But the number is undoubtedly large of those whose health is ruined by bad and insufficient food, clothing, and shelter; who contract lingering diseases, and suffer premature death, the effect of partial starvation.

“The most ignorant and least enterprising of them apply to the parish for support; soon lose the desire of exertion; become permanently dependant; conscious of their degradation in society; and henceforward, with their offspring, remain a burden and grievous evil to the state; while those among this class who yet possess strength and energy of body and mind, with some undestroyed powers of reasoning, perceive, in part, *the glaring errors and injustice of society towards themselves and their fellow sufferers.*

“Can it then create surprize that feelings like those described should force human nature to endeavour to retaliate?

“Multitudes of our fellow men are so goaded by these reflections and circumstances, as to be

urged, even while incessantly and closely pursued by legal death, almost without a chance of escape, to resist those laws under which they suffer; and *thus the private depredator on society is formed, fostered, and matured.*

“Shall we then longer withhold national instruction from our fellow men, who, it has been shown, *might easily be trained to be industrious, intelligent, virtuous, and valuable members of the state?*”

At the latter end of last month, Mr. OWEN issued an advertisement of a Public Meeting, to consider his *New View*, in the following terms:—

“A PUBLIC MEETING to be held at the CITY OF LONDON TAVERN, on Thursday, the 14th of August; when those interested in the subject will consider a PLAN to relieve the Country from its present distress, to re-moralize the Lower Orders, reduce the Poor's-rate, and gradually abolish Pauperism, with all its degrading and injurious consequences.”

On the day of the Meeting, the great room of the City of London Tavern was filled; Mr. ROWCROFT took the Chair, and Mr. OWEN proposed, amongst others, the following

RESOLUTIONS.

1. *That many of the poor and working classes, in Great Britain and Ireland, cannot now procure employment to enable them to earn a proper subsistence.*

2. *That in Great Britain and Ireland, the poor, the unemployed, and the inefficiently employed, are now supported at a ruinous expense to many parishes, and by*

extensive and injurious private charities.

3. *That under these circumstances, the poor and working classes generally experience privations and distress to a greater extent, probably, than they have suffered at any former period in the history of this country.*

4. *That this arises from manual labour being of less value now, compared with the price of provisions, than it has been at any former known period.*

5. *That it is not probable manual labour can regain its proper and necessary value, under circumstances beneficial to the country, unless other arrangements shall be formed by society, purposely devised to give productive employment to all who are competent and willing to labour.*

The above were the only resolutions that were discussed in the course of five hours; and the names of the Noblemen and Gentlemen to be invited to form a Committee of General Investigation were then read: among them were—

The Archbishops of England and Ireland, His Majesty's Ministers, the Judges of the Realm, the Bishops of England and Ireland, the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Bedford, the Marquis of Lansdown, Earl Grey, Lord Holland, Earl Bridgewater, Lord Colchester, Lord Donoughmore, Lord Egremont, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Grosvenor, Earl Spencer, Sir F. Burdett, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Babington, Mr. Baring, Mr. Butterworth, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Croker, Mr. Coke of Norfolk, Mr. F. Lewis, Sir S. Romilly, Mr. Huskisson, the Lord

Mayor, Sir Charles Price, Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. Walter Scott, Mr. Dugald Stewart, Mr. Robert Southey, and others.

Mr. ROWCROFT next read letters from a number of Gentlemen and Magistrates; some of whom, from an experience of forty years, had declared their conviction that the evils of the present system were grown too great, and that unless some corrective were applied, confusion and ruin must be the result. One statement from a Magistrate was, that in his time, and in his district, the poor-rates had increased from £450. to £3000.; and that at present, out of a population of 1300, 800 were paupers. Mr. ROWCROFT begged politics might not be introduced in the discussion.

Major TORRENS opposed the plan.

Mr. HENRY HUNT moved as an amendment on the first resolution, as follows:—

“That pauperism is increased in an equal and progressive proportion with the increase of taxation.

“That excessive taxation is the cause of the present alarming and distressing pauperism.

“That therefore, to remove or lessen taxation, the grand cause of the evil, is the only sure and effectual means of lessening pauperism.”

Mr. WOOLER felt as disposed as any gentleman in that meeting to keep the objects of discussion unmixed by any political feeling; but though willing to avoid any thing like political asperity, he felt the difficulty of separating altogether questions of political economy from considerations of political practice. It was also

impossible, in his apprehension, in seeking the remedy for acknowledged public distress, not to glance at, though it might not be the proper occasion of discussing the causes of that distress. It was now at length universally acknowledged, that the existing system under which the country laboured, had reached its limit of sufferance. All agreed that something must be done—that the course hitherto pursued was fully tried, and had failed—and that some expedient in the shape of amelioration must be promptly adopted [*hear, hear!*]. He was ready to acquiesce in the opinion that all political experiments were dangerous—but the true question under existing circumstances was, whether a greater danger was not likely to result from not meeting by adequate correctives the evils that now affected the community, and which, unless ameliorated, must lead to confusion and ruin? He felt the most sincere respect for the motives and public spirit of Mr. OWEN. He thought the country much indebted to him for bringing before it fairly, the true view of its actual situation; but he still must contend that the plan he proposed as his remedy was inadequate in some points, and likely to injure rather than repair in more material considerations. In the first introduction of the poor laws, something like the present plan was aimed at, and what was then theoretically contemplated as a good, had, in the result, been productive of incalculable evil. It was then hoped to guard against the increase of mendicity, by enacting that every parish should number

its own poor, under the persuasion that the officers who superintended such concerns, would take the due means of protecting parishes from being imposed upon by false pretences. Had they equally endeavoured to enact provisions by which work was to be found for those willing to labour, far different results would have been experienced. But, as he said before, appalling as the distress of the present times were, he could not assent to the remedy proposed by Mr. OWEN. He could not but shudder at the supposition of calmly considering such establishments, even to the number of twenty, as was stated in a former part of the discussion, where men were to be thus congregated in the capacity of hired paupers [*hear!*]. Did this plan contemplate further? Was it meant to condemn all who sought relief from momentary suffering—to fix them, by a species of substitution for the feudal system, to the soil for ever? Was it to be forgotten, that in society rightly constituted, the poor man had as great a right to his labour as the rich to his property; for to the poor man his labour was property: and therefore that system was radically bad, where the people, both able and willing to work, were, from the want of employment, left in a state of starvation? Why this want of employment occurred—what were the causes of this evil—there were too many men not disposed to consider. But such disinclination was ruinous; for the cause—the true and undeniable cause—presented itself as a black prominence, to avoid which men might shut their eyes indeed,

but only at the expense of running their heads against it [*hear, hear!*].—No remedy, then, could be efficient, but that which possessed the power of controul over such causes [*hear, hear!*], which could prevent their repetition, and was efficacious enough to eradicate their influence [*hear, hear!*]. The present plan was at best but an expedient, even if unattended with danger, wholly inadequate, but which he could not but consider as calculated to remove evil partially, at the expense of ultimate ruin. Was it possible that men could be blind to that ultimate ruin? These allotted villages were supposed to provide for a million of people. The consumption of that million was then to be withdrawn from the profits of society. Was this no evil? Was it not undeniable, that every man who consumed and laboured conferred a benefit on society? Yet of that benefit this plan, called an amelioration of distress, went to deprive the country. The society of nations consisted of a great and comprehensive chain, the links of which were bound and binding, but whose continued connexion were necessary to produce the great and general design. He feared also, that it was of the nature of such systems to produce general indolence as the result. The security of the means of subsistence was apt to destroy the energies of human action; and while on that part of the subject, he never would subscribe to the picture of the demoralization of what was called the lower classes of society, which the address of Mr. OWEN presumed. Granted that crimes,

the effect of want and misery, occur. Yet he would call upon them to compare this supposed immorality with the conduct of those in the higher, nay in the highest rank of the state, and say where the greater crime prevailed [*hear, hear!*]? The majority of virtues, at all events, he would contend, remained with the humbler classes of the people. Where distress raged with such inveterate violence, weighed down as they were with an almost intolerable pressure, the admiration was, how so many virtues and honest qualities were still prevalent amongst them [*hear, hear!*]. Shall we then, who by accident are a little in worldly acquisition raised above them, look with such an eye of severity at the results of their wretchedness? Was this the return they had a right to expect? Have we not heard it admitted that the patience, and loyalty, and devotion of the people of this country, during the sanguinary wars of the last twenty-five years, was exemplary? Who was it that evinced this patience and devotion, who has felt the pressure of its results, and are now starving under its consequences--those very lower classes, now the object of gratuitous reproach [*hear, hear, hear!*].—It was true crimes have been frequently committed—the law was found operative for their correction; but it was an assumption wholly unjust to assert, that the body of the people of this country was demoralized. It was beside objectionable to the plan that it went to increase the calls upon the pecuniary difficulties of the nation. That could not be

considered a reduction of expense which was to be effected by fresh expenses. It resembled the influence of the Sinking Fund in the payment of the National Debt, where we borrowed at an increased loss with one hand to pay with the other.—On the whole, the plan appeared founded on the overthrow of all those proud feelings of self-reliance and estimation, which in a sound and healthy state of things constitute the support of free states. If you would uphold the pre-eminent distinctions of your country, continue to support that character by which they were won, and by which alone they can be maintained. These objections, suppose for a moment that the plan could be realized, but that he believed would not be the case, much money was wanted—there would be a difficulty in obtaining that; and even if obtained, the thing itself would be found impracticable. On these grounds, Mr. WOOLER said he should feel it his duty to second the Resolutions proposed as an amendment.

Amongst other intelligent speakers, Mr. WAITHMAN comprehended enough of the principle of this project, to feel that it was radically objectionable, and in opposition to the highest interests of society, as well as to the best passions of the human heart. He agreed that pauperism had most lamentably increased in this country, but that pauperism was not owing to the want of public instruction, but to the want of employment. The increase of crime, too, was owing to the same cause; but what was the cause of all this evil? It was evidently

impossible to shut our eyes to the conviction that the great augmentation of distress and crime which we had at present to deplore was mainly owing to the great increase of taxation [*hear, hear, hear!*]. The plan of Mr. OWEN was, no doubt, the fruit of a benevolent heart, although, in his view, of a mistaken mind. The object of Mr. OWEN was to ameliorate the condition and character of society. Could, however, such a result be looked for from the adoption of a plan which proposed to isolate a great body of the people—to exclude them from all the prizes which were held out to society at large to excite to exertion and industry? Could any good consequences be expected from a plan, which would operate to suppress the best motives of human action, and to extinguish the warmest feelings of the human heart, by shutting up the people in barracks [*hear, hear, hear!*]?—All that had been stated of this plan was exceptionable in the highest degree. We were told that each society to be created by it, was to consist of 1200 persons, each of whom was to be allowed an acre of ground; that the whole were to have but one kitchen, and that parents were not to have the care of their own children. Thus the best dispositions, and the universal duty of man, were to be dispensed with or dissolved; and the children of the poor were to be provided for from the public fund. The poor should always be encouraged to assert their rights. That encouragement, however, could not exist, if the people were deprived of their manly spirit and love of indepen-

dence, and that was the tendency of the plan under consideration. Unhappily the system of the poor laws had done much mischief in this respect already, as he had himself witnessed, especially in a recent case. But the increase of pauperism accounted for this degradation of the spirit which once distinguished Englishmen. We had at present, it was known, no less than two millions out of the ten of which our population consisted, supported by the poor's-rate. The benevolent author of this plan had, he understood, done great good in his own district, where he had a large manufactory under his personal superintendence; but such a plan did not at all seem calculated for general adoption or utility. On the contrary, as it proposed to shut up men from all the enjoyments and prospects, he could not help thinking it likely to do much mischief. But as the professed object of this plan was to provide additional employment for men, where was the guarantee that additional customers would be found for the additional produce of that employment? This was an important question, which the plan seemed to overlook; and yet it was notorious, that employment would not be wanted at any time, if customers, or a demand for the produce of that employment, could be found. This was an indisputable fact, as any political economist could prove, as indeed was notorious to every agriculturist, manufacturer, and mechanic in the country. Mr. OWEN had, he feared, overlooked the real cause of the public distress. The whole was mainly attributable to *taxation*. Al-

though the country had a florid face, it was sick at heart. The head was in fact so bloated, as to become too large for the body. For, although we had at present the greatest quantity of wealth in the country ever known, we had still the greatest degree and severity of wretchedness and distress. Unless our trade revived—unless the state of the poor were improved, he was persuaded that neither Mr. OWEN's plan, nor any other plan, could afford any effectual relief.

Mr. HUNT's amendments were negatived by very small majorities, and the first three resolutions of Mr. OWEN agreed to; and Mr. WAITHMAN submitted the following proposition, as an amendment to Mr. OWEN's fifth resolution.

"That those afflicting facts call loudly upon the Legislature for the reduction of all unnecessary public expenditure, and for other salutary measures calculated to produce the removal of those evils."

Upon this amendment a long discussion arose. It was put to the vote—the room divided upon it; and Mr. ROWCROFT, the Chairman, being partial, gave great discontent. Mr. OWEN put the question of adjournment to that day week, and the meeting adjourned.

I have not stated *all* that took place at this meeting; but there was less discontent expressed than might be expected from a large assemblage of persons, the majority of whom were disappointed. They knew as much of Mr. OWEN's plan when they entered the room, as when they left it. The speech which he

himself delivered from a written paper, explained nothing—informed the meeting of nothing; but that Mr. OWEN said he enlisted his hearers under the banners of *experience*. "I now say 'to you,'" exclaimed Mr. OWEN, "that on this day, which will be stamped indelibly on the memory of future time, you shall be *compelled* to join the standard of experience; and hereafter you will be unable to swerve from your allegiance to it. *The rule and sway of this leader will prove to you so just and equitable, that no oppression shall be known; no cries of hunger and distress shall be heard in her streets; the prisons raised by ignorance and superstition shall have their doors always open; and their instruments of punishment shall be reserved as her legitimate trophies of victory.* Under the unerring laws of experience, you shall make such physical and intellectual advances, you shall all be so well trained, instructed, and employed, usefully, pleasantly, and advantageously, for yourselves and others, that no motive will be left within you to desert her righteous cause; nay, each of you will, ere long, rather suffer any death whatever, than be forced for a moment from her all attractive and ever delightful service. And by thus acting, the world will speedily be relieved from the overwhelming mental slavery in which it has heretofore been held fast bound." I listened with great attention to all that Mr. OWEN said, and could obtain no more *practical* observation of his *New View*, than

his simple request of a subscription of £100,000., to form an establishment for 1200 men, women, and children; which, according to an explanation accompanying his *Plan*, is to consist of squares of buildings, surrounded by 1000 to 1500 acres of land. The buildings contain a *public kitchen*, *mess-rooms*, school, lecture-room and place of worship, committee-room, library, and a room for adults. In vacant spaces within the squares are enclosed grounds for exercise and recreation, with trees planted in them. Three sides of each square to be *lodging-houses*, of four rooms in each; each room to accommodate a man, his wife, and two children. The fourth side to be *dormitories* for all the children exceeding two in a family, or above three years of age. Each *lodging-room* is to accommodate a man, his wife, and two children under three years of age; and to be such as will permit them to have much more comforts than the dwellings of the poor usually afford.

The *children* above three years of age to attend the school, *eat in the mess-room*, and *sleep in the dormitories*; "*the parents being of course PERMITTED to see and converse with them at meals, and all other proper times.*" The *women* to be employed in keeping their infants and dwellings in the best order. 2dly, In cultivating the gardens for the supply of the public kitchen. 3dly, In such branches of manufacture as women can well undertake; but not to be employed in them more than four or five hours in the day. 4thly, In making up clothing for the inmates

of the establishment. 5thly, *In attending occasionally, and in rotation, in the public kitchen, mess-rooms, and dormitories*; and, when properly instructed, in superintending some parts of the education of the children in the schools. The *elder children* to assist in gardening and manufacturing, according to their strength. The *men* to be employed, all of them, in agriculture, and also in manufactures, or some other occupation, *for the benefit of the establishment!*

Mr. OWEN read a letter signed JAMES JOHNSON, and dated Chelsea, suggesting—*If Government advance, in the first instance, the £100,000. and each of one hundred persons consider himself as a kind of Trustee to the establishment, subject to the payment of an annual sum of £50. to Government—this will discharge the interest.* The Trustees in proportion as they can employ on the establishment the present unemployed poor, which will give considerable relief to the poor-rates. The Trustees then shall have a power to receive a *reduced rate* from the parishes accordingly as the unemployed poor get off the parish books. This will lessen the claim upon the private property of the Trustees, upon the interest which they have to pay the Government.

This plan appeared to Mr. OWEN unexceptionable, and he stated, that a gentleman had offered him 1500 acres of land, worth £50,000. on which to form the first establishment; and that only £50,000 more was wanting to commence it. But Mr. OWEN did not state what I pledge myself to prove, that in order to accommo-

date *the most necessitous only* of the present parish paupers, no less than *one thousand* of such establishments would be wanting, which together would cost *one hundred millions* of money; the interest upon which, if it could be borrowed, would be *five millions* of pounds sterling per annum!

In a letter published by Mr. OWEN this day, he says, "The first public meeting to consider a plan of amelioration, and reformation without revolution, has passed under circumstances *peculiarly interesting*. I knew *the subject would carry me through*, and will continue to do so, whatever obstacle, trivial or important, may intervene." I am very sorry to tell Mr. OWEN, that if he means he has succeeded, he deceives himself. He carried *four* only of his resolutions, which merely declare the present condition of the country, and to which all parties assent; they are as follow:—

1. That many of the poor and working classes in Great Britain and Ireland cannot now procure employment to enable them to earn a proper subsistence.

2. That in Great Britain and Ireland, the poor, the unemployed, and the inefficiently employed, are now supported at a ruinous expense to many parishes, and by extensive and injurious private charities.

3. That under these circumstances, the poor and working classes generally experience privations and distress to a greater extent, probably, than they have suffered at any former period in the history of this country. The

above two resolutions carried nearly unanimously.

4. That this arises from manual labour being of less value now, compared with the price of provisions, and the habits of the people generally, than it has been at any former known period.

These resolutions truly state our condition, but on the fifth resolution, namely:—

5. That it is not probable manual labour can regain its proper and necessary value, under circumstances beneficial to the country, unless other arrangements shall be formed by society, purposely devised to give productive employment to all who are competent and willing to labour:—

Mr. WAITHMAN moved an amendment; the resolution was not carried, and the Meeting adjourned; and this rejected resolution, it will be observed, is the first that referred to Mr. OWEN's *Plan*.

Mr. OWEN says, those who opposed his plan, were—1st, Some of the *younger disciples of the much dreaded notions respecting the evils of a too rapid population*. Mr. OWEN can be a little gay upon the *younger disciples*, as he calls them; but he meets *their* objections by stating, that "A knowledge of the *extent of land* in this empire and the world, advantageous for cultivation, but now *waste and useless*, with the known practice of every farmer in the kingdom, *whose servants raise ten times the food they could eat*, would suggest sufficient to enable every thinking mind to discover, that no position can be more fallacious, than the one which states, that *population has a tendency to*

“‘increase geometrically, while
 “‘food can be increased only
 “‘arithmetically.’” Now I affirm,
 in direct opposition to Mr. OWEN,
 that neither from the quantity of
 uncultivated land, nor from a
 man raising ten times the food
 he eats, can it be proved that
 population does *not* increase
geometrically, while food can be
 increased only arithmetically. A
 certain portion of uncultivated
 land remains in that state, either
 from its being in the hands of
 rich persons, who choose to keep
 it in that state for pleasure, or
 from their having so much land
 that they cannot cultivate the
 whole; and another portion re-
 mains uncultivated, from its being
 common land, which can only be
 enclosed and brought into culti-
 vation by Act of Parliament;
 therefore, land lying unculti-
 vated, does not prove that popula-
 tion does not increase geome-
 trically. If a farmer's servant
 can only raise sufficient for ten
 persons, and there are twenty to
 consume it, each of the twenty
 must have only half a belly-full;
 or if ten take the whole to them-
 selves, the other ten must starve.
 And this is a very unfortunate ar-
 gument for Mr. OWEN. Mr. OWEN
 says he has ever been a “plodding,
 “practical, persevering, matter-
 “of-fact man;” he will therefore
 understand me, when I tell him,
 as a plain matter of fact, that po-
 pulation *does* increase geome-
 trically, while food can be increased
 only arithmetically. I state it
 as a positive truth, which I ask
 and defy Mr. OWEN to disprove.
 He says some have concluded he
 is either mad, a visionary, or an
 enthusiast; and unless Mr. OWEN
 shows that population does not

increase geometrically, or retracts
 his opinion, I shall conclude so
 too. We are now both in print,
 and I challenge him to the proof.

I affirm, with Mr. MALTHUS,
 that mankind increases as 1, 2, 4,
 8, 16, 32, and subsistence as 1, 2,
 3, 4, 5, 6; that is, that in a fully
 cultivated country, population, if
 unrestricted, would double itself
 at the end of a given number of
 years, and that food could never
 by any means be increased.—
 Suppose an acre of land, duly
 cultivated, be equal to the sup-
 port of one person; and that an
 island containing a thousand
 acres, and called *Thousand Acre*
Island, would subsist a thousand
 persons, and no more. It would
 not here be necessary that
 the whole 1000 persons should
 be employed in cultivating
Thousand Acre Island; for one
 man, labouring on ten acres,
 would be able to produce suffi-
 cient for ten persons; and thus
 the labour of 100 men, on *Thou-*
sand Acre Island, would produce
 sufficient for its 1000 inhabitants.
 If by births, the 1000 persons be
 increased, there must be more
 food got to fill the number of
 new mouths; but an increased
 number of labourers could not
 produce more food; for though
 100 men could cultivate 1000
 acres, which subsisted 1000 per-
 sons; and, therefore the labour of
 1000 men could cultivate suffi-
 cient land to maintain *ten thou-*
sand persons; yet *Thousand*
Acre Island being fully culti-
 vated by 100 persons, would not
 yield a single quarter of corn
 more in consequence of 200 per-
 sons cultivating it: there would,
 in that case, be an increase of
 labourers to divide the labour, but

not an increase of land; there would be a hundred more cultivators, but they could not produce a sack more wheat. The 1000 inhabitants of *Thousand Acre Island*, thus beginning to increase, without the power of increasing the produce of the island, all beyond 1000 in number must quit the island, and go and settle elsewhere; or if they prefer staying in their native land, *Thousand Acre Island* must import corn and provisions sufficient for the consumption of its surplus population.

According to "the lowest rate of increase, a rate in which all concurring testimonies agree, and which has been repeatedly ascertained to be from procreation only, population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every 25 years, or increases in a geometrical ratio;"* and thus, in 25 years, the population of *Thousand Acre Island* would double itself, or be 2000; in the second 25 years, or 50 years, it would double again, and be 4000; in the third 25 years, it would double again, and be 8000; in the fourth 25 years, it would again double, and be 16,000, and so on; whilst, however, the population of *Thousand Acre Island* increased, it could never, by the utmost art and industry, grow more provisions than would suffice 1000 persons. In short, there would be no limit to the continued increase of the natives of *Thousand Acre Island*, as long as subsistence could be imported into the country, until the land itself could not contain more inhabitants. I state

this to Mr. OWEN broadly. After he has read Mr. MALTHUS's work on Population, he may be allowed to talk about the principle.—Without having read it, he ought not to have ventured upon any view of society, new or old.

Mr. OWEN, in his letter, most coolly condemns the *Reformists*, who opposed his plan at the meeting, and slips in an easy little assertion, that *their reform of any of our great national institutions, would produce "one general scene of anarchy and dreadful confusion, of which the late French Revolution will give but a faint anticipation."* Now here I would pause to denounce this as quackery—mere quackery; as an unwarranted calumny upon the objects of men who are neither less benevolent nor less intelligent than Mr. OWEN; and I should say something further upon the ungracious and unmanly attempt of Mr. OWEN, to coax the favour of the Ministerialists, at the expense of the Reformists; but the *New View Gentleman* happens just afterwards to say, that he has watched *all parties* for years, very coolly and dispassionately; and that even "the present *Ministers* are thoroughly satisfied that the principles on which, from previously existing circumstances, they have been hitherto compelled to act, are erroneous, and that the system they support is full of error, and productive of many serious and grievous evils: that they heartily and sincerely wish to remove the latter, if they knew how; but they do not as a Ministry possess sufficient practical knowledge to enable

* Malthus on Population, 5th edition, vol. I. page 8.

“them to carry their wishes and inclinations into execution!!!” They are in search of it,” continues Mr. OWEN, “and ultimately they will find it among individuals who combine science and practice, and who are sufficiently intelligent and independent not to be influenced by any party or interested motives; and thus may the country and its inhabitants be safely and rapidly improved!!!” We are indeed in a blessed situation. Here is the testimony of Mr. OWEN, that *Ministers* are convinced their system is *full of error, productive of serious and grievous evils*—that they wish, but *have not practical knowledge enough to remove them*—that they are looking for it—that Mr. OWEN is the man for it—that he combines *science and practice*, and is *sufficiently intelligent and independent*—all modest as he is—to take the country into his own hands! As to the *Opposition*, he tells us, if *they* were “to be placed in power to-morrow, they would be found, *with the exception of Lord GRENVILLE, and a few others, to be mere theorists, and quite inadequate to the task of removing the distress of the country!!!*” Of course, they too must come for aid and protection to Mr. ROBERT OWEN, one of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for the county of Lanark—the gentleman with the *New View!*

“As to the particular objections brought forward at the meeting,” says Mr. OWEN, “by the several speakers who advocated them, they were so *little to the purpose, so futile, and contrary to daily experience,*

“and evinced so much *real ignorance of the subject* before them, that the Chairman restrained me, on account of the exhausted state of the meeting, from making more than a *general reply*; and to which I the more readily acceded, inasmuch as a complete answer to their objections, and many others, was contained in the printed papers distributed at the meeting, and which I recommend to the calm and deliberate consideration of every individual.” In answer to this, I affirm positively and solemnly, that there was more said to the purpose—more solid objection urged—more sound practical every-day experience displayed in opposition to Mr. OWEN’s *plan*, than I ever before witnessed upon any subject so *little capable of being understood*; and as proof of this, I refer the reader to previous columns of this sheet, for Mr. WOOLER’s excellent speech, and the sentiments of Mr. WAITHMAN. If there was *real ignorance of the subject*, it is Mr. OWEN’s fault for not making the subject better understood. The *general reply* which Mr. OWEN says he was confined to by the Chairman, was *no reply*—it was nothing. Still it was as much to the purpose as his opening speech, which, except the resolutions, abounds with words without ideas; and this is the character of every thing I heard Mr. OWEN say at the tavern, and of every thing he has written with a view to the meeting:—all is vague, general, and undefined. Whatever his *plan* is, he has not made it known; and most of the objections urged at the meeting,

his printed papers are no answer to. He has generalized so much, that he has not the faculty of making himself comprehended. He writes and speaks in a style and manner that remind us of the ravings of RICHARD BROTHERS, about the glories of the third heaven; and the reveries of EMANUEL KANT, on the Transcendental Philosophy, and the Categories of Nature. Mr. OWEN, with his feet upon the earth, as a Justice of Peace for the county of Lanark, lifts his head above the stars for a *New View of Society*; and then, forsooth, quarrels with us groundlings, because, in describing his raptures, his language passeth all understanding!

But Mr. OWEN is a man of pity—not to be pitied, but who *pities*. It appears by his letter, that he condescended to know there were parties at the meeting adverse to his plan. Possessing a Jove-like complacency and ease, he says, “I looked upon the scene before me with precisely the same feelings that I should have noticed so many individuals in a *very ill-managed lunatic asylum*!” And then, in his paternal character, he stretches out a saving arm to us *maniacs*!—we move his pity and compassion!—he *will* make us happy, in spite of ourselves! “They must not be left thus,” he says; “they *really merit our sympathy*! and we must at least endeavour to do them service, even in opposition to their present prejudices and consequent feelings.” I do not know a gentleman in England better satisfied with himself than Mr. ROBERT OWEN.

Every body, I believe, is convinced of Mr. OWEN's benevolence, and that he purposes to do us much good. I ask him to *let us alone*, lest he do mischief. As I walked up Threadneedle-street to the meeting, I passed two fish-women refreshing themselves. One had her child in her arms. “Bless it's little heart,” said she, “it shall have a drop; it'll *do it good*!” at the same time pouring the remains of a glass of spirits down the child's throat. I have no more doubt of this woman *meaning* to do good to her child, than that Mr. OWEN means to do good to us. We thank him for his kindness, but we have been almost killed by *kindness*; and we ask him to *let us alone*. I do not say we are very well as we are; but I say to Mr. OWEN, *let us alone*. I believe no man sees the evils of our condition clearer than Mr. OWEN; but there are others who see them as clear: and he is not the man to bring us out of the house of bondage; nor is it in the power of any one man, or of any body of men, to do it. We have been dandled, and nursed, and lapped, and regulated, till we are ricketty. We want our bonds and restraints gradually loosened, and the free use of our limbs and bodies, to enable us to go alone. We have been over-legislated for. Acts amending and altering, declaring and explaining, prohibiting and encouraging, enacting and repealing, heap our statute-book with provisions creating the evils they would remedy. Every fresh *meddling* increases our helplessness, and we pray to be *let alone*.

But what would Mr. OWEN do

for us? Why, for fear he should see the spirit of increasing population; which he ought to have met boldly, he shuts his eyes, and takes a *New View of Society*. Aware of the evils of our present system, he is determined to have a system of his own. He does not consider whether a new system be necessary; but, without enabling himself to see the obstacles to its foundation, he sets about getting a few materials to begin it; and because we do not see all the advantages of a plan which he says he will show to somebody else, he charges us with being like *so many individuals in a very ill-managed lunatic asylum!*

I diligently and patiently read Mr. OWEN's *New View of Society*, his Address to the Inhabitants of New Lanark, and his various other Addresses; I at different times conversed with Mr. OWEN, and sought information from persons connected with him; and, lastly, I attended the meeting, and watched very narrowly its proceedings. I thus obtained all the information respecting his plan within my reach. It appears to me fraught with mischief to all classes. Its leading principle, **ALL THINGS IN COMMON**, turns the whole country into a workhouse. A *Community of Goods* sinks the individual for ever—it provides for his bare necessities, limits his wants, subdues his affections, and represses his talents. It awards the same distinction to dulness and incapacity as to excellence

and genius, and reduces man to a degrading and frightful equality, in which he rather vegetates than lives. If one of Mr. OWEN's communities be commenced upon his proposed plan, it will present a mere *Refuge for the Destitute*, upon an extensive scale; but will shortly enlarge into a grand *National System of Pauperism*; first putting the bulk of the poor within the power of the rich—next gradually undermining the different ranks of society—then absorbing personal property—and, lastly, drawing within its vortex *all the land, and the whole population of the kingdom!*

In a few words, Mr. ROBERT OWEN has ventured to implore a Public Meeting *to lose not a moment* in subscribing one hundred thousand pounds sterling, for a purpose, which, I am persuaded, would immediately commence a **REVOLUTION!**

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,
19th August, 1817.

TO READERS.

Some subjects have been deferred, in order to notice Mr. OWEN's PLAN.

The last Number of the **REFORMISTS' REGISTER**, being No. 4, of Vol. II. consisted of

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No. 6.]

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1817.

[VOL. II.

THE PEOPLE,

AND

THE NEW POWER!

REJECTION of Mr. OWEN'S PLAN

—Valuable Remarks by Mr. OWEN

on the State of Society—IM-

PROVABILITY OF MAN—Man

as he is—Evils of Government—Un-

just Laws--RELIGION--Unlimited

Religious Freedom—Character, how

formed—Solecisms of Government—

Wealth—Injustice of Society—

When Truth may be told—Distress

and Demoralization----Distress of

Labourers----WORKHOUSES----

SCENES IN NEWGATE---Pre-

ventive Legislation recommended---

Labour and Mechanism----THE

NEW POWER; Mechanism in

Great Britain manufactures more

than One Hundred Millions of Human

Beings can L—Consequences of it—

Machinery again—Shifting of Bur-

dens—Mr. OWEN'S Account of

New Lanark.

Mr. HECTOR CAMPBELL'S Cu-

rious Letter to Mr. HONE, accusing

him of Political Depravity, in Con-

sequence of his Observations on Mr.

OWEN'S Plan—Some GENTLE

HINTS to Mr. Hector Campbell.

of his *Plan*, was disposed of at the City of London Tavern, by a crowded and most respectable Meeting passing the following Resolutions:—

“That while we express our gratitude and thanks to Mr. OWEN, for his unremitting and benevolent endeavours to promote the comfort and happiness of the poor, and agree with him as to the nature and extent of distress and misery that prevails, we are nevertheless of opinion, that the plan he has proposed for their relief is neither practicable nor calculated to remove existing evils.

“That in order to apply an adequate remedy to a grievance of such magnitude, it is necessary to search into the cause and root thereof; that it appears to us, that the progressive and enormous increase of the poor and poor's-rates have kept pace with the progressive and enormous increase of taxation; and that the commerce and agriculture of the country, sinking under its pressure, has not found employment for the labouring classes of the community.

“That, without at present inquiring how far the existing grievance might have been, prevented, by a wise, prudent, and just administration of affairs, we are of opinion, that no effectual remedy can be looked for but in

On Thursday last Mr. OWEN'S Appeal to the Public, on behalf

the diminution of our national burdens; that it is, therefore, the imperious duty of the Government, the Legislature, and the People, to use every practicable and constitutional means to prevent all unnecessary and improvident expenditure of the public money, and to obtain such a system of reformation and retrenchment as would tend to restore the happiness and the prosperity of the nation."

In order that the account of the proceedings of the former Meeting may be more complete, I subjoin the Resolutions which were proposed at that Meeting by Mr. OWEN, and not carried, commencing with the *sixth*: the five previous Resolutions will be found in the last *Register*.

RESOLUTIONS

(*not adopted.*)

6. That it is the highest practical point in political economy, as it most essentially involves the well-being and happiness of all ranks, to attain the means by which the labour of any country can be the most advantageously employed.

7. To reduce the poor's-rate, and to gradually abolish pauperism, with all its degrading and injurious consequences.

8. That as a solemn and grave judgment ought not to be given hastily, on a subject in which the vital interests of this empire and other countries are involved,—the plan now proposed, shall be submitted to the scrutiny and investigation of a Committee, composed of many of the leading, most intelligent, and best disposed, from among all ranks, who, by their previous ac-

quirements, may be competent to give a useful opinion upon the subject. For something *must* be done.

9. That the Committee of General Investigation be composed of the following Noblemen and Gentlemen, or such of them as may be inclined to perform this high and important duty, for themselves, their country, and for posterity. The Committee to have power to add from time to time to their number, and to be a quorum.

10. That this Committee shall report the result of their investigations and labours to a General Meeting to be called for that purpose, early in May next year, or sooner, if they shall determine.

11. That the proposer of the plan shall give from time to time to the Committee, all the information in his power, that they may ask or require.

It was not my intention, said Mr. OWEN, when he read this Resolution, to have proceeded further at present; but a most benevolent and public-spirited gentleman, whose name I am not at liberty yet to mention, called upon me late last night, and in the most liberal manner made me an unlimited offer of about 1500 acres of land, proper in all respects to try one experiment upon, and of at least £50,000. in value, which I might use for such purpose, at any time after October next. I cannot, therefore, refrain from proposing the following additional Resolutions:—

12. That it is now most desirable one or more experiments should be tried with the least possible loss of time.

13. That for this purpose a subscription be now opened, that whenever £100,000. in money or land shall be subscribed, one experiment shall be commenced forthwith; and a second when £200,000. shall be subscribed; and so on as each following £100,000. shall be subscribed.

14. That the following Gentlemen, or such of them as may be inclined to act, shall be a select acting Committee, to direct and superintend such experiments, assisted by the proposer of the plan.

15. That the most warm and cordial thanks of this meeting be given to the Gentleman who has so nobly stepped forward to offer his land to the country, for the use of an experiment at the moment it was wanted.

It was stated in the last *Register*, that the most valuable part of Mr. OWEN's *New View of Society*, is that which pictures some of the evils of society in its present state; and this is also the most valuable part of Mr. OWEN's printed papers. There is so much *correct observation* in them, that if even his *Plan* be at rest, some of his remarks should be engraven on our recollections, and preserved for ever. It has appeared to me essentially necessary to record a few in this sheet, because there will be frequent occasion to refer to them. In the mean time, I hope what Mr. OWEN remarks on the effects of MACHINERY, will be carefully and diligently weighed. They must never be forgotten—they never *can* be forgotten—"Something *must* be done," he says, and he says truly; but what he pro-

poses to be done, I think ought not to be done, inasmuch as his *Plan* would infallibly break up the present state of society, and establish another, whose foundations appear to me deep-rooted in a slavery, from which we could scarcely hope to escape, but by frequent and bloody struggles.

If at this moment we suffer more than we have done at former periods, we have also glances of hope brighter than ever. Mr. OWEN, by bringing forward his *Plan*, imperfect and impracticable, and all-mischievous, as I am persuaded it is, has rendered us great service. He has called general attention to the state of society; and by his communications and addresses, he has awakened benevolent and tolerant feelings, which, if duly cherished, will ripen into very enlarged views of the nature and end of man. Dissenting wholly from Mr. OWEN's *Plan*, I most cheerfully and anxiously testify my unfeigned respect and esteem for his intentions, and request the reader's diligent perusal of the following

R E M A R K S,

BY MR. OWEN.

Improvability of Man.

While the notions which have influenced the conduct of mankind up to the present period, shall prevail and be acted upon, society cannot substantially and permanently improve. Those notions confine the attention to *effects*, and from want of useful inquiry, lead to the conclusion, that the *causes* from which they really proceed, however injurious, cannot be altered or controlled

by man. Under such notions, the world is now governed.

Facts, however, prove, that the reverse of these notions is true: let men therefore attend to facts, and to facts *only*, and it will be obvious, that they can, with ease, remove the real causes which create bad habits, errors, and crimes; and, without difficulty, replace them with other causes, the *certain* effects of which would be to establish generally throughout society, good habits, correct sentiments, and a kind, charitable, and virtuous conduct, free from the prejudices that would create unkind feelings, and thence render them unjust to those who had been taught to differ from them in opinion.

Man—as he is.

All the past and present institutions of the world are a proof of the ever-changing insanity with which the human mind has been enveloped.

Man is born in ignorance, and from his birth he is surrounded with the errors of some sect, some class, frequently of some party, and always of some country.

He is consequently rendered ignorant of himself, of his fellow-creatures, and of nature.

The seeds of disunion and separation are deeply and extensively sown during infancy and childhood.

He is individualized, and made, openly or covertly, to oppose every other human being.

His natural wishes are to press onward towards happiness, but he is strongly and successfully opposed by the multitudes around him, and by the igno-

rantly devised institutions of society.

As he advances to youth and manhood, the soil into which the seeds of disunion and separation have been put, is cultivated with the greatest care, and every conceivable means are adopted to cherish the plants, ensure their growth, and secure a plentiful crop.

Such care and culture cannot fail of success; opposition to his natural feelings, and to all his exertions to attain happiness, brings forth in due time an abundant harvest of discontent, dislikes, displeasure, envy, hatred, revenge, and of all the evil passions; and at length he becomes intimately involved in all the irrationality which must inevitably arise from such a mode of training and culture!

He is compelled to be insincere: and this circumstance alone will destroy human happiness! Were any individual to speak the truth within either of these deranging atmospheres of the human intellect, he would be at once termed a fool and a madman!

His finest feelings, his highest intellectual powers, and his best energies, must lie waste, or be so misdirected as to produce evil continually.

Such is a just and accurate outline of man as he has been made—as he is made—under all the past and present systems.

Evils of Government.

The interest of those who *govern* has ever appeared to be, and under the present systems ever will appear to be, opposed to the interest of those whom they govern. *Law and taxation, as these*

are now necessarily administered, are evils of the greatest magnitude.

Unjust Laws.

The facts which by the invention of printing have gradually accumulated in the world, now show the errors of the systems of our forefathers in colours so distinct, that they must become evident to all classes of the community, and render it absolutely necessary that new legislative measures should be immediately adopted, to prevent the confusion which must arise from even the most ignorant being almost competent to detect the absurdity and glaring injustice of many of those laws by which they are now governed.

Such are those laws which enact punishments for a very great variety of actions designated as crimes; while those from whom such actions proceed are regularly trained to acquire no other knowledge than what compels them to conclude, that those actions are the best they could perform.

Religion.

Hitherto you have been prevented from even knowing what happiness really is, solely in consequence of the errors, gross errors, that have been combined with the fundamental notions of every religion that has hitherto been taught to men. And, in consequence, they have made man the most inconsistent, and the most miserable being in existence. By the errors of these systems, he has been a weak imbecile animal, or a furious bigot and fanatic.

In all the religions which have been hitherto forced on the minds of men, deep, dangerous, and lamentable principles of disunion, division, and separation, have been fast entwined with all their fundamental notions; and the certain consequences have been, all the dire effects which religious animosities have, through all the past periods of the world inflicted with such unrelenting, stern severity, or mad and furious zeal!

Unlimited Religious Freedom.

Unless the world is now prepared to dismiss all its erroneous religious notions, and to feel the justice and necessity of publicly acknowledging the most unlimited religious freedom, it will be futile to erect villages of union and mutual co-operation; for it will be vain to look on this earth for inhabitants to occupy them, who can understand how to live in the bond of peace and unity; or who can love their neighbour as themselves, whether he be Jew or Gentile, Mahometan or Pagan, Infidel or Christian; any religion that creates one particle of feeling short of this, is *false*, and must prove a curse to the whole human race!

Character—how formed.

Human character is always formed *for*, and not *by*, the individual.

In every known region of the earth, up to the present hour, man has been compelled, from infancy, to receive the peculiar notions of some sect, some class, some party, and of some country. In consequence, each individual has been surrounded by four

dense atmospheres of error and prejudice, and through which he must look at every object around him. These mental atmospheres vary materially in different countries; but in all they are so dense, that (as every object must be observed through them) each object becomes distorted, or indistinct; none of them, in any country, or by a single individual, can yet be seen in their just proportions; and, in consequence, nature has hitherto been hidden from man.

Throughout all past ages, a limited number of individuals, on various spots of the earth, have been surrounded with atmospheres, the shades of which have been more or less differently combined; and each of these combinations has presented to the individual, within its influence, a particular distortion of all the objects of nature peculiar to itself. When individuals, thus differently surrounded, happen to meet and converse together, they soon discover that they do not see objects alike; and wholly unconscious of the real cause of difference between them, an opposition of *feeling*, as well as of seeing, is created; extending from a slight degree of dislike, to anger, hatred, revenge, death, and destruction in every form and shape. Hence, from differences of opinion on notions of sect, arise the evils and miseries of human life, which, more than all the other atmospheres, of class, party, and of country, has in every age separated man from man, and made him a degraded and wretched being.

The several atmospheres of *class* have also created various

feelings of strong separation among men, and have essentially tended to increase their irrationality and their misery.

The atmospheres of *party* and of *country* have been equally injurious: they have, even until now, compelled man to remain a stranger to his fellows.

Solecisms of Government.

Facts prove that the public voice should declare to the following effect:—

1. That a country can never be beneficially wealthy, while it supports a large portion of its working classes in idle poverty, or in useless occupation.

2. That partial information and poverty, without any training, but the worst that can be imagined, must demoralize the inhabitants of any country.

3. That such population, when surrounded by gin-shops, low pot-houses, and every temptation to public gambling, must necessarily become either imbecile and useless, or vicious, criminal, and dangerous.

4. That strong coercion, and severe, cruel, and unjust punishment, must necessarily follow.

5. That discontent, disaffection, and every kind of opposition to the governing powers, must consequently ensue.

6. That while these incentives to every thing vile, criminal, and wicked, shall be permitted and encouraged by the Government, it is downright mockery of common sense to talk about religion, and of improving the condition and morals of the poor and working classes.

7. That to *talk* and *act* thus, is a weak and silly attempt to

deceive the public—the public is not now deceived by it—and hereafter such inconsistent and unmeaning jargon will not deceive any one.

8. That, to expect any national improvement, while these and similar circumstances are permitted to remain, exhibits as much wisdom and foreknowledge, as to wait for the drying of the ocean, while all the rivers of the earth are continually pouring their streams into its waters.

Wealth.

Happiness cannot be attained, enjoyed, and secured, unless all men possess health, real knowledge, and wealth.

Hitherto health and real knowledge have been neglected for the attainment of wealth, and other exclusive individual objects; but which, when acquired, even in the greatest profusion, have been, and ever will be, found to destroy happiness.

The world is now saturated with wealth—with inexhaustible means of still increasing it—and yet misery abounds! Such at this moment is the actual state of human society. No arrangement proceeding from a defined intention to attain an object of desire, could be worse devised than that which is now in practice, throughout all the nations of the earth. Immense, invaluable energies, competent with ease to procure every thing beneficial to humanity, lie waste, or are so misdirected as to defeat the object of all their wishes.

Injustice of Society.

Important as are considerations of revenue, they must appear se-

condary when put in competition with the lives, liberty, and comfort of our fellow-subjects, which are now hourly sacrificed for want of an *effective legislative measure to prevent crime*. And is an act of such vital importance to the well-being of all to be longer delayed? *Shall yet another year pass in which crime shall be forced on the infant, who, in ten, twenty, or thirty years hence, shall suffer DEATH for being taught that crime?* Surely it is impossible. Should it be so delayed, the *individuals of the present Parliament, the legislators of this day,** ought, in strict and impartial justice, to be amenable to the laws, for not adopting the means in their power to prevent the crime; rather than the poor, untrained, and unprotected culprit, whose previous years, if he had language to describe them, would exhibit a life of unceasing wretchedness, and that arising *solely* from the errors of society.

When Truth may be told.

When right principles are acted upon, it is, and ever will be, unnecessary to deceive the public: the truth may be told for or against any national impressions, with advantage to every just cause.

Distress and Demoralization.

The empire of Great Britain and Ireland is now in greater misery, distress, and wretched-

* Particularly the Administration; and Members for the commercial and manufacturing districts in which crime abounds, such as Middlesex, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, &c.; and London, Liverpool, Glasgow, &c. &c.

ness, than, in reality, it has been known to be for centuries past.

Whatever specious appearance of improvement may at this moment exist, the *real* distress and demoralization of the country is going on, and will rapidly proceed, until the causes which create both shall be removed, and until they shall be replaced by other causes of a quite opposite nature.

Distress of Labourers.

In times of very limited demand for labour, it is truly lamentable to witness the distress which arises among the industrious for want of regular employment, and their customary wages. In these periods innumerable applications are made to the superintendants of extensive manual operations, to obtain any kind of employment by which a subsistence may be procured. And such applications are often made by *persons who, in search of work, have travelled from one extremity of the island to the other!*

During these attempts to be *useful and honest*, in the common acceptation of the terms, the families of such wandering individuals accompany them, or remain at home; in either case, they generally experience sufferings and privations which the gay and splendid will hesitate to believe it possible that human nature could endure.

Workhouses.

Workhouses and houses of industry have originated with those who had but a limited knowledge of human nature, and who were also unacquainted with the

true principles of political economy.

In the management of *workhouses, &c.* there is no unity of action; each part is so placed as to feel an interest at variance with the others; they are, in fact, a compound of the same errors that pervade common society, where all are so circumstanced, as to counteract each other's intentions, and thus render even extraordinary energies and talents of no avail, which, under another combination, would produce the most extensive and beneficial effects.

Scenes in Newgate—Preventive Legislation recommended.

Mr. OWEN witnessed the highly beneficial effects produced by Mrs. FRY, of St. Mildred's-court, Poultry, among the female prisoners in *Newgate*. The only regret he heard expressed, Mr. OWEN says, was by those who were unemployed, "that *they had no work.*" All who had something to do were far more cheerful than I had previously supposed human beings could be in the situation, with the accommodation and under the circumstances here described. We next proceeded to the female school; and, on entering, every eye was fixed on their benefactress. The little girls, children of the prisoners and convicts, looked on her as human creatures might be imagined to look upon beings of a superior, intelligent, and beneficent nature. They were all clean and neat; and some of their countenances very interesting. The school was in excellent order, and appeared to be under good management. I

could not avoid contrasting the present with the former situation of all these poor unfortunates.—What a change must they have experienced! from filth, bad habits, vice, crime—from the depth of degradation and wretchedness—to cleanliness, good habits, and comparative comfort and cheerfulness! Had not experience long made known to me the simplicity and certain effects of the principles which had here been carried into practice, I might have been led to inquire, What *profound statesman* had been here? What *large sums* had been expended? How many years of active and steady perseverance had been necessary to accomplish this extraordinary improvement, which has foiled even the British Government and Legislature to effect, during the centuries they have existed? And what would have been my astonishment at the simple narrative which was told me? that this change, from the depth of misery to the state described, was *effected* by Mrs. FRY, and a few benevolent individuals of the Society of Friends, *in three months*, without any increased expense, and with feelings of high gratification to herself! We left the female side of the prison, and passed on to the rooms, courts, &c. occupied by the males. We went first to the boys' court, and found the *school*, which was formed at Mrs. FRY's request, had been just dismissed. The person acting as master, asked if he should muster the *boys*; to which she consented, and it was instantly done. What a melancholy sight did they offer! A collection of boys and youths, with scarcely the appearance of

human beings in their countenances; *the most evident sign that the government to which they belong, had not performed any part of its duty towards them.* For instance; there was one boy, only 16 years of age, double ironed! Here a great crime has been committed, and a severe punishment is inflicted, which, under a system of proper training and prevention, would not have taken place.

My Lord SIDMOUTH will forgive me; for he knows I intend no personal offence. His dispositions are known to be mild and amiable; but the Chief Civil Magistrate of the country, in such case, is far more guilty than the boy; and, in strict justice, *if a system of coercion and punishment be rational and necessary*, he ought rather to have been double ironed, and in the place of the boy. *The Secretary of State for the Home Department has long had the power, and ought to have used it, to give that and every other boy in the empire better habits, and to place them under circumstances that would train them to become moral.* Every thing on this side of the prison was *most revolting to common sense and human feelings*; but it serves to exhibit the contrast between the practice that results, and ever will result, from acting upon rational and irrational principles. I wish the Members of Government would now investigate these extraordinary facts. If they were to inspect them, with this benevolent female, I am sure they would learn the principles which have guided her practice, and adopt them in all their future measures. They would then

enjoy only the highest satisfaction.

It was admitted by the attendants of the prison, that, a few months ago, the women were more depraved than the men are now; they were both pronounced to be irreclaimable; but the state of the females has been entirely changed, and that *in the short space of three months!* *Notwithstanding this fact, the men are still pronounced to be irreclaimable!* Blame, however, is by no means to be attached to any of the attendants of the prison, who appear inclined to do their duty, as far as they have received instructions.

Let Ministers attend here, and they will discover that the most powerful instruments of Government have hitherto been dormant in their hands, and in those of their predecessors. If they will study the subject as it deserves to be studied, and afterwards make a proper use of their power, in legislating on the *principle of prevention*, under the influence of a persevering well-directed kindness, the distress of the country will be found to vanish—the ignorance, poverty, and misery of the lower classes to disappear, as though it were by a miracle: and they would then look in vain for disaffection, discontent, or opposition to any of their measures. The present period is of all others the best adapted to introduce the change, and every circumstance now imperiously calls for its commencement.

I would here rivet the attention of the world! It has been said that there are numerous difficulties in training children to

good habits and right conduct, even previous to their having received any contrary bias; but here is a proof that the most deep-rooted and long-continued habits of depravity may be easily and speedily overcome by a system of kindness, which, when properly directed and persevered in, no human beings have ever yet been found long inclined to resist.

This principle, when it shall be well understood and rightly acted upon, will effect more for the substantial happiness of mankind, than all the moral and religious systems that have ever yet, at any period, or in any country, been forced upon the human mind.

Labour and Mechanism.

Much of our natural power consisting of the physical and intellectual faculties of human beings, is now not only altogether unproductive, but a heavy burden to the country; under a system, too, which is rapidly demoralizing it; while a very large part of our artificial or *mechanical* agency is employed to produce that which is of little real value to society; and which, in its act of production, entails innumerable evils of the most afflicting kind, at the present time, upon the producers, as well as upon a very large part of society; and through them, to the whole of our population.

THE NEW POWER—Mechanism in Great Britain manufactures more than One Hundred Millions of Human Beings can!—Consequences of it.

The immediate cause of the

present distress is the depreciation of human labour; and which has been occasioned by the general introduction of mechanism into the manufactures of Europe and America; but principally into those of Britain, where the change was greatly accelerated by the inventions of ARKWRIGHT and WATT.

The introduction of mechanism into the manufacture of objects of desire in society reduced their price; the reduction of price increased the demand for them, and generally to so great an extent, as to occasion more human labour to be employed *after* the introduction of machinery than had been employed before.

The first effects of these new mechanical combinations were to increase individual wealth, and to give a new stimulus to further inventions.

Thus one mechanical improvement gave rise to another in rapid succession; and in a few years they were not only generally introduced into the manufactures of these kingdoms, but were eagerly adopted by other nations of Europe, and by America.

Individual wealth soon advanced to national prosperity, as that term is generally understood; and the country, during a war of 25 years, demanding exertion and an amount of expenditure unknown at any former period, attained to a height of political power which confounded its foes and astonished its friends: both were alike unable to assign the real cause. So steadily, yet rapidly, did our country advance to this envied state, that there appeared to be no limit to its ac-

quirement of riches, and the kind of power which wealth creates. The war itself, when it had extended its ravages over Europe, to Asia and to America, seemed but a new stimulus to draw forth our exhaustless resources; and in its effects the war did so operate. The destruction of human life in its prime, which it caused throughout the world, and the waste of all the materials necessary for war on so large a scale—perhaps unparalleled in ancient or modern times—created a demand for various productions, which the overstrained industry of British manufactures, aided by all the mechanism they could invent and bring into action, was hardly competent to supply.

But peace at length followed, and found Great Britain in possession of a *new power* in constant action, which, it may be safely stated, *exceeded the labour of one hundred millions of the most industrious human beings*, in the full strength of manhood.

Thus our country possessed, at the conclusion of the war, a productive power, which operated to the same effect as if her population had been actually increased fifteen or twenty fold; and this had been chiefly created within the preceding twenty-five years. The rapid progress made by Great Britain, during the war, in wealth and political influence, can therefore no longer astonish: the cause was quite adequate to the effect.

Now, however, new circumstances have arisen. The war demand for the productions of labour having ceased, markets could no longer be found for

them; and the revenues of the world were inadequate to purchase that which a power so enormous in its effects did produce: a diminished demand consequently followed. When, therefore, it became necessary to contract the sources of supply, it soon proved that mechanical power was much cheaper than human labour; the former, in consequence, was continued at work, while the latter was superseded; and human labour may now be obtained at a price far less than is absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the individual in ordinary comfort.

A little reflection will show, that the working classes have now no adequate means of contending with mechanical power: one of three results must therefore ensue:—

1. The use of mechanism must be greatly diminished; or,—

2. Millions of human beings must be starved, to permit its existence to the present extent; or,—

3. Advantageous occupation must be found for poor and unemployed working classes, to whose labour mechanism must be rendered subservient, instead of being applied, as at present, to supersede it.

Machinery again.

At the commencement of the late war, all the products of Great Britain and Ireland were produced by about five millions and a half of the working classes, aided by a comparatively limited proportion of *mechanical agency*. The war created a large demand for men in the prime of life, for all the purposes of war, and it

also created a demand for all the materials of war, in such a manner as to give a most extraordinary stimulus to the rapid extension of more *mechanism*. The result of these combined proceedings was to leave this country, at the commencement of peace, with a working population of about six millions, and an increased mechanical agency, which is now daily at work, that effects as much as could be accomplished by the united labour of 150,000,000 more, and without consuming either food or raiment, and requiring but a few of other articles of manufacture. The certain results of this unnoticed change in the manner of supplying the wants of this and other countries, was to add, in a most extraordinary manner, to the amount of annual products, without increasing the power of consumption in the same proportion. The one, therefore, greatly outruns the other, and a very material diminution of products became necessary. Individual interest immediately made the calculation, and found mechanism to be a cheaper agency than manual labour; human beings were therefore dismissed from employment; their labour in consequence rapidly fell in value, and with it fell almost every other article of commerce, and misery at once and most extensively followed. This is the grand cause that is constantly operating every hour to grind you to misery, and, while it continues, without other arrangements being made to give a right direction to this magic power, hitherto unknown to the world, you must be subjected not only to the misery

that now exists, but to much greater. Were every shilling of your national debt and taxes removed to-morrow, and were the Government wholly unpaid for all its services, in a very few years, either this or some other country must suffer more than you now experience. *MECHANISM, which may be made the greatest of blessings to humanity, is, under the existing arrangements, its greatest curse!*

But, under the existing commercial system, mechanical power cannot in one country be discontinued, and in others remain in action, without ruin to that country in which it be discontinued. No one nation, therefore, will discontinue it; and although such an act were possible, it would be a sure sign of barbarism in those who should make the attempt. *It would, however, be a far more evident sign of barbarism, and an act of gross tyranny, were any government to permit mechanical power to starve millions of human beings.*

SHIFTING OF BURDENS.

A mere change of sufferers, whether it be from one part of a class to another—from one class to another—or from one nation to another—is no remedy for the great and increasing evils which the world now suffers.

Mr. OWEN, in one of his printed Addresses, states, that "He is the principal proprietor of the works and village of New Lanark, and had the sole direction and superintendence of them for eighteen years. He

says the population of New Lanark consists of *manufacturers* of cotton thread chiefly; but also of iron and brass founders, iron and tin smiths, millwrights, turners in wood and metals, sawyers, carpenters, masons, tilers, painters, glaziers, tailors, shoemakers, butchers, bakers, shopkeepers, farmers, labourers, surgeon, ministers of religion, instructors of youth male and female, superintendents of various departments, clerks, and policemen; forming a mixed society of trades and work-people. He had much experience among the working classes before he undertook the management of the works at New Lanark, by superintending large manufacturing establishments in Manchester and its neighbourhood, for about eight years preceding, in which great numbers of men, women, and children were employed.—The chief object of his attention during the number of years he had so many persons under his care and superintendence, was to discover the means by which the condition of the poor and working classes could be ameliorated, and with benefit to their employers. He became convinced that the situation of these classes may be easily greatly improved; and that their natural powers may be far more beneficially directed, for themselves, and for society at large, without creating injury of any kind, to any class, or to any individual; and, that with even fewer exceptions than he anticipated, considering the obstacles he had to encounter, in the ignorance and ill training of the people, which had given them the habits of drunkenness, theft,

falsehood, and want of cleanliness; with opposition to each other's interests, sectarian feelings, strong national prejudices, both political and religious, against all attempts on the part of a stranger to improve their condition; to which may be added, the unhealthy nature of their employment. These obstacles he removed or overcame, by the principle of *prevention* solely. Instead of wasting time and talent in considering an endless variety of individual effects, he patiently studied the causes producing those effects, exerting himself to remove them; and, by thus acting, it appeared that the same time and talent, when employed under the system of prevention, could produce results very much greater than under the system of coercion and punishment. For instance, in the case of habitual drunkenness, it appeared useless to apply to the individuals who had been taught to acquire the practice of intoxication, to desist from it, while they remained surrounded by the circumstances that perpetually tempted them to continue the habit. The first step adopted in that case, was to convince the parties, when sober, of the advantages they would derive from having the temptation removed; which, when attempted in a mild and proper spirit, was never difficult to accomplish. The next step was to remove the temptation; and then the evil itself, with all its endless injurious consequences, ceased altogether.—The notions which have influenced the conduct of mankind up to the present period, confine the attention to *effects*, and from

want of useful inquiry, lead to the conclusion, that the *causes* from which they really proceed, however injurious, cannot be altered or controlled by man.—*Facts*, however, prove, that the reverse of these notions is true: let men therefore attend to facts, and to facts *only*, and it will be obvious that they can, with ease, remove the real causes which create bad habits, errors, and crimes. While we permit the causes to remain that must leave mankind in ignorance, that must create in them intemperance, idleness, uncharitableness, vice, crime, and every vile passion, and, at the same time, expect, or wish them to become the reverse; there is precisely as much wisdom in such expectation, as to imagine, contrary to all the experience of the world, that effects shall no longer continue to follow their natural causes. To inflict, therefore, upon men, pains and penalties for having vicious qualities (more unfortunate for themselves than others), which are produced in them by the existing circumstances, is to act upon notions devoid of every pretension to sound judgment and rationality. Mr. OWEN says, that acting on these principles, the results had not once disappointed his expectations; on the contrary, they had exceeded his most sanguine hopes."

I was taken ill as soon as I left Mr. OWEN's last meeting, to which I went very much indisposed, and have since scarcely quitted my bed; I am therefore unable to give an account of that meeting as I intended, or to offer further remarks upon the Plan, as I also intended—perhaps both

are rendered unnecessary by the meeting having rejected the Plan.

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,

27th August, 1817.

POSTSCRIPT.

In consequence of the way in which I noticed Mr. OWEN's Plan in the *Register* last week, I have received the following letter:—

(Copy)

" 32, Warwick-Street, Golden-Square,

" August 26, 1817.

" SIR,

" As you have not *only* preferred the pauper system to the system which Mr. OWEN proposed in its stead, *but also* ridiculed that disinterested patriot and philanthropist, for preferring his own to that system, more, *I hope*, from the necessity you are under of getting a few pence from the imbecility of a weak and malignant political party, than from your conviction of the error of his choice; and as to slacken my pace towards the workhouse, it is absolutely necessary that I should collect my debts, have the goodness to make out my account, as in a few days I will call for what may be due to me. In the mean time, and *lamenting your political depravity*,

" I am, Sir,

" Your obedient Servant,

" H. CAMPBELL.

" Mr. HONE."

The writer of this letter is Mr. HECTOR CAMPBELL, late of Surry Street, in the Strand, the author of a great variety of communications to the newspapers, respecting Land, Labour, Coin, Bank Notes, and Corn Rents. Now it appears from this letter, that this gentleman, with whom I am very well acquainted, and who has plans of his own fully large enough to engross all his attention, and that of his Majesty's Ministers beside, has fallen in love with Mr. OWEN's, by way of make-weight; and therefore conceives himself in duty bound to persecute all persons who will not be as "liberal" as himself. I happened to publish a two-penny tract, of Mr. HECTOR CAMPBELL's, which he was very anxious to bring out on the memorable *second of December*, the day of the Spafields' riots; and he *now, for the first time, and in this manner*, calls on me for the settling of the account (which I suppose may be something more than a *bawbee*, and something less than a *sovereign*), because he fancies I prefer the pauper system to Mr. OWEN's Plan! This *reason* for, in this way, calling me to book, and the "hope," the *curious* "hope" expressed by Mr. CAMPBELL, with his lamentation over what he calls my *political depravity*, unsupported by a shadow of truth or probability, are entitled to my silent contempt. I am utterly ignorant of the existence of

the "weak and malignant political party" he talks about, and am acquainted with very few men so deeply engaged in politics as himself. Mr. CAMPBELL, as an incessant correspondent and avowed admirer of Mr. COBBETT, and as a Member of the Westminster Committee, officiating also as Steward at Sir F. BURDETT's Anniversary Dinners, and leading off in the Westminster Meetings and Committees, as a Manager, has been ever a distinguished politician, and might have been a little more *explicit*. But if I disdain Mr. CAMPBELL's *insinuations*, it is nevertheless my wish to caution, and *very seriously* caution, Mr. CAMPBELL, against scattering about such random suspicions of any man; and I enjoin it to him as a duty, when he knows of such a fact against a public man, and if he thinks himself a proper person to do it, to make the charge in public, and adduce his proofs. Mr. CAMPBELL, I remember, was a violent antagonist of the *Spencean Plan*, which he thought shocking, and wrote Letters in opposition to it, in the public papers, the very day after the EVANSES were arrested. Mr. CAMPBELL also deemed it necessary to go to the Secretary of State, to get a *Plan of his own* adopted. Mr. CAMPBELL now supports Mr. OWEN's Plan, which he thinks *not* shocking, though

it is the *Spencean Plan* doubly dipped! Mr. CAMPBELL knows the two EVANSES are at this moment in Horsemonger-lane jail—is Mr. CAMPBELL a candidate for being sent thither with Mr. OWEN, to keep the EVANSES company; or will he, *as he in justice ought*, take another walk to the *Secretary of State*, to convince his Lordship that the Plan of the EVANSES is innocence itself, when compared with Mr. OWEN's; and entreat that Mrs. EVANS may have her husband and her son restored to her?

I have indulged Mr. CAMPBELL by the publication of his letter; but I ought to apologize to Mr. OWEN for doing so, as I am sure that gentleman will perceive his plan cannot be promoted by such partisanship as Mr. CAMPBELL's.

TO READERS.

THE FIRST VOLUME of the REGISTER may be had complete, Price *Five Shillings*, in extra boards.

Mr. ROGER O'CONNOR'S NARRATIVE of his cruel persecutions since the year 1797, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, is contained in No. 4, for Saturday, August 16; of which an extra number has been printed, to meet the increased demand, and may be had, *Price Two-pence*.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 7.]

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1817.

[VOL. II.

MORE DABBLING IN BLOOD!

EVIDENCE of Police-Officers against BLOOD-MONEY--TOWNSEND testifies that Officers have turned the Scale against the Prisoner for the sake of the Blood-Money---He convicts Mother USHER, and BROUGHTON the Highwayman---Mr. Wesley's Chapel Clerk disappointed at not receiving Blood-Money---DANCER, the Clerk of Bedford Chapel, a Brothel Keeper---The RECORDER approves of Blood-Money, divides it, declares Police-Officers do not exceed Truth, because HE watches them, and in a Month afterwards, Four Blood Plots are discovered in his own Jurisdiction---A Gentleman's Servant executed a Fortnight ago, for "his First Offence of any kind," whilst Six Blood Men remain unexecuted---On the 26th July, HALL and MORRISON left for Execution at Stafford, and discovered to be Innocent, after the Prosecutors divided 80l. for their Blood-Money---Narrow Escape of Two Poor Lads at the last Surry Assizes---Temptations to BLOOD-PLOTS as great now as in 1756, when the Blood-Men swore 70 Lives away, and received 1720l. Blood-Money---Why no Man is safe from a Blood-Man.

To a man who has been accustomed to hang men, or who has been about their persons

previously, or who is familiar with the modes and forms of getting them hanged, the division of *Parliamentary Rewards* upon their conviction, has no qualms. He looks upon it, if he has helped to get them upon the scaffold, as what he has earned; and if his endeavours in hastening or securing the execution be underrated, he enlarges on his merits, and quarrels for his *right*, to the last sixpence. It is his trade; and should he be without moral principle, and greedy of gain, he will endeavour to *push* trade. The existence of a reward for the death of a fellow-creature, the hope of obtaining it, and the certainty of its not being certain that punishment will follow the discovery of the *means* by which he obtains it, are strong inducements to make a snatch at a human life.

These rewards, paid after trial to the officers, or other witnesses, on whose evidence a person is found guilty of a capital crime, is called *Blood-Money*. Last summer a select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the state of the police of the metropolis, very diligently investigated the tendency of the *Blood-Money* system. Messrs. TOWNSEND, SAYER, and VICKERY, police-officers of Bow Street, and LAVENDER, a police-officer of Queen Square,

being examined before the Committee, reprobated the practice; and from their evidence, and other intelligent testimony, it may be collected:—

That juries are apt to look upon the evidence of a police-officer unfavourably, because he is supposed to have an eye on the *Blood-Money* of the person against whom he is appearing as an evidence.

That the question as to *Blood-Money* is put by counsel to officers, for the purpose of decreasing the value of their evidence.

That no police-officer can go into the box at the Old Bailey with any comfort to himself, knowing that he will be asked respecting the *Blood-Money*, by counsel.

That officers are not considered by the public so respectable and independent as they would be if *Blood-Money* was done away.

That the salaries of officers being very low, if it were not for private gratuities and rewards, of which *Blood-Money* forms a part, officers could not live.

That the salaries of police-officers should be increased; and it is the general opinion of officers themselves, that *Blood-Money* should cease.

That it would also be much more satisfactory to officers themselves, if they were paid by the magistrates or judges, for extra services performed, whether convictions were obtained or not, instead of being compelled, as they now are, to look to the *Blood-Money* as a means of defraying their necessary expenses.

That if officers' salaries were increased, there would be still the same thirst for the gain, and for the magistrates' reward; and it would make a man more desirous of keeping his situation.

The evidence of the police-officers, as to the insufficiency of their salary, and the necessity they are under of making it up in some other way, is most convincing.

VICKERY, after expressing his opinion that officers should be rewarded for extraordinary exertions, and speaking of the offices connected with the different parts of the metropolis, says, "I held a situation in one of those offices for twelve years; and I may venture to say, that with all the exertions I could make, and all the industry I could use, *I never had the means of saving a single sixpence for my family, in case any accident might happen to myself.* There is another thing I would mention to the Committee; I am not speaking for myself, for perhaps I may never want it, but I am speaking on behalf of men who will want it; for it is to be observed, that *many of the officers hardly receive more reward for their services, than is just enough to enable them to live without becoming thieves;* and therefore I should suggest that a provision should be made for such men as are wounded, or receive severe bodily injuries, in the performance of their duty; or who are worn out in the service. It is a weary life, and wears men out very fast; and without praising these men too much, I think something should be done for those who have done their

duty to the utmost of their power through a long life, in protecting the lives and property of the public. I hope the Committee do not think I am saying too much when I suggest that some trifling provision should be made, in the nature of superannuation-money, for those men who have attained the age of fifty, sixty, or seventy years, or who otherwise may be incapacitated, from age or infirmity, to do their duty. *I got myself cut all to pieces two years ago, and that was in an attempt to take two men who had committed a murder; but I did not expect to live: I was laid up for six months, and I was in that situation at the time, that I should not have left my wife and family a farthing if I had died.*"

TOWNSEND's evidence is decisive, as to the necessity of rendering the officers independent of *Blood-Money*, and putting them beyond the reach of temptation. It is given in a strain of natural simplicity, interspersed with facts which render it very valuable.—The Committee inquire thus:—

"Should you not think that it would be a much better mode of rewarding the services of the officers of the police, if it was left in the breast of the police-magistrates, to pay for every special service that each officer did, the reward which those magistrates thought fit to apportion?" To which TOWNSEND answers, "I have always thought so; from the earliest part of my time I have thought it, and for the best of all reasons; I have, with every attention that man could bestow, watched the conduct of various persons who have given evidence against their fellow-creatures for

life or death, not only at the Old Bailey, but on the circuits; and I have always been perfectly convinced that would be the best mode that possibly could be adopted to pay officers, particularly because they are *dangerous creatures*; they have it frequently in their power (no question about it) to *turn the scale*, when the beam is level, *on the other side*; I mean against the poor wretched man at the bar: why?—this thing called nature says *profit* is in the scale; and, melancholy to relate, but I cannot help being perfectly satisfied, that frequently *that* has been the means of *convicting many and many a man*; and I told Sir CHARLES BUNBURY my opinion upon that subject thirty years ago, when he wanted to get rid of *rewards*, that it should be in the breast of the judges on the circuit, and the judges at the Old Bailey, or the judge who tries at the Old Bailey, whether they have convicted or *not* convicted the party, if they see the officer has done his duty towards the public, and his duty fairly and uprightly towards all parties, they should have a discriminating power to pay that officer according to the nature of the case: *then* the officer does not stand up and look at this unfortunate creature, and swear to this or that thing, or the other thing, for what? for the *lucre*—for nature is nature, do with us what you will; and therefore I am convinced, that whenever A. is giving evidence against B. he should stand perfectly uninterested.

"I, for one, should naturally say, if placed upon the jury, yes, it

may be true these officers are speaking truth; but it turns out by cross-examination that there is £120. to be given if these three men are convicted, and therefore I cannot believe all these men have sworn: but *if there was no reward*, the officer might be always paid liberally, provided the judge had the power by act of Parliament to pay it. But the prosecutor says, 'How am I to do? *If this man is not convicted, I shall not get my expenses.* Here is going to Kingston, or somewhere else; how much shall I have allowed to be paid by the county? It will not half pay the expenses.'—'Yes,' says the officer, 'this is a pretty thing; I will take care I will play no more at this game;' because that *game* will not afford even the poor devil of an officer to appear decent on the Monday morning, or to acquit himself, perhaps, from being summoned before the Court of Conscience for some trifling debt; for I have been always of opinion, that *an officer is a dangerous subject to the community, if he is not so kept and so paid, as to afford him the means of being honest.*"

The Committee again inquire—"Do you not think, *where the officers hold in their hands the balance of life and death*, that a *rich criminal* may have an influence over a *needy officer*, highly injurious to the public interest?"

And TOWNSEND in answer says—"No question about it. Twenty-two years ago, I convicted, at the summer assizes, a celebrated old woman, Mrs. USHER, worth at least three thousand guineas, for she made over that property by her attorney. I then attended

Vauxhall: Mrs. USHER picked a lady's pocket; I was close by, and secured her. She was tried before Baron HOTHAM. Mr. IVES, the gaoler in Surry, before the trial, came to me, and said, 'TOWNSEND, you know *Mother USHER* very well?' 'Yes,' said I, 'these ten years.' He said, 'Cannot this be *stashed?*' meaning, put an end to: I said, No, it was impossible that it could be: because the case was very plain, and of all women upon earth, she ought to be convicted; and in my opinion, if she is convicted capitally, nothing but her sex and her old age ought to save her from being executed; and I shall think it my duty, when she is convicted, to state to the judge, after conviction, my opinion upon her case, which I did. The present Attorney-General was her counsel. Baron HOTHAM said to me, 'This woman you seem to be well acquainted with.' Yes, my Lord,' said I; "I am very sorry to say she is a very old offender; but her age, which your Lordship has heard her give, and her sex, are the only plea that ought to save her;" for the jury found her guilty of stealing, but not privily, which took away the capital part; therefore she was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in the New Gaol in the Borough. I then lived in the Strand; two of her relations called upon me, trying to see what could be done; and they would have given me £200. not to have appeared against that woman. She was a very rich woman, and made over all her property before she was convicted; she got the best part of it by plunder.

"At the same assizes I convicted BROUGHTON, for robbing the York mail. I found on him £135. in Bank-notes, a gold watch, and a guinea and a half. Mr. PARKIN, the solicitor, paid me. Justice BULLER staid till I got down there, after attending Mrs. USHER's trial, to give evidence against him. BROUGHTON, was brother to one of the King's messengers, and another brother kept the Red Lion, in Barnet, for years. *There was another plan laid*: so that if an officer had not been firm, the consequence would have been, that temptations would be frequently thrown in officers' way; and how is it possible to avoid those temptations, provided the officer so employed has not the means of barring off those temptations, by being paid liberally for what he does? For however we may be, in whatsoever state we are placed, *nothing can be so dangerous as a public officer, where he is liable to be tempted*; for GOD knows, nature is at all times frail, and money is a very tempting thing; and you see frequently, that *much higher characters than police-officers and thief-takers, as they are called, have slipped on one side, and kicked over places.*"

This evidence of TOWNSEND's appears to accord with truth. There cannot be a doubt that the independence of *officers* of justice is highly essential to the ends of justice: they should, by their salaries, be placed beyond the reach of being tempted by offenders. If *Blood-Money* were at an end, and *officers* were duly and liberally rewarded, according to the skill and diligence they exercised in an affair, whe-

ther successful in detecting the offender or not, their usefulness and activity would be increased, and they would cease to be suspected by juries. As it is, however, *officers* are not the only persons in whom the hope of *Blood-Money* operates. Every prosecutor, whose mind is debased, is more or less liable to be influenced by the horrible consideration. VICKERY mentioned a remarkable instance of a clerk to one of Mr. WESLEY's chapels, whose house had been robbed, being in expectation of dividing the *Blood-Money* on the conviction of the offender. VICKERY's relation of the affair is circumstantial, and admirably to the point:—he says, "I certainly have seen great inconveniences arise from the rewards by Acts of Parliament; and *in one particular instance I got myself very much ill-treated in consequence of it*, and that was in apprehending a man of the name of ASKER, seven years ago, for robbing the house of the clerk of Mr. WESLEY's chapel in the City-road. He lived in a little house in Windmill-street, Finsbury-square; he had to go in the evening of Sunday to perform his office in chapel; before he went there he sat down to read by a candle, and it was suspected that the parties who robbed his house must have seen into his house by means of his candle, the windows not being shut. He left his house to go to his duties; when he returned, he found his house stripped of a considerable quantity of wearing apparel and other things. When I come to hear a statement of the party, I am well aware whether

it comes within the meaning of a *burglary* or not. The parties, after two or three days, were apprehended, and the property found upon them, and the man identified the property. It went to the court to be tried, and the parties were convicted capitally, but the *burglary* was taken off; he was convicted of stealing above forty shillings in the dwelling-house. Mr. SHELTON, the clerk of arraigns, made a bill in the usual way, a trifling sum to the prosecutor, and included in the same bill something for the witnesses; it is never more than a few shillings. I had received it from the hands of Mr. SHELTON, and handed it over to the prosecutor: he said, 'Mr. VICKERY, there is a REWARD attached to this, *as well as this*, I suppose?'—'No, sir, there is *not*; for the jury have god rid of the burglary, and there is no reward for this man's conviction.'—'Why, he is convicted *capitally*?'—'So he is.'—'God bless me! *what can be the reason?*'—'Why, sir, that you have neglected to state before the jury, that you had been reading by candle-light, prior to your going out to evening service; and on that account we did not prove the burglary.'—'God bless my soul! you ought to have told me that,' was his reply; 'for this will not half pay my expenses for attending here.' There was a good deal more said: *he was in full expectation of the REWARD.*"*

* Another Chapel Clerk has been distinguished in evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, for uniting with his clerical functions the office of a public *brothel keeper*. SMITH, a special constable, and beadle of *St. Giles's parish*, and ROBERTS, the watch-house keeper, acquainted

SAYER being asked whether the species of rewards denominated *Blood-Money* have not a tendency to induce an officer to speak more positively against an individual than he might otherwise be disposed to do, if there was no reward, answered, "*I think so; I have often hoped not; but I think it may be fact in some cases.*"—"From the long experience you have had," inquired the Committee, "have you not, in point of fact, *seen cases* in which you could not but think that something of that sort has happened?"—"Clearly so," says SAYER.

HOLDSWORTH, the late City-Marshal, was asked if he considered the rewards called *Blood-Money* were a good or bad mode of paying officers. He answered, "*Infamously bad.* I wish M'COULL was here; he would name the men, and tell you the supposed crimes for which they suffered, and would give you *proofs* they were not guilty of the things they suffered for, and tell you the confessions of men who afterwards suffered; particularly I remember a man of the name of ARTHUR CONNOLLY, who committed a highway-robbery,

the Committee, that several *houses of ill fame* were kept in that parish by the clerk to Bedford Chapel, in Charlotte Street, which was a chapel of ease to the established church. This chapel clerk's name is DANCER; and Mr. STABLES, one of the parish-officers, said, at a watch-house committee, he was astonished that any clergyman should suffer a man of that stamp to assist in administering the Holy Sacrament. DANCER had for ten years kept houses of ill fame, the resort of thieves who rescue each other from the officers, and of prostitutes of the most abandoned profligacy: he had been chapel clerk several years before he kept the brothels.

and another man was executed for doing it—I have heard officers give their evidence, and been in jeopardy for them!”

After the Committee had examined the principal police-magistrates and police-officers, they proceeded to take the evidence of Sir JOHN SILVESTER, Bart. F. R. S., RECORDER of the City of London. This personage, on many accounts so important, is more especially so from being the first law authority of the City of London; its organ on all public occasions; and its Judge in its Courts of Session, and in the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer for London and Middlesex;—trying and passing sentence of death on most of the capital convicts, and dividing the *Blood-Money*. His opinion, therefore, was required by the Committee on *Blood-Money* particularly. They put this question to him:—

“It has been stated to the Committee by different *magistrates* (no less than by the *police-officers themselves*), that they consider the mode of rewarding the detection of offenders, known by the name of *parliamentary rewards*, as one which *they* look upon as prejudicial to the public interest, and which *they* would wish to have changed; have you any opinion upon that subject?”—“Yes,” says the Recorder, “I think *very differently*.”—Indeed, Mr. RECORDER; but why?—“*I think*,” exclaims the RECORDER, “*that rewards do not tend to any improper ends!*”—But why, Mr. RECORDER?—“I thought I might be asked *that question*, and”—now when Mr. RECORDER said this, we expect his reasons, of course; but no:

instead of these he says, “I have brought with me a *list of the rewards!*” And then he says, “On the first day of every session, after conviction, I distribute them at the Old Bailey; but I do not make a distribution till I have considered every individual case, and the merits of every witness, upon the back of the indictment; I then apportion the rewards according to the best of my judgment.” He is asked to state the amount of BLOOD-MONEY he annually divides; and he answers, “I cannot.”—“Nor any thing like it?”—“No,” says he; “it would be all *guess-work!*” So that it appears the Recorder of London said *he expected* to be asked if *Blood-Money* was not prejudicial to the public interest, and denies that it is, without saying why or wherefore; but because he expects the question to be asked, he brings with him a list of the rewards, that is, a list of the offences in which *Blood-Money* is payable on conviction, and says that he distributes it at the Old Bailey, which is the grand mart for *Blood-Money*; but how much he distributes, or any thing like it, he cannot tell, or even guess at, though he divides it every six weeks! The Committee not appearing satisfied with the RECORDER’s simple opinion in favour of *Blood-Money*, as it is, then address him in these words: “The evidence before the Committee has not gone so far as to say that no rewards should be given; but it has been proposed, not only by various magistrates, but also by the police-officers themselves, that they would be better pleased that the rewards should be paid at the discretion of the

Judge, of the Recorder, or of the police-magistrate, for services performed, than settled by act of Parliament, in that manner which is generally known by the name of BLOOD-MONEY; because all the different parties have stated that they consider themselves as coming into Court with a stain upon their evidence; and it has been distinctly avowed by more officers than one, that they themselves have witnessed evidence given against an offender, apparently for the sole purpose of getting the reward; the Committee wish to learn from you, whether, in that view of it, you consider the parliamentary rewards as the best mode?" The RECORDER'S answer is very curious. He says, "I can only speak for myself; and can say, that I consider the present mode as the **BEST** mode! I see great inconvenience in the police-magistrates distributing it, because they may be considered as liable to partiality to their own officers, it seems to me. I divide it now; and no act of Parliament could give me **MORE POWER** than I have at present. They talk of BLOOD-MONEY, as applied to officers; low and ignorant people will do that; but I do not find that the police-officers outstrip the truth, and it is perhaps because they know that I **WATCH** them!"

Notwithstanding the RECORDER could not tell how much BLOOD-MONEY he divided, and thought the present mode the *best* mode, and most unaccountably supposed the Committee to be contriving how to increase his power, and said that BLOOD-MONEY was talked of by *low and ignorant* people, and that he did not find

officers outstrip the truth, perhaps because HE *watched* them; yet in the space of one month after he gave that evidence of his *watchman-like* abilities, a horrible **Series of BLOOD CONSPIRACIES** was actually discovered to have been arranged, planned, and executed, within his own jurisdiction, both in London and Middlesex! It was not a single plan, contrived by one or two individuals known to each other, that was discovered; but **FOUR** distinct **BLOOD PLOTS**, to entice and seduce persons to commit capital crimes, for the purpose of getting the *Blood-Money* on their conviction. In three of these atrocious conspiracies, the parties were wholly unconnected and unacquainted; and it is stated in print as a fact, that no less a sum than *Seven Hundred Pounds* was distributed by the RECORDER of London, at the last Old Bailey Sessions before he delivered his evidence to the Committee. The foremost plot in *atrocious* was that planned by BROCK, PELHAM, and POWER, in conjunction with a man named BARRY, who afterwards became King's evidence. BARRY undertook to trepan a proper number of victims into the act of *coining*.

To every one residing in this metropolis, it must be well known, that many persons of the labouring classes rise with the first dawn of light, not knowing how they shall pass the day; or how obtain a morsel of bread to satisfy nature. Cheapside market is the usual stand of such persons, waiting the chance of employment. There the labourer appears with his hod and shovel, but "the ninth hour" may pass

without bringing them any occupation. This was considered a proper place to find persons ready for any work—the willing victims of treachery; and there it was that BARRY accosted *two unfortunate Irishmen*. He said to one of them, “Have you any work, my lad? My master has plenty of employment for some smart fellows; but it is very *hard* work.” “Oh!” answered the poor man, happy to hear of some means of livelihood, “*I want bread*, and do not mind how hard the work.”—“Oh! but there is some *hazard* in it.”—“Why,” continued the poor fellow, “so has every kind of work; mounting a ladder five stories high, with a heavy hod of mortar, is attended with great hazard; but an Irish labourer does not care much for danger.”—“I know that,” added BARRY; “but this work is of a very peculiar kind, and I know that no man is bound to stay at a work he does not like; so, perhaps, when you try this work, you might not like it, and would go away. So *my master* would not hire any one, but such as will take a *solemn oath*, that if he leaves the work, he will never speak about it.” And then BARRY produced a paper signed with the cross, supposed peculiarly binding on the consciences of people of their religious persuasion, and said he must swear by it. The two poor Irishmen, named QUIN and REARDON, having consented to BARRY’s proposition, were brought to a room, set to work, and a breakfast of bread and butter and coffee was laid before them. It was long since they had had such a meal. They were happy in having obtained

employment; *and remembering a poor lad* who had arrived in town within the last fortnight, the honest creatures, anxious that he should share their good fortune, expressed a hope that he too might be employed. Permission was given then to bring their *friend*; and CONNELL, a *young boy, not able to speak our language*, was set at work with the others. They were given a file, scissors, metal, and the other requisites for their work; and a shilling as a pattern, by which they were to shape their counterfeits. Being set to work, one of the poor Irishmen, observing the effect of the process on the pieces of metal they were cutting out, said, in Irish, to the others, “It is *money* we are making, for which we might all be *hanged*!” This observation startled the others, and all resolved, between themselves, that they would continue the work no longer; and, as an excuse for getting out of the house, said they should go to dinner. Poor fellows! it was indeed an excuse; for they had no means to provide a dinner. BARRY, who was with them, desired them not to disturb themselves about their dinner, as they should have a good one there; and immediately leaving them, under pretence of procuring it, the officers were introduced, and the three poor Irishmen immediately apprehended as coiners, tried for their lives, and received sentence of death!

The prime mover in the three other BLOOD PLOTS, were VAUGHAN, alias *Jew Nicker*, a Bow Street patrol; JOHNSON, formerly a City officer; and a

wretch named DANNELLY, alias *Jack-a-Dandy*; and these villains, who had entrapped men to commit crimes, and convicted them at the Old Bailey, and had received their *Blood-Money* from the hands of the RECORDER, were tried in their turn, at the Old Bailey, upon capital indictments for these horrible offences, and all six found guilty, in less than three months after the RECORDER, in opposition to the opinions of the most respectable magistrates and police-officers, told the Committee of the House of Commons, that *Blood-Money* had no bad tendency, and that he imagined officers would not swear "hard and fast," *because HE watched them!* Since then, various *executions* have taken place, and in particular, WILLIAM BULL, a young man, suffered death this day fortnight. This poor fellow, a gentleman's servant out of place, having taken a walk to Chalk Farm, was there inveigled into the company of some thieves, who made him drunk, and persuaded him to join them in robbing his late master's house, whom he had left about two months before. The newspapers say, that *the greatest law authorities were inflexible* in the case of WILLIAM BULL, though it was "*his FIRST OFFENCE of any kind;*" for "it was considered, that *no master could with safety repose on his bed, unless all servants were intimidated by the terrors of justice from perpetrating such crimes.*" May it not be as truly said, that "*no poor man can repose with safety in his bed, unless Blood-Money men are intimidated by the like*

"terrors from swearing away the life of every helpless person they can ensnare?" Are the destitute and friendless safe, whilst the *Blood-Money men* are unintimidated? What an immense difference in criminality between a poor creature whom it has been thought necessary to put to death for "*his FIRST and only offence,*" and villains who contrive and execute schemes of wholesale butchery, in expectation of forty pounds for every victim they can entrap, and get quietly put to death under the forms of law! How many various and dreadful crimes had these wretches committed, how many souls had they sacrificed, before this contraband trade they carried on in the lives of their fellow creatures, under the very nose of the RECORDER, was discovered? How many rewards had they pocketed, before they set the three poor *Irishmen* to coin, for whose lives they expected to divide the sum of *one hundred and twenty pounds?* Yet they, the chief actors in the *FOUR Blood Plots*, though tried a twelvemonth ago, and capitally convicted, and sentenced to die, for the deep damnation of this and similar atrocities, remain *unexecuted*, and the law respecting *Blood-Money* is unaltered! Are these men not heavy enough in crime? How often is it necessary that they should fasten their fangs in human flesh, and drink the life-blood from the heart, before their wickedness can have reached the height of the unfortunate WILLIAM BULL's "*FIRST OFFENCE of any kind!*" But the newspapers say, that *the greatest law authorities were inflexible in*

his case; and he was executed accordingly, in order that *all servants may be intimidated*! What! are the *lovers of Blood-Money* a more timid-minded, a more easily intimidated, a less criminally inclined class of society, than *gentlemen's servants*? Do they who sally forth in the morning in search of *stray lives*, and whose business, and whose living, is to entice and ensnare the hungry and the unwary, by ones, and twos, and threes, and toss them naked and helpless upon the naked sword of impartial but blind justice—do wretches, whose trade is crime, require less intimidation than the domestic servants of England, who if they have the property of their masters and mistresses under their care, are themselves and their reputation at the mercy of those masters and mistresses, from whom they often experience the wicked injustice and cruelty of being dismissed without character, for trifling or imaginary faults, and thus thrown helpless upon the world, are sometimes lost for ever?

The *Blood-Men* being unexecuted, and as *Blood-Money* is still to be had, it is not wonderful that *BLOOD PLOTS* should increase. The temptation remains, and the following singular circumstances show that habit and inclination and temptation united, are too strong to be resisted.

At Wolverhampton, on the 23d of July, HALL and MORRISON, two soldiers, were drinking at an hour too late for admission to their lodging; and, after applying in vain to be allowed to go into the guard-room to sleep,

walked about the village to kill time. In loitering through the churchyard, they met a man who seemed to be in want of work, and, like themselves, without a lodging for the night. A conversation ensued, and the stranger told them his name was READ; that he was a bricklayer's labourer, out of employment, and a *Hertfordshire* man. It happened that in his description he hit upon the part of the country from which one of the soldiers came. A jesting dialogue took place between them, and at length it was agreed that they should wrestle. HALL was the friendly opponent of READ upon the occasion, and he was thrown in the first round of wrestling. In the second, however, HALL was more successful in the feat of activity, and READ dropped a shilling and a penny from his pocket. MORRISON immediately picked up the money, said it would do for beer, and put it in his pocket. The soldiers *quizzed* READ about his loss, and were heard by a watchman near the spot acknowledging that they had the shilling, and would certainly dispose of it in the most convivial way. READ growled about his money, and showed a disposition to quarrel. About eight o'clock in the morning, the three men were seen near the market-place by another watchman, and the soldiers were bantering READ upon the same subject. The good humour of READ, however, at this time appeared quite broken up; he spoke of having the soldiers taken into custody, but was answered by a laugh from them. A grocer, named POWIS, saw them all under similar circumstances,

and heard READ complain of no attempt at robbery, but saw that he was not pleased at being laughed at. The grocer soon after met a man named ROBERTS, *the keeper of the House of Correction at Wolverhampton*, and mentioned to him that READ said two soldiers had got his money. The answer of ROBERTS, which did not strike the grocer as extraordinary at first, was, "*I must see that man: this is a good job.*" The event, however, soon explained the language. ROBERTS immediately inquired after READ: questioned him upon the loss he had sustained, and in a very short time *apprehended the two soldiers, upon a charge of robbing READ in the highway, of a shilling and a penny.* Before the magistrate, READ swore that the soldiers knocked him down and robbed him of his money in the churchyard. Their commitment was immediately made out, and they were sent to the assizes at Stafford, where, *on the Saturday following*, they were tried for the capital offence before Mr. Baron GARROW. READ swore that they knocked him down and robbed him of a shilling and a penny, in a churchyard at Wolverhampton, on the 23d of July. The evidence of the woman in whose house the prisoners resided, went to prove that they did not sleep at home on the night of the imputed robbery. To those two witnesses the evidence was confined, and against it there appeared nothing upon the trial, except the declarations of the prisoners. They were convicted, received sentence of death, and left for execution!

The inhabitants of Wolver-

hampton knew nothing of the intention of READ upon the interference of ROBERTS in this transaction. It was generally concluded amongst them, that the angry state of mind in which READ appeared, would have influenced him to swear a common assault; but nothing serious was at all apprehended from the wrestling bout. There was consequently no interference upon the part of those who were acquainted with many of the circumstances; and the matter died away, until the village was struck with horror at an account in the Stafford paper, of the proceedings at the assizes. An old man was reading the paper in an ale-house, to a number of politicians, who were not much affected at any thing they heard, until he came to that part which stated the number of persons left for execution. Amongst the names were those of HALL and MORRISON. The whole population of Wolverhampton instantly showed how they felt upon an occasion so dreadful.

The Rev. Mr. GUARD, one of the most venerable characters in that part of the country, who officiates in the village where HALL's family resides, upon hearing the event of the trial, set out for Wolverhampton, where he found the people already meeting, and acting upon the subject. The men being ordered for execution, not a moment was to be lost. Mr. GUARD, who had known HALL from his infancy, and would have staked his life upon the integrity of the young man, made a quick but deep inquiry into the facts, and having found every thing confirmatory

of his innocence, followed Mr. Baron GARROW on his circuit, to state what he had learned from the very best authority, and obtain a respite. He saw Mr. Baron GARROW; but his Lordship appeared to see no reason to alter the opinion which he had formed from hearing the trial. The worthy clergyman, however, was so well convinced of the truth of his own information, that he could not help exclaiming, with more zeal than discretion, "*I see you are determined to hang those poor men.*" Mr. Baron GARROW was offended at this intemperate observation, and an eminent barrister remarked, that Mr. GUARD'S object was wholly defeated by the use of it. Mr. GUARD immediately came to town, and he obtained access to Lord SIDMOUTH. Lord SIDMOUTH observed, that in cases of this kind, the Judge was necessarily better acquainted with all the bearings of the evidence than the Secretary of State, and therefore his power was seldom interfered with, except under circumstances of strong fact. Mr. GUARD posted back to Wolverhampton the moment after he parted from the Secretary. A meeting of the inhabitants was called, at which Mr. MANDER, and all the other respectable residents of Wolverhampton, attended. The witnesses were sworn, and a petition to the PRINCE REGENT was signed and delivered into the hands of Mr. GUARD, who, accompanied by Mr. CHARLES MANDER, very soon after arrived in town. Those two gentlemen went with Mr. PEARSALL, of Cheapside, to Lord SIDMOUTH, and put into his hands the evidence of the innocence of the soldiers.

Upon the next meeting, Lord SIDMOUTH said, such was the effect of the affidavits upon him, that he was not only immediately convinced that the soldiers ought not to be executed, but, in the absence of his clerks, he wrote the despatch for their respite with his own hand, and sent it to the Sheriff; because, said his Lordship, "I could not endure the thought that the soldiers should have one hour more of unnecessary anxiety."

Mr. PEARSALL said, there was no doubt that the men had no intention of felony; it would appear at another time, that the prosecutor had no intention of indicting them, until he was instigated by ROBERTS, with the view of gaining the reward called "*BLOOD-MONEY,*" which was accordingly pocketed by READ, and the keeper of the prison, to the amount of EIGHTY POUNDS!

Lord SIDMOUTH declared, that under such circumstances, an immediate investigation should take place. He coincided with the opinion of the impropriety of ROBERTS'S conduct, and said a pardon would be instantly granted to the soldiers.

In this case of HALL and MORRISON, there cannot remain a doubt of the *Blood-Money* being the cause of their prosecution. They were tried before a judge, who is at least as keen as the RECORDER of London, who sees no bad tendency in *Blood-Money*; and it is very remarkable that their conviction, which adds to my want of faith in the infallibility of the RECORDER, actually took place on the second anniversary of the execution

of the unhappy ELIZABETH FENNING—a day which I shall ever remember, because I saw her die; nor shall I ever forget her case, because I investigated it for four months, daily, and incessantly, and became acquainted with the conduct of all the persons connected with it, from the RECORDER himself, who tried her, to the executioner, who put her to death, under his sentence. I have now in my possession, and I hope to keep to the day of my death, an immense mass of original vouchers, proofs, documents, and other papers, authenticating every statement in my publication relative to the unfortunate girl's deplorable fate. I say, it is a remarkable fact, that a trial on the anniversary of the fatal death of poor ELIZABETH FENNING, should negative the RECORDER's opinion respecting *Blood-Money*, in addition to the negative it received, in less than a month after it was given, by the discovery of *Four new Blood Plots!*

But behold this is not all; for the Wolverhampton *Blood-Money* affair is scarcely known, a week having barely elapsed since the matter was developed, when Mr. BURGESS, a solicitor, who was most praise-worthily active in detecting the *Blood-Conspiracy* against the three poor Irishmen, suddenly steps forward to unfold a case which loudly demands the most serious investigation, because, notwithstanding the RECORDER may be of a different opinion, it is, in my opinion, another instance of the bad tendency of the *Blood-Money system*.

Mr. BURGESS appeared before

the sitting magistrate, R. CHAMBERS, Esq. at Union-hall police-office, on the part of two young men who accompanied him, named JOHN GOOD and THOMAS THORPE; and stated, that on the 8th of June last, the two young men were apprehended on a charge of highway-robbery, and on the following morning brought before the magistrate at Union-hall, and charged by one WM. PENMAN, of Kent Street, Borough, on his oath, with robbing him on the King's highway. His deposition is as follows:—"WILLIAM PENMAN, on his oath, says, that about half-past ten o'clock last night he was stopped by four men in Peckham Fields, three short men, and one tall man, who knocked him down, and forcibly took his watch, chain, and seals. They afterwards went over the hedge, and when they were out of sight, he got up, and came to town. He was walking towards his house, and near the Bull public-house he saw the prisoners, and followed them to Kent Street in the Borough, and gave charge of them. He was acquainted with the prisoner GOOD before." Mr. BURGESS said, that upon the above evidence, and the statement of AN OFFICER, the two prisoners were fully committed for trial, to the custody of the keeper of *Horsemonger Lane gaol*, and DOUBLE IRONED. They were kept in custody from the 9th day of June, until the bill of indictment having been returned by the grand jury, "*not found.*" They were discharged by proclamation at the last Croydon assizes; being ten weeks confined, double ironed. These two men

were completely in rags in the office. Having been in custody for so long a period, and obliged to sell and pawn all their goods and clothes, and having lost their situations and characters, they were reduced to the utmost distress.

Mr. BURGESS said, *he could fully prove their innocence*, not only from the mouth of PENMAN, the prosecutor, but also from the testimony of other witnesses; and he trusted that the magistrate, who was the same that committed them for the robbery, would order the chief clerk of the office to prosecute PENMAN: but here Mr. BURGESS was interrupted by the magistrate, who said that he could not take cognizance of the proceeding; Mr. BURGESS might take the men before the grand jury, and prefer an indictment, or make an application to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. Mr. BURGESS said that he would prosecute, if the magistrate would order him to be allowed funds. He was determined the poor fellows should have redress, and for the sake of the public, he conceived *such a dangerous character as PENMAN should not go unpunished*. The magistrate said that he should be happy to render any assistance. *He would not take the oath of PENMAN for the value of a straw*.

Mr. BURGESS said, that although he would not take the oath of PENMAN, yet a jury had believed him on his oath; for one WHEELER, who was committed on the same charge as GOOD and THORPE, for being an accomplice with them, had been capitally convicted last Croydon assizes, and then lay

under sentence of death! He had witnesses to prove that PENMAN had said in the company of several persons, "that *he should not have sworn before the magistrate that the prisoners GOOD and THORPE were the men that robbed him, had he not been INSTIGATED TO DO IT BY AN OFFICER*." He could also show that PENMAN went to Horsemonger Lane gaol, and *declared they were innocent* of the crime with which they were charged; but he was induced to swear what he had *by an officer*. He then gave them a few shillings, and again said that he should not appear against them. They (the prisoners) said to PENMAN, that they were afraid the officer would persuade him to swear again what he had done before; to which he replied, that *the officer had brought him into difficulties enough, but he was determined to cut with him, and he should not lead him into any others*. He, Mr. BURGESS, was satisfied that PENMAN *had been induced to swear against the prisoners for the CONVICTION MONEY*. He conceived that this was a case which ought to be sifted to the bottom; for *had not PENMAN had great fear of detection, or felt some compunction, the lives of two innocent men might have been sacrificed*.

There are details enough in this sheet to show that the BLOOD-MONEY SYSTEM still operates as it did in JONATHAN WILD's time, and as it afterwards did in the year 1756, when similar *Blood-Conspiracies* were discovered. We have the disinterested testimony of police-officers and magistrates themselves, that they believe it to be

bad; and we have the shockingly unsatisfactory opinion of the RECORDER, that it cannot be better than it is; but who, when he is asked for his reasons, presents a list of the rewards; and who, although he divides it, cannot even tell how much *Blood-Money* goes through his hands in the course of a year!

Can any thing more strongly show the horribly iniquitous temptation to plan BLOOD PLOTS than this—that the *Blood-Money* men, in the year 1756, swore away the lives of more than *seventy persons*; that they received upwards of *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty Pounds* in BLOOD-MONEY; that though it was proved they committed *murder*, they escaped due punishment; that the discovery of their dreadful villanies produced no alteration in the BLOOD-MONEY system; that the BLOOD-MEN convicted a year ago (notwithstanding the RECORDER *watched* them), remain unexecuted; that HALL and MORRISON, at the late Stafford assizes, narrowly escaped execution, and their prosecutors actually received their *Blood-Money*; that the jeopardy of GOOD and THORPE is attributable to the same expectation; and that on an average

£600. or £700. is paid at the Old Bailey every session, namely, every six weeks, by the RECORDER, for the *London and Middlesex* BLOOD-MONEY alone! There is not a person who reads this sheet but may be a victim to the system. No ones life is safe, against whom a *Blood-Man* thinks he can safely swear a crime; which, if he can once fix it, puts forty pounds in his pocket, and sends an innocent being to the gallows!

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,
3d September, 1817.

TO READERS.

THE FIRST VOLUME of the REGISTER may be had complete, Price *Five Shillings*, in extra boards.

CORRESPONDENCE.

T. J——n's Communications are too incorrect for insertion.

Of VERITAS's Hint I cannot avail myself.

A FRIEND OF MANKIND, at *Maidstone*, sent a parcel by the Maidstone Coach, wrote "*Paid*," outside, and did not pay the carriage. I accordingly returned it by the porter, to the coach office. Agreeably to notice on every *Register*, ALL COMMUNICATIONS must be *carriage free*.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 8.]

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1817.

[VOL. II.]

PLOTS!

"AS PLENTY AS BLACKBERRIES."

BARTHOLOMEW FAIR REBELLION!—*Pikes—The Bank to be attacked—Intended general Insurrection—Children to be kept at Home during the Massacre, and the Leaders to Sup at the Piebald Horse—Letter from the Piebald Landlord—No Plot, no Supper!—Lord S. a Great Gull—His Lordship recommended to the Courier, for the Names of the Traitors, and a Sight of the Arms.*

Specimens of PLOTS in IRELAND; viz.—*The Rev. Mr. HAMILTON'S, a Magistrate, who dressed up an Effigy to represent himself, put it in his own Parlour, with a Bowl of Punch before it, had it fired at, and Prosecuted 20 People for a PLOT to Murder him!—Also, Paddy M'Kew's Plot—the Sheep-stealer's Plot—The Rat-trap Plot—And Six other Plots.*

AN ADDRESS—BY MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

BARTHOLOMEW FAIR REBELLION!

We may now fairly ask the question, whether Ministers have

not a settled purpose to govern as they like, quite at their ease, without caring a straw what the People think about the Government? This we may certainly ask, because *it appears* that our rulers really do *not* care for public opinion. If this be so, they may as well let us know it, and spare us the mortification of being laughed at, when we talk of our being a Free People, and living under a Free Government. They suspect us and watch us as if we were their natural enemies. Our innocent actions are misinterpreted; and those which arise out of our gaiety or our sorrow, are rendered criminal. If we acquaint them with our grievances in private, they neglect us; if we complain in print, they call us seditious; if we meet to petition, they call us traitors; if we talk of a change of system, they threaten to cut our heads off; if we are quiet, they are persuaded we are engaged in a conspiracy, and the Plot-manufacturers are set to work directly, lest we should be; and if we go to *Bartholomew fair*, they are sure it is to make an insurrection, and they order out the military and the cannon!

That this should be so, is almost incredible, but nobody wonders. We are used to out-of-the-way things. We Londoners got up on Sunday morning, and

read large placards of the Sunday newspapers, with the words

“INTENDED INSURRECTION

AT

BARTHOLOMEW FAIR

LAST NIGHT!!!”

and when those who had been the night before at the fair saw it, they said, “Oh, this is only a newspaper puff,” till they also read in a newspaper as follows:

“APPREHENDED TUMULT!

“*Sunday Monitor Office,
One o’Clock.*

“The following *important communication* has been just transmitted to us from the *highest authority*.

“Information having been received by Lord SIDMOUTH and the Lord Mayor, that an insurrection was to have taken place last night in London, every necessary step was taken to prevent such an occurrence, if it were indeed seriously contemplated.

“The information conveyed to the *Noble Secretary of State* was in substance this:—that a multitude of persons were to assemble at Bartholomew fair in the evening, *armed with PIKES and other weapons*, with which they intended to sally forth, *attack the Bank* and other public buildings, and finally excite and produce a **GENERAL INSURRECTION!** The *rendezvous* of the rioters was announced in cards, which were *industriously circulated* in the following terms:—

“‘FRIENDS OF REFORM,

“‘Supper on Saturday evening, September 6, 1817, at the

Piebald Horse, Chiswell-street, Finsbury-square.

“‘*Supper precisely at 9 o’clock.*

“‘*Tickets 2s. 6d.’*

“In consequence of the *information*, the **MILITARY** were called out, and remained under arms, at stations, where they might be called into action in five minutes, if necessary.

“The Lord Mayor, also, with that promptness for which he has ever been distinguished, summoned the attendance of the whole City Police. His Lordship made Giltspur-street Compter his head-quarters, and frequently during the evening perambulated the fair, issuing orders, and despatching the various officers in the most prominent directions of the expected tumult. His Lordship was ably seconded in his precautionary measures by several others of the City, and some of the County Magistrates.

“It is gratifying, however, to state, that up to the hour at which we have dated this intelligence, nothing like riot or disturbance has been manifested.

“*Monitor-Office, Two o’Clock.*

“We have waited most anxiously to the latest moment, in order to relieve the anxiety which the foregoing account would be likely to create; and being compelled, from the extensive circulation of our paper, to go to press, we rejoice to say, that up to this hour every thing remained tranquil and undisturbed. The **MILITARY**, however, are still on the alert, and the *guards* at the Bank and

other public buildings remain doubled."

In addition to this statement, the substance of other accounts is, that the Lord Mayor received "much of the information connected with this extraordinary business" *from the Office of the Secretary of State*; but, independent of this, his Lordship himself was furnished with a communication on *Friday* evening, by an INDIVIDUAL, whose name is kept a secret.

There is also the substance of a letter, given in the following words:—

"There will be a *rising* and DREADFUL MASSACRE to-morrow (Saturday) night. I advise you most earnestly to keep *your own*, and to cause the *children* of others to stay at home.—Many, many, I assure you, will fall, and *the soldiers will certainly join.*"

Which letter amounts to no more than this, that it would be prudent to keep the *children* at home. Then, again, it is stated, that the leaders and their associates, were to assemble near the Artillery Ground, Finsbury Square, for the purpose of exciting the Revolution! The force intended to effect this intention, was to consist chiefly of persons from *Bartholomew fair*, with a multitude beside, however, from other quarters, all of whom were to assemble by nine o'clock. A *cart* was to be upon the spot, plentifully stored with PIKES and other weapons; and the first principal object of attack was to be the Armoury in the *Tower*, where it was intended to seize the field-pieces, and small arms found there. This

done, the rebels were to divide into two main parties, one to take their station in the neighbourhood of the Bank of England, to capture that; and the second party were to make their headquarters in and about Gray's Inn lane; and all the *Leaders* were to go to supper at the *Pied Horse*, in Chiswell Street! To be sure, the landlord of the *Pied Horse* said he knew nothing of any such supper; there had been no supper bespoke at his house; and as to a *conspiracy*, he believed it was a conspiracy against *him*, to get his license taken away. However, the Lord Mayor lost no time in assembling together the entire civil force within his jurisdiction, and disposing it in suspected quarters; and Lord SIDMOUTH, who had communicated with the Lord Mayor, put the whole of the disposable part of the MILITARY in requisition, and in the evening a body of the Horse Guards marched into the City, by the way of Newgate Street, and in the rout of the Mansion-House. Large bodies of troops were stationed in the neighbourhood of St. George's Fields, the Old and New Roads, and other places; from whence they might be brought into action by signal in a few minutes. The prisons and other public places were also receptacles for troops—Newgate, the Giltspur Street Compter, White Cross Street, and the Bank of England in particular. Still the Revolution did not come, nor did the Conspirators assemble at the *Pied Horse* public-house. One man is said to have gone there and shown his card, and to have been sent away supper-

less by the landlord, who writes a letter, beginning almost as *sentimental* as speeches by JOSEPH SURFACE, but which being in many respects very much to the purpose, I here insert.

"SIR,

At a period when Publicans purchase their property at an excessive price, and are liable to be deprived of that property by any caprice, they cannot be too careful in their arrangements, nor too vigilant in the protection of their characters. Several Sunday Papers having circulated a REPORT of an *intended insurrection* in the metropolis on Saturday night, and announced that a *supper was provided for the conspirators at this house*, I request that you will permit me to assure you that for my lease I paid a very large premium; that I have occupied the premises for seven years; that they are exclusively frequented by respectable neighbours, and regulated with the strictest decorum; that they are open only to one club, called "The Farriers' Society;" and that I have been distinguished by an *uniform loyalty*, which would induce any persons disposed to riot rather to *avoid* than to assemble at my residence. And that ACCORDINGLY on Saturday no supper was ordered ---no Meeting occurred, or was expected; and that every visitant had quitted the house at an early hour. As I may be materially injured, and even ruined, by the report to which I have referred, if the Magistrates be thereby induced to suspect the regularity of my house, and the propriety of my conduct, I entreat that you

will insert this refutation in your Paper, and oblige, sir,

Your obedient humble servant,
JAMES WILLIS.

*Pied Horse, Chiswell Street,
Sept. 8, 1817."*

I like Mr. WILLIS's letter much, because being, as he says, distinguished by a *uniform loyalty*, his denial of the PLOT at the *Pied Horse* carries weight. He denies it altogether, and evidently does not believe a word about the Bartholomew Fair *Revolution*. Two days after it was to have happened, he says, the Sunday Newspapers circulated, what he calls, a "REPORT" of "an intended insurrection." He, like a man of sense, believes nothing of the "intended insurrection," though it was in print that it *had been* intended, and though he knew the Secretary of State sent the troops out, and he saw them from his own door; and though cannon were actually dragging about the City; and he likewise says, not only that "*no Meeting occurred*," but that none was "EXPECTED!" Mr. WILLIS knew that the whole was a *hoax*, and his letter gives the *lie direct* to the false pretences of those who ordered out the troops and the artillery. In the squib entitled the "Official Account of the Bartholomew Fair Insurrection," the Rebellion is unmercifully laughed at, and is imagined to be contrived by the show-people, for the purpose of kidnapping Ministers to exhibit them about the country in caravans, as a collection of *living animals*, amongst which a Noble Lord is aptly denoted as a *great gull*, a character which neither implies the manu-

facturing, or conniving at the manufacture, of *Sham Plots*, though it certainly implies the possibility of being *hoaxed*. But it seems the *Courier* actually knows there *was* to be an insurrection. It avows it. It says—
 “The truth, we have *good reason* to know, is, that a PLOT, wild and extravagant, undoubtedly, but of a *diabolical nature*, was laid by *men, who are no novices in business of this sort, and who ought to have profited by experience*, for throwing the metropolis into confusion on Saturday night, and for that purpose of converting the merry-makers at Bartholomew fair into an *armed mob*.” This acknowledgment is very important, because as there was not the slightest disturbance at the fair; as we have no account of any one being in custody on the charge of Revolution-making; as every person actually concerned, or suspected of being concerned in such a business, either directly or indirectly, would have been in custody immediately; and as the *Courier* positively says it has *good reason to know* there *was* a plot, a diabolical plot, laid by men *no novices in business of this sort*; it clearly points out to Lord SIDMOUTH where to look for the PLOTTERS; and his Lordship has nothing more to do than ask the *Courier* to introduce him to its *experienced* acquaintances, the TRAITORS, and favour him with a sight of the ARMS with which they were to commence *Bartholomew Fair Rebellion*!

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,
 10th September, 1817.

Postscript.

SPECIMENS OF PLOTS IN IRELAND.

As attention has recently been pretty much occupied by Plots and Conspiracies, an article containing a brief history of those which have distinguished the modern annals of IRELAND, may not prove uninteresting. The following is a sketch as rapid, and with as close an adherence to fact, as possible.

PADDY M'KEW'S PLOT.

This famous conspiracy was first heard of in 1811. Early in that year certain informers had alleged in affidavits, sworn before Mr. OGLE, of Forkill, in the county of Armagh, that a person named PADDY M'KEW, had for some years been engaged in hatching a plot in that county against the Church and State. The information produced considerable sensation. Mr. OGLE and several others believed it to be perfectly true. It gave rise to an active correspondence with Government, and persons came to town to confer with Mr. POLE. At length, however, a meeting of the Magistrates of Down was held, and after due investigation, they thought themselves warranted in resolving, that no conspiracy existed in their county against either Church or State. It was, they alleged, true, disturbances prevailed in some districts, but they declared it to be their opinion that they arose “from local causes,” and that they had nothing “political or alarming in their complexion.”

There were some, notwithstanding, who could not get rid of the notion that PADDY was a real conspirator, until the beginning of 1812, when he was forgotten for some time, and public attention was claimed for the

KEEGAN PLOT.

In the *Daily Freeman's Journal* of the 8th of January, 1812, it is set forth, that about eight days ago, a meeting was held of the Trustees of the Charity-school, belonging to the Catholic chapel in Church Street. The school-master neglected to attend at the usual hour, and arrived in a state of intoxication. He endeavoured to excuse himself, saying, he had been detained by important business,—and then he stated broadly that he had been engaged in the business of *the new Association*, to one division of which he said he was secretary. The nature of this Association was required of him, and he gave the following account:—

That it was an Association instituted for the purpose of separating Ireland from England by force of arms—that it had also for one of its objects, *the extirpation of heresy*—that, however, the *most active person* he knew of in it was a Mr. FISHER, a Protestant, who had assured him and the other persons he engaged in the plan, that it had the sanction of the Catholic Committee; and that Mr. HAY was their private secretary—that he had been supplied with a blunderbuss, and many others were armed, *as it was easy to procure arms out of the stores of the Castle!*—and that an attack was shortly to be made in Dublin, as

they were assured that the garrison was at present very weak! The Trustees adjourned to the next day, and then called him before them. Being sober, he wished to conceal or retract the facts, but being closely pressed, he admitted that he had become a member of such an Association, and repeated the account he had given the preceding evening, with this addition, that he believed the name of FISHER was not a *real* but an *assumed name*.

On Thursday, the 2d, those facts were communicated for the first time at the room belonging to the Catholic Committee, in Capel Street, to Mr. HAY, in the presence of Major Bryan. It was at length unanimously resolved to communicate the entire transaction to the Attorney-General, in the presence either of Mr. Grattan, or of the Knight of Kerry. A delegation were admitted into his presence, and that of Mr. Pole, and all the information which had been obtained relative to the plot was communicated. KEEGAN, who represented himself to be Secretary to the conspirators, and ADAMS, their alleged Treasurer, with some others, were arrested. The President was allowed to escape to America. After a lapse of some time, KEEGAN, ADAMS, and the others, were brought to Green Street, and discharged by proclamation.

ROSCREA PLOT.

On the 29th of December, 1815, the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, who happened to be at once a Curate and a Magistrate of Roscrea, wrote off to the Irish Government (with whom he was in close correspondence) alleging that he was fired

at in his house on the evening preceding. A shot was fired, and the whole town of Roscrea was thrown into consternation. The garrison beat "to arms,"—hundreds of the inhabitants were seen in the streets, with flambeaux in their hands; houses were searched, and arrests made; no one went to bed during the whole night; informations were formally sworn next day against *the family of the EGANS, respectable Catholic merchants*, the eldest of whom was nearly half a century a brewer in Roscrea—and *these gentlemen, with many others, amounting in the whole to 20, were sent off as felons, to the gaol of Clonmel*. In process of time the whole party were brought to trial, and it turned out, that the shot, for the firing of which they were stigmatized and incarcerated, was fired by a man of the name of Dyer, who, with another, was *employed by the Rev. Mr. Hamilton*, in bringing treasons and conspiracies to light. It besides was proved, that *the thing fired at was not the person of Mr. Hamilton*, but an *effigy* of the Reverend Gentleman, *dressed and prepared by himself and these two plot discoverers*, and placed in Mr. Hamilton's parlour, in the posture in which he usually sat, and, to make the representation more complete, having a glass and jug of punch before it! The whole Court were horrified at this extraordinary developement, and the prisoners were of course discharged without being called upon for their defence. Mr. Hamilton himself was examined at the trial, and he accounted for himself thus:—He said, he believed there was a conspiracy to

take away his life, in which the Messrs. Egans and the others were concerned—that Dyer and his associate *told him so*—that his object was to bring the business to light—that Dyer and himself thought the best plan for effecting such a purpose would be to dress up an *image*, with hat, wig, jug of punch, &c.—that Dyer *undertook to induce the alleged conspirators to be present at the firing of the shot*—that after managing the *image* affair, and taking a pistol, he (Dyer) went out, as the Rev. Gentleman imagined, to fulfil his engagement—and, finally, that he (Mr. Hamilton), could not tell whether there were any of the supposed conspirators actually present at the firing of the shot, but that Dyer told him there were, and he believed him! Such was the story of Mr. Hamilton. The Rev. Gentleman has been relieved from his magisterial vexations, by being deprived of the Commission of the Peace, and there have been no new conspiracies against his life.

These proceedings occurred early in the year 1816. April in the present year (1817), gave birth to the

CARRICKFANNAN PLOT.

A person of the name of ROWAN was the chief actor in this drama. At the last assizes of Lifford, five persons, CHARLES MULHALL, PAT. M'COLGAN, JOHN FEENY, ALEXANDER M'CLEARY, and BRYAN M'COLGAN, were indicted for administering an unlawful oath, at Carrickfannan, in December last, to the aforesaid John Rowan. This worthy person was, *of course*, the principal evidence against

them. He stated that all the party took the oath in his presence, and administered it to him. In his cross-examination, he said, he took *two* oaths of a similar nature in Longford, and *broke them*—on recollection, he acknowledged he took a *third*, and *broke it*—*he prosecuted to conviction twelve men, at the Longford assizes*—he swore *informations against ten* others, who had not taken their trial at the time he was engaged in prosecuting the five persons we have named—on his first coming to Innishowen, he *assumed* the name of *John M'Laughlin*; he went by that name when he swore the last oath; it was not the first time he had been made acquainted with the Ribbonman's oath—it was not to lay traps for innocent country people, but to detect murderers, that Major D'Arcy brought him to Longford; he was not a native of that county; Major D'Arcy directed him to come there from Longford; he had attended at several meetings of Ribbonmen; he did not deny being a Ribbonman; if he did not know the Ribbon business well, he could do nothing in Innishowen; *he established a Ribbonman's lodge there, and the people of Innishowen were well instructed*; he was at one house-burning only; what passed at his lodge in Innishowen, he communicated to Major D'Arcy only; he called himself John M'Laughlin, and his friend and associate Parker, called himself George M'Laughlin; he considered himself as one of Major D'Arcy's right-hand men; he considered himself a useful man; he was not at all anxious to make Ribbon-

men in his lodge, or to prevail on the people to administer illegal oaths; he knew the Ribbon system well before he left Longford; he communicated to Major D'Arcy, shortly after, all that happened; but he had not an opportunity of going immediately after this meeting to Major D'Arcy; he once belonged to a yeomanry corps, the Hon. Sir Thomas Newcomen's; he passed himself on the people of Innishowen as a travelling tailor wanting work; he had been a fifer, and brought his fife with him to Innishowen. Parker was also a fifer; he did not find out any murderers; there was a person committed by Major D'Arcy, who was to take his trial at these assizes, for a conspiracy to murder; and there were several other persons charged by them for tendering unlawful oaths; witness was the person to give evidence against them; he was sent there for that purpose; he never gave such information to Major D'Arcy as would tend to prevent their meetings; he did not communicate with Major D'Arcy until the crime of tendering the unlawful oaths was committed; he could not prevent one hundred men from being Ribbonmen; Major D'Arcy was Brigade Major to the corps to which witness belonged; *they were old acquaintances*; witness was compelled to take the first and second oaths, which he had taken and broken; he was the principal witness for the crown, at these assizes, to establish the indictment for the conspiracy to murder; the person to be prosecuted was a shop-keeper of the name of Dogherty, residing in the town of Carn; he admitted,

that, in the course of his life, he had sworn five false oaths; he did not intend to keep the last oath; *he did not intend to keep any oath but the oath of allegiance.* Such was ROWAN, the prop of this prosecution.—Some other witnesses were examined, amongst whom was Parker, a fellow-plotter of Rowan's. The Jury returned a verdict of acquittal, much to the satisfaction of the Judge who presided, and the entire Court. Several bills of indictment, grounded on the swearing of the informers, were *ignored* by the Grand Jury.

THE M'GIVERAN PLOT.

At the last Down Assizes, a notorious thief, of the name of FELIX M'ALINDEN, was accused of sheep-stealing, by James M'Giveran and others. Suspecting that the proofs were so conclusive against him, that he must necessarily be convicted, he set about devising means of averting the danger. "*A Plot*" was the most feasible scheme that occurred to him. He lost no time in gaining the ear of a plot-hating Magistrate, and, without much difficulty, his informations were taken against M'Giveran, the poor man whose property he stole, and the other innocent people alluded to. He imputed to these persons "*a conspiracy to rob and kill all the Protestants.*" M'Giveran and his friends were instantly sent off to gaol. When the assizes came on, they were duly put upon "God and their country;" and in his efforts to convict them, M'Alinden did not want the assistance of the loyal magistracy; and Mr. Charles Orr, a Magistrate, gave M'Alinden a

favourable character. Unfortunately, however, for the worthy Magistrate, and most fortunately for M'Giveran, and the other poor fellows on trial, a certificate was produced, under this Magistrate's own signature, in which M'Alinden, the very man to whom he had now given a good character, upon his oath was described as *a vagabond and a sheep-stealer!* It further appeared, that Mr. Orr had likewise told a Mr. Paxton, a Magistrate who received the informations against the men on their trial, that a certificate of character produced by the informer, purporting to be signed by himself (Orr), was altogether a forgery! It also further appeared, that notwithstanding this, Mr. Paxton received the informations. M'Giveran and the other accused men's innocence being as apparent as M'Alinden's perjury, they were acquitted; and M'Alinden, who would have sworn their lives away, was afterwards tried and convicted, for having stolen the sheep of the very man against whom he had sworn.

THE GARVAGH PLOT.

About the middle of February last the ministerial papers announced an absolute rising of the people in the North. According to their accounts, regiments of Ribbonmen were marching about, almost in open day, committing the most horrible excesses. Arrests beyond number took place, and JOHN M'CANAN and NEAL M'CABE were among the apprehended individuals.—They were all seized on informations sworn by one Hugh M'Closkey, before the Rev. Geo.

Vaughan Sampson, a Magistrate of Derry. The Derry assizes came on in April, but there was no trial. McCloskey, in fact, *acknowledged he had wronged all the unfortunate people whom he was the cause of throwing into dungeons*, and being himself indicted for perjury, he pleaded guilty.

THE DANGAN PLOT.

This plot was of a family with the rest. OWENS and WARING were not content with attempting to prove that Mr. O'CONNOR was an accomplice in one of the foulest murders and robberies on record, and had, after one scene of iniquity was over, engaged to pursue the trade of plunderer and assassin; but they added to their accusations the charge that he was a trainer of *Carders*—an “enemy to monarchy, and supporter of anarchy”—a person determined at a favourable opportunity “to surprise the plans of Government”—a persecuter of Protestants—a man swearing others to “disregard the moans and groans of Orangemen, and wade knee deep in their blood.” Mr. O'Connor is a *Protestant*.

THE KELLS PLOT.

This was developed at the *Trim* assizes, which has been rendered so memorable by Mr. O'Connor's trial. PHILIP REILLY, JOHN NEIL, and EDWARD MAGUIRE, were the intended victims. They were charged with having wickedly and feloniously confederated in September last, to kill and murder John Rothwell, Esq. a Justice of the Peace for the county of Meath. This accusation, however, was not enough, and an

approver, of the name of Brady, was produced to swear that the prisoners administered to him an oath, binding him to “cut away heretics—to buy nothing from a Protestant shop-keeper, or save Protestants, men, women, or children; nor to sit in company with an Orangeman.” William Wilson was the first witness produced. He swore that he and the prisoners met in the town of Kells, in September last, for the purpose of swearing to murder Mr. Rothwell. In giving a history of his life, on his cross-examination, he said he served in the army in India—came lately from Dublin, from the Major's office—was in various quarters, in various capacities, constable, process-server, approver, &c.—was besides a Protestant, and kept a bible about him to read during his leisure hours—he went to mass once or twice—he shot a woman in India, and would do so again—he would shoot a man too—he twice swore the oath of allegiance—swore nevertheless the Ribbonman's oath, and an oath to murder—yet has a regard for the Government of this country—he prosecuted several persons to conviction at the last Trim assizes—receiving, however, himself, sentence of transportation—he intended to swear against many other persons—and had received a *pardon*. W. B. Wade, Esq. a Magistrate of Meath, was produced to show that he had several communications with Wilson, relative to the alleged conspiracy; and that the story he told him during these communications agreed with what he had just sworn. On being cross-examined, this Magistrate said he conceived

Wilson a clever man, and believed that a miscreant, determined to carry this diabolical plan into effect, would be consistent---had heard of the conspiracy in London, that but for the Lord Mayor, would have ended in the hanging of four unfortunate Irishmen. Lucy Gardiner, a sister of Wilson's, endeavoured to bear out his testimony. Patrick Brady was produced to support Wilson. The first fact he stated was, that Wilson had prosecuted him with several others to conviction, at the last Trim assizes, and that he was sentenced to transportation, but received a pardon to qualify him to give testimony against the prisoners. In his cross-examination, he stated he intended to swear against several, and that many respectable men of Kells were implicated---he had several interviews with Mr. Wade, and Mr. Rothwell, on writing for them after his conviction---though a married man, he lives with Judith Owens---he did not see, however, what that had to do with the present trial: "it was," said he, "as much her fault as mine:" he was in gaol more than once;---he was put in for being a Ribbonman, and also for a rape; in reference to the latter crime, he asked, "whose fault was that?" He was excommunicated by the priest of his parish.---Question, by Mr. McNally, "How many men have you sworn against; how many do you intend to prosecute this assizes? Nine or ten.---Q. Might I not say, eleven or twelve? You might.---Q. Might I not say twenty or forty? You might." The prisoners, who were proved by respectable witnesses

to be men of excellent character, were acquitted. Serjeant Jebb then said, he would not bring forward any other prosecution founded on the evidence of Wilson and Brady---upon which all persons indicted upon their examination before the Grand Jury, were ordered by the Court to be discharged.

THE BANDON RAT-TRAP PLOT.

About a month ago, the neighbourhood of Bandon, on a Sunday, was put in a state of unprecedented alarm, by the appearance of a large military force, consisting of a body of cavalry from this city, which, on its arrival in Bandon, was joined by the force stationed there. Thus reinforced, they proceeded further west, the wondering rustics gazing in astonishment and alarm at the immense cavalcade, the rear of which was brought up by a noted *sheep-stealer*, of the name of Griffin, who was tried, convicted, and sentenced to seven years' transportation, at the last assizes, for the above-named offence. As the procession proceeded, inquiries were made as to its destination, and it was found, that this formidable force was going, under the conducting guidance of the *sheep-stealer*, who had given information to the Mayor of Cork, and Colonel Douglas, the Commander of the garrison, in the absence of General Gordon, that there were concealed, in certain spots, ten French Generals, and ten thousand stand of arms; which spots he was going to point out. The *sheep-stealer* was attended on either side by Mr. Francis Murphy, one of the principal super-

Intendants of the County Gaol, and a Mr. Lamb, turnkey of the same. Upon arriving at the demesne of Edward O'Brien, Esq. of Kilcoleman, the sheep-stealer called a halt, and announced, that in this gentleman's garden some of the generals and arms were concealed under ground. Forthwith, the implements of digging were set to work, and, after excavating many feet, there were found the remains of—a *rat-trap*! This discovery encouraged the miners to dig further, and they were amply compensated by an abundance of clay and stones, but no generals, however, or fire-arms. The *sheep-stealer*, at length, corrected the error into which he had fallen: he had mistaken the place, and he now recollected that it was more west, at Mr. Francis M'Carthy's. The party, then, after having dug up Mr. O'Brien's garden, disturbed and alarmed his family, and trampled his grounds, proceeded, still under the guidance of the *sheep-stealer*, to Mr. M'Carthy's. The sheep-stealer offered to point out the very spot; it was at the other side of a high wall, and near a bog. Mr. Murphy, under whose immediate care the fellow was, had long suspected his intentions, and that he meditated an escape. He suffered him to go over the wall, but took the precaution of coupling him, by a hand-cuff, to Lamb, the turnkey. The same scene that had been practised at Mr. O'Brien's, was repeated at Mr. M'Carthy's, but not even a *rat-trap* could be found, and the latter gentleman is, of course, exempt from the well-founded suspicion which must attach to any person, in

whose demesne or neighbourhood so alarming an engine may be found. The party returned to Cork and Bandon, fatigued and harassed, and the alarm of the poor country people was changed into mirth at the fools' errand, upon which the *sheep-stealer* had sent the cavalry garrisons of Cork and Bandon. This Griffin, after having been convicted at the last county assizes of sheep-stealing, conceived the idea of effecting his escape by imposing on the credulity of the Magistrates; a detailed account of the operations was transmitted to Government, and the relics of the *rat-trap*, found at Mr. O'Brien's, are all that remain of the *Bandon Plot*.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT,

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

BRETHREN in the Law, and Co-heirs in the Constitution,

To which give ye the preference,—to SLAVERY or to FREEDOM?

Is it your choice, that, *through real representatives*, YOU should make your own LAWS? Or is it your desire, to live under laws made by *Boroughmongers*?

Is it your choice, that, *through real representatives*, YOU should impose and apportion your own TAXES? Or is it your desire, that those taxes should be imposed and apportioned by *Boroughmongers*?

What ye desire, that declare.

But there are impatient persons, who experiencing *Taxation without Representation*, and *Peti-*

tions without Redress, object to petitioning, as a *degradation*.

Be it, however, recollected, that to *sue* in a *court of law* to recover a *property* is *not* to pray a *favour*, but to demand *justice*; and that to *petition Parliament* for redress for a grievance, is *not* to beg an *alms*, but to claim a *right*.

HOW LONG could a *court of law*, in defiance of law, absolutely refuse to a suitor to do him justice, or to *try his cause*?

HOW LONG can *Parliament*, in defiance of the Constitution, absolutely refuse to the nation to redress its greatest grievance, or to *take it into consideration*?

Ye children of impatience, wait awhile, and PERSEVERE IN PETITIONING. The day of redress approaches. Then shall ye subscribe to the truth of this maxim of your law, that "*Right is not without a remedy!*"

Equity, law, and common sense all proclaim, that, according to convenience, we may either *write* or *print* the Petitions we *sign*. The *Lords* RECEIVE either. The *Crown* RECEIVES either. But a *House of Commons*, in the teeth of equity, law, common sense, and their own journals, REJECTED hundreds of our Petitions for that House's REFORM, because, forsooth, those Petitions were *printed!!*

And this *Boroughmonger*. experiment on our patience, has been thickly followed up by measures void of justice or sense, still more outrageous, and even BEYOND THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT TO ENACT.

Do then a few shameless empty-headed and violent men dream, that, because the rotten

boroughs are in their hands, the whole kingdom is theirs, and all men's property? Do they opine, that, by servilely saying "*Aye*," or corruptly saying "*No*," they can enslave MILLIONS?

Of all things hateful to a *Boroughmonger*, his most violent antipathy is to a PETITION for REFORM. By the instinct of the animal, he knows it to be his *bane*.

Whereas, on the contrary, conscious that such PETITIONS are a sovereign antidote to the rotten borough poison, now raging in every vein of England's agonized body-politic, the true physician cannot administer them too copiously.

PETITIONS are the nation's VOICE. On this VOICE depends SALVATION. 'Tis this VOICE alone that hath power over the disease. 'Tis this alone can make us whole! When the nation shall stand up and cry with a loud voice,—"*COME FORTH FROM THE GRAVE*," the Constitution shall assuredly rise again, even from the dead.

Provided PETITIONS be short, the writing will be little trouble. If we desire to be FREEMEN rather than SLAVES, shall we grudge a little trouble? Can freedom be deserved by men, too indolent for exhibiting their demand in writing—a task of two minutes?

By our matter being condensed, perhaps our style may be improved. Compelled to be concise, perhaps we may speak more to the point. There is but ONE POINT worthy our regard. To *that* point, let us inflexibly adhere! It embraces all we mean, when we speak of the Constitu-

tion, the laws, or liberties of our country !

Boroughmongers have no taste for public meetings, or free discussion. *Their* relish is for despotic power in a placeman, to imprison at his sole will and pleasure whomsoever he please. *Their* favourite contemplation is, the gloom of a patriot's solitary dungeon, whence no complaint, no petition, no remonstrance, no breathing of want, nor sigh of anguish can escape, to disturb their voluptuousness ; nor the bolts of heavenly truth be hurled, to appal their guilty souls !

The well-paid blood-money myrmidons of the *Boroughmongers* did, indeed, their utmost, in the way of *false-swearing*, to convict of treason, men, whom juries found innocent of the crime ; and in the way of *false tales and treacherous persuasions*, to seduce the unwary sons of misery, sinking under their sufferings, into unlawful paths for obtaining a redress of their grievances.

The machinations, in short, of these satanical plotters, were two-fold. Their first aim was to associate together in the public mind, if possible, the discordant ideas of *Reform* and *disaffection* : their second, to offer up to the mammon of their idolatry, a hecatomb of human victims. The more spotless, the more appropriate ! By the terror of this bloody sacrifice, they hoped to perpetuate their accursed dominion.

But, by the goodness of providence, and through the sterling virtue of our juries, the counsels of the wicked came to nought. Into the pit they digged for others, themselves have

fallen. They and their myrmidons, it is now manifest, are the real traitors who conspire to subvert the Constitution.

In the Journals of the Commons, on the 6th of May, 1793, it stands recorded, that Petitioners tendered proof at the bar of the House, that a *majority* of the seats were even then usurped by *Boroughmongers*. Was not this, in true Constitutional effect, a real charge of high treason against the usurpers, thus plunging a poinard into the very vitals of the State ; which Lord Chancellor SOMERS and Chief Baron EYRE both pronounce, "THE GREATEST OF ALL TREASONS ?"

From that day (now *four-and-twenty years ago*) to this, the House, so far from redressing the grievance, hath not yet taken it into consideration, although in the last session urgently importuned so to do by a million of applicants !

In the most authentic book* on the state of the representation, this treasonable usurpation is now stated to extend to *four hundred and eighty-seven* of the seats, being more than *two-thirds* of the whole ; while well-grounded suspicion carries it even farther.

On the very division, which proved the determination of the House to place us in our present situation (no man having a particle of liberty, and the Constitution taken away), had all these members, whose pecuniary interests would have *disqualified them from being on an ordinary jury*, been excluded from the vote, as they evidently ought to

* Oldfield's.

have been, then, instead of the bill having been carried by a corrupt influence, it would have been lost by a majority of SIXTY-FIVE, and no single Secretary of State would now have the horrid *Algerine* power, of immuring whom he pleases in a dungeon.

With distinct evidence before the public of the aforesaid *usurpation*, for the most part that of PEERS, in whom it is peculiarly criminal and disgusting, what can the pious Lord SIDMOUTH and the moral Attorney-General mean, by glewing up their eyes against seeing this monstrous mass of treason—this flaming wickedness in high places, while they send their scouts through the land to hunt for conspirators against the State, in the lowly abodes of men, whom that rampant wickedness has provoked to a justifiable expression of discontent, for having first brought them into misery, and its perpetrators then contemptuously refusing them that justice which can only help them out, and afford them future protection!

And what kind of scouts were thus commissioned? Why, miscreants of recorded infamy; miscreants, who scattered treasons where they found none!—Be it, therefore, repeated, that the *Boroughmongers* and their myrmidons, so far as yet discovered, are the only traitors who conspire to subvert the Constitution!

Their treasons being as black as ink, as deadly as nightshade, and as notorious as the sun at noon, why, in God's name, begins not Mr. Attorney-General at the right end of his work! Does he not know that it is the nature of

political reformation rather to descend, than to ascend?

Could these gross-minded wallowers in corruption—could these profligate dolts, ignorant of any better mode of governing than that of brute force or more brutal cruelty, hope to extinguish an English Constitution, without extirpating an English People?—What have these *Algerines* achieved?

For open, outward discussion, they have indeed caused deep inward thought and meditation. But, for a tranquilizing utterance of griefs, have they not generated a volcanic discontent at wrongs, equally intolerable and unutterable—a discontent hourly gathering force by compression?

Under the rankest hypocrisy of pretence for preserving the Constitution, have they not unmasked themselves as its assassins, out-heroding Herod, by exceeding the tyrant JAMES in tyranny? If he were expelled from the throne, for "*suspending*" and "*dispensing*" with individual laws, have they not "*dispensed*" with all law, in annihilating at one sweep the Constitution itself, and delegating to one of their creatures an absolute despotism? What is the value of a permission to go to law, or to walk about, if held at the will of a tyrant, who, at any moment, can hide me from the sight of men, save only a jailor!

Do we not at length clearly discover what the *Algerines* from the very first intended by their notable phrase—"the Constitution, as by law established"—first engrafted into Acts of Parliament in 1795,* and most ostentatiously

* The Gagging Acts.

repeated in the indictment of *Watson* and others; for have we not now *despotism*. "as by *law* established,"—strange as such language ought to sound in the ears of **ENGLISHMEN**?

But, before I take leave of the achievements of these *Algerines*, shall I not express my persuasion, that, for the *hundreds* of **PETITIONS OF RIGHT**, on which they trampled with unparalleled insolence, and a wickedness at which morality shudders, they are conjuring up and calling forth *thousands* and *tens of thousands*, for our deliverance from that deadly curse, which none but a devil could have invented—**TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION**?

By a Committee of the Hampden Club, the public have been already apprized of the extraordinary statute of the 13th of Charles II. c. 25.;—a statute which the *Boroughmongers* took care should not be repealed; that though it *slept*, it should not *die*. This statute inflicts "a penalty of **ONE HUNDRED POUNDS**, and **THREE MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT WITHOUT BAIL**," on every person who, "beyond the number **TWENTY**," shall "sign a petition," for redress of any grievance, through "matters established by law in church or "state."

And the honourable the House of Commons, in contempt of right and decency, have told us, they *will not* receive our Petitions, if *printed*. Here, then, if neither

choosing to be slaves, nor to drop into the pitfalls of penalty-hunting informers, to be flayed alive, every *score* of petitioners must *write* the form they sign.

There will of course be *variety*, the absence of which was last session so much complained of; but yet, conciseness and comprehensiveness being most in request, the subjoined form,* from the adoption it hath already experienced, bids fair to get into extensive use.

I had intended that this address should have been anonymous, and had actually put to it a fictitious signature; but this being no time for the friends of constitutional freedom to shrink from an avowal of their sentiments, I now subscribe myself your faithful servant,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

9th Sept. 1817.

* THE FORM.

To the Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the undersigned inhabitants of

Defective Representation being the Nation's Bane;

We pray that all male subjects (infants, insanes, and criminals excepted) may equally share in annually electing Representatives to serve in Parliament.

(Signed)

THE REGISTER
OF LAST SATURDAY
IS ENTITLED,
MORE DABBLING
IN
BLOOD!

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 9.]

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1817.

[Vol. II.

CRUELITIES

OF THE

BOROUGHMONGERS.

BOROUGHMONGERING EXPOSURES---Lord Carrington, a Peer, makes Four Members of Parliament ---The Borough of MIDHURST, without One Voter, returns Two Members---WENDOVER; the Voters and their Families turned out of their Houses to live on a Common ---Afterwards receive £6000. from the Moon!---MANCHESTER PETITIONERS' Acquittal ---W. STANDRING'S Case---A Chapter from M. Scheffer's suppressed Work on the present State of England---A Bartholomew Fair Alarmist---Who the Supporters of Boroughmongering are---A Boroughmonger's Member described---A Starving Man, who Stole last Week, in order to be Transported---Another Starving Man Shot in a Reverend Gentleman's Garden, near Canterbury, whilst seeking Food---"An easy Ten Shillings," and "Giving a Little One in," explained---Independence of a Poor Irishman---Boroughmongering Despotism exemplified---Major CARTWRIGHT'S New Mode of PETITIONING BY TWENTIES described---Why it is the most easy method of Petitioning---The Boroughmongers must give way.

THIS being a season of the year when every person in town, who has money and leisure, goes into

the country to recruit his health, and prepare for the fatigues of a winter in London, our old acquaintances, the **BOROUGHMONGERS**, have taken wing. They not only know how to enjoy themselves, but can afford to do it better than most people; and therefore they are off to their mansions, or the watering places, or in sporting parties, or on lake excursions, or to France, or to any other place, than that which of course they think of going to by and by—putting off *that* visit, however, as long as possible! And yet, perhaps, this supposition is not correct. A Boroughmonger, who bargains for, and corrupts or causes to be corrupted, and buys his fellow-countrymen, cannot have much conscience. The Boroughmonger, who takes advantage of the ignorance and the consequent false wants and vulgar vices of the needy, to degrade them still more, and, that they may more effectually serve his purposes, makes them feel the degradation, will not suddenly repent him thereof, and save his soul alive. He knows that the Ministers' favour produces him, *one way or other*, so many hundreds or thousands of pounds sterling every year; and he would be astonished at being requested to regulate his votes according to the People's hopes and wishes.

What charm is there to a Boroughmonger, in a dry morsel, and quietness therewith, compared with claret and venison, and the society at the club-houses? Hence our interests are forgotten, and *we ourselves* are forgotten. A Boroughmonger thinks no more of *us*, than if we were out of existence, except at an election. At all other times his thoughts are engaged on himself, and his property, and his pleasures; in planning how to get more rich, by dipping his hand deeper into our pockets; or how to become more powerful, and strengthen his political connexions, by adding new rivets to our fetters. In a former *Register*,* is an instance of this unfeeling selfishness, in an account of the borough of *Ilchester*, the proprietor of which pulled down a hundred houses, and put the occupiers, who had voted against him, with their families, into a large workhouse. As the Boroughmongers never forget *themselves*, so we must never forget *them*; and just by way of keeping them in recollection, we will take a look at two of LORD CARRINGTON's boroughs, each of which sends *two* Members to Parliament, or rather each of which enables *him* to send two Members to Parliament; that is, the two boroughs being his entire property, LORD CARRINGTON, can *MAKE*, and does make, *FOUR* Members of the House of Commons. And thus it is:—

MIDHURST.

Sussex.

This nominal borough is a companion to *Old Sarum*, for though there is neither house nor

inhabitant at *that* place, the nomination of Members of Parliament is the same in both. MIDHURST has one hundred and eighty-two houses, but *not one solitary voter*. The appointment of Members, for it cannot be called the *election* of them, is, at OLD SARUM vested in the Earl of CALEDON, as purchaser of seven small plots of ground, called burgage-holds, and here, at Midhurst, *the same power of making Members of Parliament is vested in Lord CARRINGTON, without any land at all!*

The right of voting at Midhurst was in one hundred and twenty freeholds, which having been *purchased up*, the houses and land constituting these freeholds were again sold upon lease for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, *retaining the nominal freehold*, which fictitious character gives the right of nominating TWO Members for the borough of Midhurst. These freeholds were the property of LORD MONTAGUE, and by him sold to the present Earl of EGREMONT, who sold them again to LORD CARRINGTON. The ceremony of election is performed here by one person, Mr. TYLER, of Petworth, deputed by the proprietor for that purpose, *the inhabitants of the town of Midhurst having no more concern in choosing the Members than as many foreigners, though they pay all the taxes, and serve all public offices*. We cannot, says OLDFIELD, understand how the Members for this place can be considered as representatives of the people, when *there is not so much as one solitary individual existing within the precincts of the place to make a constituent body!* If the voice of

* No. 5, Vol. I.

the nation is only to be heard in the House of Commons, how can that possibly happen, unless it be its real representative? And whether we are governed contrary to our inclinations, or by persons to whom we have given no such commission, we are equally an enslaved people. The above instance is a sufficient conviction of the mockery of our representation, and of the want of some immediate radical cure for so great an evil.

And now to his Lordship's other borough, of

WENDOVER,

Bucks.

This borough has about 100 voters—the right of voting being in the inhabitants not receiving alms. OLDFIELD says it is one of that class of “excrescences of the Constitution,” as they were termed by the great Earl of CHATHAM, called a *proprietary borough*, it being the **SOLE AND ENTIRE PROPERTY** of LORD CARRINGTON; and its elective franchises are *transferable IN THE MARKET, like any other goods and chattels*. This borough was formerly in the possession of the late Earl VERNEY, and the tenants in general lived rent-free, on condition of giving their votes to the persons his Lordship should nominate. A Mr. ATKINS, a considerable lace-manufacturer in the place, undertook to carry the election against his Lordship by surprise, and conducted his measures with such secrecy, that no opposition was expected. On the day of election, to the astonishment and confusion of Earl VERNEY and his agents, Sir

ROBERT DARLING, a former sheriff of London, was proposed, and immediately returned by a considerable majority. This disobedience to his Lordship's wishes was punished by *the voters being instantly ejected out of their houses, and obliged to take refuge in huts and tents*, which they pitched for themselves in the common fields, where they remained for six months, in all the penitence of sorrow, until a promise of good behaviour in future, so far softened the rigour of this noble resentment, as to suffer them, with some few exceptions, to repossess their former dwellings.

The inhabitants, however, keeping this severe treatment in remembrance, took the first opportunity to retaliate upon his Lordship, by a repetition of their former conduct, in 1784; when his Lordship, having every reason to apprehend that he should lose his seat for the county, offered himself and Mr. JOLLIFFE as their candidates. The electors, well knowing that the deranged state of his Lordship's private affairs would oblige him, very shortly, to sell his property in the borough, took the opportunity of again putting up their suffrages to the highest bidder. One individual engaged that two candidates should be chosen, against his Lordship's interest and influence, for £6000. This being settled, a gentleman was employed to go down, where he was met, according to previous appointment, by the electors, at a mile from the town. The electors asked the stranger where he came from? He replied, “*From the MOON!*” They then asked, “*What news from the MOON?*”

He answered, that he had brought from thence £6000. *to be distributed among them by the borough agent*, and to whom the money was then delivered. The electors being thus satisfied with the *golden news from the MOON*, chose the candidates, and received their reward. The borough was some time after purchased by J. B. CHURCH, Esq. against whom a feeble opposition was made by two gentlemen in the interest of the Marquis of BUCKINGHAM; but as the *moon had withdrawn her influence*, it failed of success.—Mr. CHURCH sold it again to Lord CARRINGTON, the *present proprietor*, in whose possession it remains.

Such cases as these we must never lose sight of. The *Borough-mongers* are the masters of the nation itself; they are greater than the King, because they have more *power*—they have *all* the power—they have *the whole power of the Government* in their hands, and the *entire property of the People* at their disposal. The Boroughmongers lay on the taxes, and tax us as much as they please. They are the *tax-makers*; and we, the tax-payers, have nothing to do with the taxes but to pay them, when the Boroughmongers have decreed them to be paid. The *Manchester Petitioners* knew perfectly well what they were about, when their excellent Petition, in a former *Register*,* prayed for PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. These Petitioners, who were stigmatized by the name of *Blanketeers*, attributed their sufferings to the *Boroughmongers*, from whom they could get no redress. “Now,” said they, “when

the waste of war is over, our sufferings are become more general and deeper than ever. And this state of things we attribute to the rapid increase of *TAXATION*, which has been quadrupled; together with the increase of *rent*, which has probably been doubled during the war; which together *so nearly absorb the whole produce of the kingdom*, as to leave a quantity very far short of being sufficient to keep the Petitioners in existence; and therefore their lives are now become a burden and a plague to them.” This is *truth*; and the *Boroughmongers*, unable to get over it, surrounded the hustings of the *Manchester Petitioners* with *MILITARY*, and caused the speakers to be carried off by a party of the first regiment of dragoons.* The Boroughmongers charged them with “Insurrection and Rebellion,” and the very Magistrates of Manchester echoed the charge.—Alarm could not be more effectually excited amongst the timid, than by these terrible words, uttered “*with authority*.” Crafty, and cunning, and designing, our Lords, the Boroughmongers, knew this, and the *Reverend*, yea the *Reverend W. R. HAY*, the *stipendiary* Chairman of the Manchester Quarter Sessions, told the Grand Jury, “purposes of the *blackest enormity* would be disclosed to the public.” Then all the old women cried out, “Lord have mercy upon us! Do ye hear what that dear worthy *Reverend Gentleman* said? Well, it’s a good thing that all these wicked men are to be hanged, or we should not be safe in our beds!” and then the few empty

* No. 12, Vol. I.

* See Register, No. 8, Vol. I.

dupes, half frightened to death, and a host of interested knaves, and a whole army of special constables, and police-officers, and tax-gatherers, and excisemen, and place-holders, and jobbers, and corruptionists, who feed and fatten on the public money, raised a cry from one end of the kingdom to the other, that an extensive rebellion was organized; that the *Blanketeers* were going to London to make a Revolution, but were happily prevented, by their horrible plot being discovered; and every body of course expected that these same *Blanketeers* would be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as traitors! Behold, however, Lancaster Assizes come, and the *Jury*, last Saturday week, is most gravely informed by the Counsel for the Crown, that "*all is now quiet in the county!*"—that it cannot be the wish of Government to *punish* unnecessarily!—that there is a *different turn in public feeling* to what there was in March last!—and *as the Defendants had already suffered so long imprisonment*, no evidence would be offered!" The learned Counsel therefore requested the *Jury* would acquit the Defendants; the *Jury* accordingly pronounced a verdict of *not guilty*; and thus ends the MANCHESTER REBELLION! But does any reasonable man believe for a moment—either that these persons were guilty—that the *military* were constitutionally employed in taking them into custody—that they ought to suffer a *long imprisonment* without indemnity—or that the Borough-mongers, having reduced the People to a state of unbearable misery, and compelled them to

meet openly to express their feelings in Petitions for a redress of their grievances, should have the power of calling out the soldiers to make them prisoners, and condemn them to imprisonment without trial? One of these prisoners WILLIAM STANDRING, whose name stands first among the persons pronounced not guilty, has, I am informed by a Manchester friend, especial reason for complaint. Mr. STANDRING had been at the Manchester Meeting, but took no active part in it. He saw the people on the hustings surrounded and carried off by the troops, and saw them carried to gaol; and he afterwards went to look at the proceedings of the military and the constables on the bridge leading to Salford. Whilst standing, there as a mere looker-on, a constable ordered him away; he refused, and the constable took him into custody. STANDRING being searched, a printed copy of the Petition, which he had bought, together with three plays, were found in his hat. He was sent to the gaol. The Magistrates ordered him to find bail. He alleged that he was guilty of no offence, and that he would not find bail. He was committed to prison, and again brought up and required to find bail, which he again refused; and the Magistrates finding him positive, after long confinement discharged him. Having been discharged, he recollected he had forgotten to ask for the plays that had been taken from him, and he returned into Court, and applied to have them delivered up. In the plenitude of power, instead of complying with his request, the Magistrates ordered him

again into custody; and he was actually committed to gaol in a few minutes from his first liberation, and there kept, and indicted with the rest of the prisoners! There is not an honest man in the country, who will not exclaim against such arbitrary proceedings as these; and there would be an easy remedy for every honest man, the object of such outrage, if we were released from the slavery of the *Borough-mongers*.

Nothing short of *Parliamentary Reform* will keep us from everlasting subjection. Reform should always be uppermost in our minds, as

"A sovereign balm for every wound,
"A cordial for our fears."

Unless *Boroughmongering* be destroyed, we shall become a jest and a by-word to all other nations in Europe. M. SCHEFFER, a German, has just published a very valuable pamphlet, on the internal and external condition of England; in which he draws a picture of our situation with the fidelity and truth of an honest and enlightened man. *The work is suppressed on the Continent.* The following is a translation of one of the chapters, certain portions of which are omitted, for reasons which the reader and the *Boroughmongers* will understand.

"THE PRESENT STATE OF ENGLAND.

"If we may with truth say that the English nation has been placed in the most favourable position for the pursuit of Liberty; that by the greatest efforts it has reared a *Constitution*

which seems to contain within itself every possible guarantee; that it has possessed for some time a national representation, the liberty of the press, the right of meeting and petitioning—we may, with equal truth, say, that its position is now more unfavourable, in several respects, than that of the enlightened nations of the Continent; and that, generally speaking, it has lost those advantages which for a long time placed it in the first rank of free nations.

"In fact, the most important of these advantages, was *the having NO STANDING ARMY*; that is to say, the British Government was long deprived of *the most powerful instrument which despotism ever invented.* But England has now an army composed of regiments, which, in the Colonies, or on the Continent, have been accustomed to * * * * *, and which have brought back to their country these fatal habits. England now also sees *thirty thousand* of her inhabitants, forming part of the Army of Occupation in France, *lose in that country the spirit of liberty and independence*, and acquire, instead of it, that spirit which the habit of living at the expense of others, by force and violence, necessarily generates.* More than *a hundred thousand Englishmen learn the same trade* in the Ionian islands, in Malta, in Gibraltar, in the East and West Indies; and if they return to their country, they bring back with them a *complete*

* "It would be difficult to say any thing stronger on this subject than what has been said in the Petitions presented to the House of Commons of England, in the last and present Sessions."

*forgetfulness of the Constitution, a great depravity, and an insatiable thirst for wealth. These soldiers, docile instruments of the oppression of other nations, and ready * * * * * their countrymen, are * * * * * of the People of England.*

“ THE REPRESENTATION

Has become, as we have already stated, a powerful instrument in the hands of Ministers, and *it would be a thousand times better for the English nation to have no Parliament, than to have one of which the majority is composed of * * * *, and consequently * * * * * men.*

“ THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MINISTERS

Ceased to be any thing but a *name*, from the moment the House of Commons came to be filled by these creatures.

“ INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

Has been so frequently suspended since 1790, that the Act which long served to guarantee it, may now be regarded as entirely illusory.

“ THE RIGHT OF PETITIONING

Has become of *no value*, as the petitions either lie on the table unnoticed, or are thrown out, without the least attention being paid to the wishes of the People.

“ THE RIGHT OF MEETING

Has been *always suspended along with individual liberty*; it has become equally illusory, since the Ministry have had at their

command guns and bayonets, to disperse the assemblies of the People.

“ THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

Even, consecrated in England by a long usage, has received a severe blow from a Ministerial Circular.

“ In short, by a natural consequence of the great possessions of England, of her colonies, her armies, the springs of her internal administration, *the Government has at its disposal so many places, such profitable favours, that it has been able to corrupt a class of the English People, and introduce into it that avidity of serving and commanding, which has produced such fatal effects in other nations.*

“ Thus England has lost all that liberty of which she was formerly so proud, and of which the Continent envied her the possession. *She is no longer pointed out as the model of free countries; the first place belongs to the United States; it is even doubtful if the second belongs to Great Britain; for we may say that those nations which are full of the desire of liberty, that they have never possessed, have never consequently seen the degeneracy of those institutions which ought to secure their rights, are more advanced than a nation that has seen the very arms of liberty itself, the inviolability of the Monarch and Representation, turned against liberty.*

“ All that the English people have preserved, and which they have in common with every enlightened people, is the love of liberty and the hatred of despot-

ism; consequently the hatred of the present system of the Government, or rather of the Ministry.

“The question reduces itself then to this—Will the English people succeed to re-establishing their liberty, and in what manner will they attain this object—or will the * * * * by which they are oppressed be enabled to maintain itself, and to become established in a durable manner?

“As to this last hypothesis, both the experience of past times, and the knowledge of the spirit which incessantly animates the English people, prove its improbability; we shall not now stop to discuss it.

“But if, as it is to be hoped, the English nation shall one day succeed in re-establishing its liberty, it can only be by one of the two following means:—Either a wise Prince will form a true judgment of his situation, and see the necessity of calling the *Party of Reform* to the Cabinet, or the People * * * * *

“The former of these two means is undoubtedly the most desirable both for the English Patriots, and for the liberal-minded of every country. Then the Revolution would be accomplished without agitation and without trouble; its results would only be the more happy.

“But, unfortunately, there is little hope that such an event will take place *in time*. In the last century, PRINCES OF WALES, in the opposition during the lifetime of the King, and even personal enemies of his Ministers, were seen to enter into the ministerial system on their accession to the throne, and to preserve

the instruments which had served under their predecessors for the oppression of the People. *It would require great courage and great resolution in a PRINCE, to undertake to place himself at the head of the nation, against the ministerial aristocracy.* It would require, above all, great energy, great strength of character, to tear himself from habits once formed, and to perceive that it is nobler to be the first representative of a free people, than to be the object of their hatred and execration, by wishing to usurp absolute power. Besides, *it would require such a PRINCE to come forward before the People had undertaken to do themselves justice.*

“If the English nation cannot re-establish its liberty by a *legal* revolution, it is probable that it will * * * * * the abuses of which it has in vain demanded the reform. It would be difficult in such a case to lay down the precise point at which it might stop. Woe then to the men whose guilty obstinacy shall have drawn down the storm on their country; whose interests and prosperity they sacrifice to their own criminal ambition.”

Had this foreigner, M. SCHEFFER, been with us all his life, he could not have drawn a more faithful representation of our present state. And he knows, as we know, that *there must be a change*: Government itself knows it; and hence the repeated alarms of plots and insurrections. Witness *Bartholomew Fair Rebellion* last week. From whence did *that* alarm proceed, and by whom was the story encouraged, but by the chief Ministerial paper, the *Courier*? To show

how industrious the ridiculous lie was sent about, I will relate a whimsical anecdote within my own knowledge. A tradesman of Manchester came to town on business, during Bartholomew fair week, with a friend, who is also resident in Manchester.—Their habits being domestic, they took a lodging in a private house near Smithfield, during their stay; and as neither of them had been in London before, after walking about to see “the lions,” all day, they went each evening to one of the theatres. On Saturday, the 6th, the day of the *Piebald Poney Plot*, they took tea with me, and I accompanied them to Drury Lane Theatre, which opened that night for the season, where we calmly sat at our ease, and saw poor SHERIDAN’S inimitable *School for Scandal*; whilst wholly unsuspected by us, and the people at the fair, the LORD MAYOR, and Lord SIDMOUTH, and the military, were waiting for *Punch’s Insurrection* to break out. My Manchester friend and his companion, leaving me at my own door between 11 and 12; got home a few minutes afterwards, and went to bed, all of us unconscious of the apprehensions which had raged in the neighbourhood. It afterwards turned out, that their landlord was an *alarmist*—that he had therefore been *duly alarmed*, early in the evening, with the report of the dreadful massacre that was to take place—that he felt it his duty to be still

further alarmed, in consequence of his lodgers having come from *Manchester*—and that he *suspected then of being suspicious*. He therefore went to the person who recommended them to him, and communicated his supposition that they were *Manchester conspirators*, and were, he had no doubt, at that moment organizing the insurrection, “appointed for ten o’clock!”—that he fully expected his louse to be surrounded by the military in search of them, and that he would certainly not let them in that night, whether there was a revolution or not. This man, whom I call so, because he has two legs, was with great difficulty persuaded that it was possible for men to come from *Manchester* who had no design to blow up the Government in Smithfield, and that there could be no danger to Ministers in suffering his lodgers to sleep in their beds that night, if their consciences would let them; especially as he would then have their persons in his power, and might deliver them up to the LORD MAYOR, bound hand and foot, if thereunto required. The argument had due weight. His lodgers came home, and *Bartholomew Fair Revolution* did not come at all: the sapient *alarmist* exchanged his terror for shame; he rudently concealed his apprehensions from his inmates; and until the morning, when, on visiting their friend, he told them the story, they remained

unconscious of having been speculated upon as two terrible Revolutionists.

Whilst the *Boroughmongering system* lasts, jealousy, and hatred, and contempt of each other must exist. Bad passions and feelings are interwoven with it; the interests of all are not alike under it, nor are we all equal before the law. It rules over our minds and affections, and interferes with our domestic arrangements as well as our property. It is maintained by our divisions, and reigns most triumphant when we are least united. The *Boroughmongers* have a direct interest in supporting those who will support them, and they have the depraved and the vicious of all ranks with them. "Oh!" but it may be said, "you are wrong; quite wrong; the *respectable* part of society is chiefly against you Reformists." And then the *impartial* person who says this, will reckon up a long list of *most respectable* personages who think that a Reform is not necessary. All of whom, from Lord Suchanone, and Sir John So-and-so, and the benevolent 'Squire What's-his-name, and the good Mr. Thing-a-merry, and the Rev. Parson of the Parish, including the Parish Lawyer, and Apothecary, and Exciseman, and Brewer, and Distiller, and Butcher, and Grocer, and Cheesemonger, and Tallowchandler, down to Amn the Clerk, all, all have an interest, directly or indirectly, in the

support of *Boroughmongers and Boroughmongering*, and are therefore all LOYAL—that is, the whole of them, from the Peer, and the Baronet, and the 'Squire, downwards, are more or less people of some property, with *little* minds, who imagine that as *they* are not starving, there is no distress; and "if there is, it's a very shocking thing, and it all comes of being wicked, and is not to be helped, and therefore it's best to be *loyal*, because money and favours are only to be had from those who have them to give." Are *these* of the race for whom HAMPDEN died in the field, and SIDNEY and RUSSELL bled on the scaffold? To him who names *walk-about*s like these, and calls them men, and talks of their being respectable, and *loyal*, I will mention persons of another class, who are *almost* as respectable, and *quite as loyal*; and I dare contradiction, I defy it to be denied, that the people I shall point out are *loyal*. I mean the whole body of regular highwaymen and housebreakers, professed thieves, and pickpockets, and swindlers! These are almost all *loyal*, to a man; downright Church-and-King men, to the heart's core; and all their hangers-on and associates, the thief-takers, bum-bailiffs, and gaolers, all—all are LOYAL. I am certain of the *fact*, and the *Boroughmongers* are fully entitled and welcome to a continuance of their zeal and attach-

ment, and the benefit of the coalition.

Under the *Boroughmongering* system, the nation cannot hope for a body of wise and enlightened legislators. A *thing* with a hat and two boots on, one of which it spats now and then with a switch, walks into the house, sticks itself upright, or reclines on one of the benches, and when the division comes, remains, or goes forth into the lobby, as needs be:—this is a *Boroughmonger's Member*! To whom but to a preponderance of such Members do we owe, amidst a mass of anomalous statutes, the existence of the *Blood-Money Laws* for nearly a century after it was known that under their sanction men were entrapped, and hanged for the rewards? And who but *such* legislators have entailed upon us until this time the curse of an increasing body of Poor Laws, which every year levies a sum for the maintenance of the Paupers of England, ten times greater in amount than the entire expenses of the American Government? Under the *Boroughmongering* system, notwithstanding this immense amount of Poor Rate, the poor are daily dropping down dead in the street, for want of food. The *Boroughmongers* have neither heart nor bowels for the misery they do not see. With the purse of the nation in their power, they have let their Parliament separate, without taking a single effective step to pro-

vide for the utterly destitute and helpless. The narratives of extreme distress in the newspapers are heart-rending. One case on Monday is one of the many we read of continually. JOHN WRIGHT, a miserable young man, was brought before the sitting Magistrate at Guildhall, by a watchman, who stated, that at a late hour on Saturday night he discovered the door of Mr. JACOBS'S fruit-warehouse, in Fleet Market, standing open, and a basket of apples on the outside. Upon entering the warehouse, he found the prisoner in a corner, and, in the witness's language, *as pale as a ghost*: he literally carried him to the watch-house. The prisoner said he had been a long time out of employment, and after repeated refusals from his parish to give him relief, he secreted himself in the warehouse about a week ago, where he remained, until his apprehension, sustaining life by eating apples. Being reduced to a state of deplorable weakness by this food, he acknowledged that he had formed a resolution of committing a robbery to obtain more substantial food. He was famishing, he said, when he went into the warehouse, and "he hoped to God he should be transported, or disposed of in some other way, that would ensure him a meal of natural victuals a day!"

This unhappy man had been a sailor, and perhaps bled for that country which denied him

bread, and from which he desired to be transported as a criminal, for the sake of preserving existence. Our fellow-creatures now crawling along the roads, miserable and starving, with scarcely life in their bodies, are as blasting and withering to our sight as heaven's blue lightning. These sad objects, prowling sometimes from village to village for a whole day, without receiving a crust, and without tasting food, occasionally commit offences against the laws, to sustain nature. A friendly *Correspondent*, in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, informs me, that one of these unhappy men travelled round the parishes of Chartham and Chilham, unable to obtain either relief or employment. Hunger over-ruled honesty, and he trespassed on the garden of a *Reverend Gentleman* of note, to get at some fruit. Before he reached it, a gun was fired at him. He fell, severely wounded; and being immediately made prisoner, and called a most infernal villain for robbing the *Reverend Gentleman's* premises, some straw was put in a cart, on which he was placed, and carried to Canterbury, there to answer before the Magistrates for his offence, and where he was discharged, in consideration of the loss of part of his garments, which were torn and shot off; and also because of his wounds, occasioned by certain slugs, which were the property of the *Reverend Gentleman*, but

which the poor fellow was permitted to carry away with him, because they could not be conveniently extracted from his body! This unfortunate creature could not, even by begging, procure enough to support life; and his previous inquiries convinced people he was willing to work. What a horrible state is this for a human being to be reduced to! Then, it is really shocking to think what a poor object may suffer in the extremity of distress, if he applies to a Magistrate for a pass to his parish. The second Report of the select Committee of the House of Commons on the Police of the Metropolis, contains the examination of JOHN BARNLEY, the Beadle of the Parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, from which I extract the following very curious portion respecting the mode by which police-officers exact rewards from the very supplications of poverty.

Are the police-officers rewarded with ten shillings when they apprehend vagrants?—Yes; I have often thought it a very great shame it should be done; when the poor people come to the police-office at Hatton-garden, they come asking for a pass; the police-officers will give them a penny or two-pence, and then bring them in and swear that they found them BEGGING, when in fact they NEVER HAVE BEGGED AT ALL!

Have you seen that with your own eyes?—I have.

You have seen poor people come to the police-office merely for the purpose of applying for a pass, and then committed as vagrants?—Yes, I have; the police-officers say the magistrates

cannot give you a pass, and take them to the door, and give them a penny or two-pence.

Do the police-officers desire them to beg?---Some of them (the poor people) will tell *before the magistrates' faces, that they never did beg*; but the officers will go and swear that they have taken this man begging in the streets! he is sent for seven days to the house of correction; they get ten shillings for their trouble. *Perhaps the man is an IRISHMAN or a SCOTCHMAN, and they CANNOT pass them, and they will meet with them again in two or three days, and commit them again, and GET ANOTHER TEN SHILLINGS!*

Can you state the names of any officers whom you have seen do this? I have seen the two READS; I have seen HUTT and WAINWRIGHT.

Did you ever complain of this to the magistrates? I have said that I thought it wrong; but I never complained much.

Do you recollect any instance of a poor man complaining of it? Yes; *one man was in a passion in the office one day, and said, he never begged at all, nor meant to beg, that he only wanted to be sent home.*

Did the MAGISTRATES believe the man or the officer? *They made no answer at all.*

Was the man committed? He had been committed; and was in a passion because he had been sent to Bridewell, and did not like it.

Is it likely that a beggar would go to the door of a police-office to beg? By no means.

When you complained to the magistrates of this practice, was any notice taken of it by the officers? In the outer office *they said I had no business to interfere in it; it was no business of mine, and they would turn me out of the office!*

Who were those officers! Young READ was one, and GEORGE WOOD was another.

Do you think that the county is

robbed to any considerable amount, by beadies or police-officers taking up beggars for the sake of the ten shillings, when they actually have not been found begging? Yes, I am sure of it; to the amount, I should suppose, of several hundreds a year, the county rates are robbed.

Who pays the money ordered by the magistrates to the police-officers? The high constable, SMART.

For what division does he pay the amount of those rewards? For the Holborn division.

Not for the whole county? No.

Is it your opinion that police-officers would rather apprehend beggars than reputed thieves? Some do look very sharp after them, *for the sake of the ten shillings.*

Is there a cant term with respect to those rewards---that they get "*an easy ten shillings?*" Sometimes they will wrangle with one another, and say, "*I plied that man, and you have got him; you have got 'an easy ten shillings,' I see.*"

Is it your opinion that those ten shillings should be disallowed? By all means in the world; *I think it is the greatest robbery that can exist; how far the law might be right when it was made, I cannot say.*

It is a useless burden upon the county rate, in your opinion? Certainly.

Is this money paid in the city of London, on the apprehension of beggars? I have been informed that *the Lord Mayor seeing so much of it done, has discontinued it*; but I do not know the fact.

What is the general character of the police-officers? *I do not know; ours is not of the best.*

Can you state any fact with respect to any of the officers, which has fallen under your own knowledge? When there happens to be a warrant, or any thing of that kind granted, if it is a person they like or dislike, *I have heard them tell the party that has taken the warrant out, that they would lock*

them up if they did not make it up, when at the same time that party was aggrieved; and I have thought that that was wrong.

Have you had any reason to believe that officers pass over small offences, and wait before they apprehend an offender, till they can obtain a reward for his *capital conviction*? I have sometimes thought so. *I have observed them to be rather partial when it was a small thing; I cannot positively say that they did it on purpose, but I have often thought so in my own mind.*

Do you think that officers, when they have apprehended an offender, ever strain their evidence in order to get a *capital conviction*? I have heard, especially HURT, say, he did not mind giving them "*a little one in.*"

Meaning, that they would colour the evidence for the sake of getting a *verdict*? Yes; filling up a chasm, or something of that sort.

Is it a common phrase used by the officers, "*I have given them a little one in?*" I have heard them say so frequently.

That they have strained their evidence for the sake of the reward? I have always understood it in that light. To explain this, I would mention to the Committee, that I took up a man about a month ago for a robbery; nobody, as I knew of at that time, had seen him rob the person, though since I have found out there was, but he was seen to run away, and the man was lying on the ground with his pockets turned out; therefore as nobody saw him, there were two of them turned up, and I expected at that time that he would be turned up also; but since I have found a young man that is so clear in his evidence against him, that "*the little one,*" I think, *would have been thrown in, if the witness had been a police-officer!*

You were quite clear that he had been guilty of a robbery? I had no doubt of it.

And do you think that if the police-officers had apprehended him, they would have given "*the little one in,*" to insure the conviction? Yes!

It sickens the heart to read of these *man-eating* practices, and to reflect on the degrading and pauper-making effect of our institutions, for remedying the evils of pauperism. It seems almost impossible that independence should ever resume its sway in English bosoms, under such a system of mis-rule. It is related of one DONELLY, a miserable Irishman, in a state of abject penury, that he would not accept of a bit of meat, or a potatoe, or a drop of milk, if offered to him, but that he preferred eating offal from a dunghill, to the idea of being supported as an object of charity in his native place. After a fast of three days, he was known to refuse proffered victuals. This man went twenty-seven miles with a letter, from a gentleman to his daughter, at a boarding-school; arriving early in the morning, the servant girl opening the door after a loud rap, was surprised to see a man in rags—without asking a question, she said, "Go along, we have got "*nothing for you;*" and DONELLY feeling he had been taken for a beggar, turned on his heel and went home, a distance of fifty-four miles, without delivering the letter, or breaking his fast! More than a century must pass away before independent and honourable and just feelings like

these can influence the great mass of the degraded and broken-spirited labourers of England.

A House of Commons composed of members chosen *by* the People, and having interests *with* the People, would commence its labours by relieving us from an immense load of *taxation*, beneath which we must groan, unless we can emancipate ourselves from the slavery of our lords, the Boroughmongers. We are the creatures of their will—the slaves of their pleasure. The Dey of Algiers, and the Bey of Tunis, and the Sultan at Constantinople, are not greater and more absolute tyrants over their subjects, than the Boroughmongers are over us, their slaves. We see a Boroughmonger make paupers of a hundred English families, by a simple mandate. To secure the complete subjection of the borough of Ilchester, the proprietor of that borough determined to reduce the number of its wretched electors, who had dared, in one instance, to disobey his will. He immediately built a workhouse—pulled down a hundred houses rented by voters, and compelled them, with their families, to go into his workhouse, there to abide as paupers to the end of their lives! We see that at *Wendover*, one of Lord CARRINGTON's boroughs, for which he makes and sends *two members* to the House of Commons, a former proprietor turned the voters out

of their houses at one swoop, and compelled them and all their families to live upon the open common for six months; and we see that at *Midhurst*, another borough of Lord CARRINGTON's, he has actually sold the lease of the borough for 999 years; and thus, by a fiction, retaining the *freehold* in his own possession, he, *without the aid of any voters at all*, makes and sends *two other members* to the House of Commons. This is what *one* borough proprietor can do—he can make and send *four members* to represent him and make the laws in the House of Commons, whilst *he himself sits in his own right, as an hereditary legislator*, to make the laws in the House of Peers. Is not this absolute power?

The total number of the members of the House of Commons is six hundred and fifty-eight; *three hundred* of these members are nominated to sit in that House by 144 PEERS. *One hundred and seventy-one* more members of the House of Commons are nominated by 123 commoners. *Sixteen* members are nominated by Government, and only *one hundred and seventy-one* members are returned without being nominated. In this way the House of Commons is composed of six hundred and fifty-eight members; and it is against such a composition of that House, and for a full, fair, and free representation, the prayers of the People should be incessantly directed.

Major CARTWRIGHT'S *Petition of twenty* for Parliamentary Reform, in his excellent Address to the People of England, inserted in the last *Register*, is calculated to make an immense number of petitioners. Any person can copy the *Petition of twenty* on a sheet of paper, and get it signed by the first nineteen persons he meets with; and thus one *Petition of twenty* is got presently; if each of the *Twenty* petitioners gets a *Petition* signed by twenty others, there will be four hundred petitioners; these *four hundred* petitioners may each obtain a *Petition* to be signed in their respective circles, and thus there will be eight thousand petitioners; each of the *eight thousand* petitioners exerting himself to get twenty names signed to a *Petition*, will obtain *one hundred and sixty thousand* petitioners, and if each of this latter number can in his turn find twenty new petitioners, a grand total of *three million two hundred thousand* names will be subscribed to *Petitions* for Reform in the House of Commons, which may be presented in the next session of Parliament.

The Major's *Petition of twenty*, is short, and may be committed to memory in five minutes; so that if a person having it by heart, should fall in with a friend who is desirous of signing it, he has only to write it on half a sheet of paper, and there is the *Petition* ready for his friend to sign, with room for nineteen more names to add to it, if there should be so many more persons in company. If every man who signs a *Petition of twenty*, will himself copy out a *Petition*, and get it signed by twenty of his friends, the table of the House of Commons will break down with the mass; the *Boroughmongers* must give way; and *Reform must come*.

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey;
17th September, 1817.

THE REGISTER

OF LAST SATURDAY

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HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 10.]

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1817.

[Vol. II.

A LETTER

TO

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Reasons for addressing Sir FRANCIS

—His Services—Sufferings of ROBERT SWINDELLS, of MACCLESFIELD—His House ravaged at Midnight, and his PREGNANT WIFE forced from her Bed naked; is Delivered; DIES of the Fright, and the INFANT DIES for Want of its Mother; he is committed to Chester Castle, for publishing a Parody, and his surviving Child sent to the Workhouse; is liberated without Trial—Sir F. BURDETT, on the first Day of the Session, arrives at his own House from Leicestershire; AFTERWARDS goes to the House of Commons—Sir Francis explains the Reason of his Absence on Lord COCHRANE'S Amendment--States that Lord Cochrane had submitted his Motion to him—Declares he will not be moved as a Puppet—Lord Cochrane absent on Sir F. Burdett's Motion--Why Sir FRANCIS BURDETT is England's Hope.

THE MANCHESTER BLANKET-EERS' own Narrative of their Arrest and Liberation.

MR. HITCHINS'S ADDRESS to the Livery of London, on the Choice of a NEW LORD MAYOR.

TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT,
BART. M. P.

SIR,

I HAVE occasion to write a letter to you, but I depart from

the usual course of addressing you *privately*, because in that case my communication would necessarily be short, and accompanied by a mass of papers which cannot be sent to you in Ireland without heavy expense. I reserve these for your inspection when you arrive in London, and put in print what I have to say, to be read by every body. I thus give myself the opportunity of saying some things to the public, which would be out of place in a private letter, not omitting, however, a word of what I would have privately written.

At the Westminster meeting in Palace Yard, to petition against the first suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act this year, you declared that *whatever should be the event of the bills then pending, you would not be prevented from meeting your constituents; and I shall never forget the burst of approbation with which this was received by the electors present.* You continued with this memorable declaration, that *whether a gibbet should be erected in the lobby of the House of Commons, and the Members held responsible for their votes, or the subject was to perish in a dungeon, deprived of the TRIAL BY JURY, you, for one, should be indifferent; for when MAGNA CHARTA and the BILL OF RIGHTS should have expired, you should think you had lived*

long enough.* In this language the People of Westminster who heard it, and the People of England who read it, recognized the spirit which dictated your celebrated Argument, "denying the right of the House of Commons to imprison the People of England," wherein you affirmed that *MAGNA CHARTA* never can be repealed till England shall have found her grave in the corruption of a House of Commons; for which Letter to your Constituents, and Argument, you were, by the House of Commons, committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where, after the electors of Westminster framed a spirited Remonstrance to the House of Commons, they presented to you an Address, concluding as follows:—

"We have resolved to remonstrate with the House of Commons on the outrages committed under their orders, and to call upon them to restore you to your Seat in Parliament, which the present state of the country renders more than ever necessary for the furtherance of *YOUR* and *OUR* object, a Reform of the Representation in that House. While so many Members are collected together by means 'which it is not necessary for us to describe,' we cannot but entertain the greatest apprehensions for the remainder of our liberties; and the employment of a military force against one of their own body, is but a sad presage of what may be expected by those who, like you, have the courage to stand forward in defence of the Rights of the People.—*When we reflect on your generous exertions to destroy the horrors of secret and*

solitary confinement; to mitigate the severity of punishment in the army; to prevent the cashiering of its officers without cause assigned; to restore, for the comfort of the worn-out soldier, the public property conveyed by a job to a private individual; to prevent the extension of the barrack system, the obvious effect of which is to separate the soldier from the citizen; to prevent the introduction of foreign troops; to bring to light an atrocious act of tyranny, by which a British sailor was left to perish on a barren rock; and above all, your unremitted exertions to obtain a full, fair, and free Representation of the People in Parliament; when we reflect on the firmness, the unshaken constancy which you have invariably shown 'in evil report and good report,' we are eager to express the sentiments of gratitude and attachment to you with which we are impressed, and we are convinced that those sentiments are not only felt by the Inhabitants of this City, but by every person throughout the land who is not interested in the continuance of public abuses."

To you, Sir FRANCIS, whose constituents entertained and preserve these feelings of affectionate esteem, founded upon the great services rendered to your country, I now submit the case of ROBERT SWINDELLS, of Macclesfield, a poor, but I believe very honest man, who has sent me all the papers relating to it, under a persuasion that I will do the best in my power to make his injuries known, with a view to procure him redress. His narrative whilst a prisoner in Chester Castle is plain and straight forward, and I give it in his own artless lan-

guage, merely correcting the spelling; and, to prevent mistakes, sending the original copy of the writ, and the cerified copy of his commitment to prison, to be printed from:—

Chester Castle, July 21st, 1817.

SIR,

I hope you will think with me, that I am justifiable in laying before you a most daring attack on my house, person, and property, by SAMUEL WOOD, Alderman, JOSEPH TURNICLIFF, Silk Manufacturer, JAMES POWELL, Bankers' Clerk, and several others. Acting as I supposed, under the authority of the Magistrates, *on the tenth of March*, about the hour of twelve o'clock at night, they came to my house when I was peaceably in bed with my wife and child, and knocked violently at my door, which awoke me; I got out of bed, and went to the window, and asked who was there. They said *Constables*. I told them to go away; that they had no right to disturb me in that manner; they threatened me with many threats and curses, and exclaimed, "*By God, if you don't open the door, we will break it open; we will break it in pieces, if you don't open the door, and get us a light.*" My wife being very much alarmed, and *far advanced in pregnancy*, did entreat me to open the door, which I did, as soon as I had got a light; and in rushed a number of men, with staffs lifted, as if they meant to fall me to the ground instantly. I asked them for their authority for coming to my house in that manner. With their staffs lifted over my head, they exclaimed, "*This is our authority!* and where are those men you have in your

house?" I said, what men? They answered, "Why those men you have in your house." I told them, I have got no men in my house; that there was no person in my house, except me, my wife, and child. SAMUEL WOOD and others took the light, searched the house, but found no men there. SAMUEL WOOD said, "There has some men slept in your house." I told him that no man did ever sleep in my house, but myself; *they began to rummage my house, and destroy my property; they demanded the keys of my chest and boxes; I said, I did not know where they was; they threatened me, with their staffs brandished over my head, that they would break the chest in splinters, if I did not get them the keys.* My wife and child being down stairs, as we got out of bed, and I fearing the consequence of their threats, told them where the keys were; they got them, and opened the chest and box. One of them having the box under his arm, said they would take it along with them; but as the keys were found, and the contents rummaged, it was left. All this was done, to the great damage of our clothes, and other contents; every thing being *unfolded, broke open, and thrown about the house; every bonnet and hat being broke flat together.* They demanded another candle; I did not offer to comply; they threatened me with their staffs, as before, so that I got them one: that being lighted, a party went up stairs, pulled the bed-clothes off the bed, on to the floor, turned the bed up of a heap, went to the beaufet, pulled out most of the contents, and broke and threw them about the floor; they

also opened my wife's work-bags; her sewing, which she had been preparing for the child she then carried, was also thrown about the floor. When they had plundered my house in every direction, *they took with them a bundle of printed papers and pamphlets, and went off*, saying, it would not be long before they would visit me again, which they never have, neither have they returned my property, which they took away with them. But the scene did not stop here; for on the next day, which was on the eleventh of March, my wife declared to me, and many others, *that the fright, and starvation with cold, had killed her*, which she continued to express till the day of her death; for *pains, cough, and spitting ensued, which rendered her, for several weeks, unable to lay down in bed, till the 26th of April, when she was delivered, without pains.* Being unable to rest, **SHE EXPIRED** on the 28th, the day but one afterwards (though all the assistance was got that lay in my power), *leaving me the child she was delivered of, and another, one year and eight months old, to bewail her loss!*

I called on SAMUEL WOOD, personally, at his house, to inquire why I should be attacked, and my house forced in that manner; who said that *they did not force my house*; that I had opened the door: I informed him that I would see how far they was justifiable in such proceedings. I don't presume to say how far these men were from being drunk; but they were far from being sober.

The reason for my delay in seeing after this, was the situa-

tion in which I was placed—a *wife to be buried at the expense of a parish, and a small family to be supported by the same.*

On the 17th of May, Mr. GRIMSDITCH, an Attorney, brought to me a writ, addressed to William SWINDELLS. I told him that was not my name. He said it did not matter, it was for me, and so left a copy. On the next day, the 18th, *my youngest child died, for want of a mother*; and on the 31st, another writ was brought to me, by Mr. GRIMSDITCH's Clerk, addressed to Robert SWINDELLS, a copy of which was left me; the contents were as follows:—

(COPY.)

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, to Robert SWINDELLS, greeting. We command you firmly, enjoining you, that laying aside all excuses and pretences whatsoever, you be and appear before us at Westminster, on Friday next, after the morrow of the Holy Trinity, to answer to us touching and concerning those things which shall then and there be objected against you on our behalf; and further to do and receive all and singular such matters and things as our Court, before us, shall then and there consider of concerning you in the premises; and this you are not to omit, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, to be levied upon your goods and chattels, lands and tenements, if you shall make default in the premises. Witness EDWARD Lord ELLENBOROUGH, at Westminster, the seventeenth day of May, in the fifty-seventh year of our reign.

By the Court,

LUSHINGTON.

FOR THE KING.

Sir SAMUEL SHEPHERD, Knight, Attorney-General of our Lord the King, for our said Lord the King prosecuteth this writ against the within-named defendant, upon an information exhibited against him by the said Attorney-General, in the Court of our said Lord the King, before the King himself, for certain *misdeemeanours*, whereof he is impeached.

May 30th, 1817.

I told Mr. GRIMSDITCH's clerk

that I was not possessed of a shilling, therefore I could not go without means—that I was ready and willing to go if I had got the means: he said I must try my friends—I did so. I went to the *Overseer*, showed him the writ; he said he knew nothing about it—he could do nothing in it. I took it to the *Mayor*; he said he knew nothing at all about it. I told him, if I had been guilty of misdemeanors, I delivered myself into his charge: he said, I know nothing at all about you. On Sunday, June 22d, about seven of the clock in the evening, Mr. FROST, constable, came to me, said he had a warrant against me; he took me to his lock-up room, and kept me there till the 27th; during this time Mr. FROST sent a letter to Sir RICHARD BROOKE, Bart. *Sheriff* of the county of Chester, stating he had such a person in his custody; the answer was, that he must go to Mr. GRIMSDITCH, and know what charge he had against me, and if it were criminal, he was to take no bail; if not criminal, I was to find *two sureties of two hundred pounds each*. Mr. GRIMSDITCH endeavoured long to deny knowing any thing about it, but the letter being so blunt against him, he was confounded, and in a rage said he had sent some papers off. *All this while I could get no subsistence, but what I could beg*; and on the 27th I was conveyed to Chester Castle, to subsist on bread and water, having no means left to get any thing else. Such is the change of my condition in the course of a few weeks. *A wife, whose character is a pattern to all her sex, put to death by cowards! one child dead for the want of a mother! another*

left to the mercy of a parish officer! and myself confined in a prison in the Castle of Chester! My commitment is in these words:—

(Copy)

County of Chester to wit.—Sir RICHARD BROOKE, Bart. Sheriff of the said County. To the Constable of the Castle of Chester, or to his Deputy or Deputies there,

GREETING,

By virtue of his Majesty's writ of non-mittas attachment, to me directed and delivered, these are to will and require you, and in his Majesty's name strictly to charge and command you, to receive into your custody the body of ROBERT SWINDELLS, late of Macclesfield, in my county, bookseller, whom I herewith send; and him safely keep, so that I may have his body before his Majesty on the morrow of All Souls, wheresoever his Majesty shall then be in England, to answer his Majesty for certain misdemeanors whereof he is impeached: and for your so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given under the seal of my office, this twenty-seventh day of June, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

By the said Sheriff. (L. S.)

(A Copy) G. HURST, *Deputy*.

DEALTRY & BARLOW,
Clerk in Court for the Crown.

LEEKE.

This is my situation, after upwards of eleven years' servitude in his Majesty's Plymouth division of royal marines, out of which I was three years and twenty-three days on board of his Majesty's ship *Ville de Paris*, with Admiral CORNWALLIS, off Brest; three years and twenty-three days in his Majesty's gun-vessel, *Insolent*; and four years, six months, and twenty-three days, on board of his Majesty's ship *Hussar*; and returned home from the East Indies with the Earl of Minto, after being debilitated through the fatigue of war and severity of the country.

ROBERT SWINDELLS,

Of Macclesfield, now in the Castle of Chest

A few days after SWINDELLS sent me the above letter from his prison, and whilst I was deliberating what course to pursue, Parliament at that time not sitting, he wrote to let me know he had been liberated, and sent me all the papers in his possession; from which it appears, that being utterly helpless, he had, on the 5th of July, caused a Petition to the House of Commons to be forwarded to Mr. BROUGHAM, merely setting forth his imprisonment, and copies of the writ and his commitment, and stating that he had not been served with any copy of the Declaration, Charge, or Information; and being at a loss how to act or be advised as to his defence, he prayed the House to grant him such relief as might cause him to be furnished with a copy of the charges against him. I do not know whether Mr. BROUGHAM presented the Petition or not, but his interference obtained for SWINDELLS a copy, gratis, of an *Ex-officio* Information, filed against him, for publishing, on the 10th day of March, a *Parody* entitled the "Political Litany," and also another *Parody* entitled a "Political Creed;" which latter it charged, I think rather whimsically, to be "a wicked, impious, * profane, and malicious libel, of "and concerning our Sovereign "Lord the KING, and of and concerning a certain person therein "called the Earl of LIVERPOOL; "and of and concerning a certain "other person therein called the "Right Hon. Lord CASTLEREAGH, "and of and concerning the "House of LORDS of this kingdom, and of and concerning "the House of COMMONS of "this kingdom, amongst other

"*THINGS!*" SWINDELLS being thus informed of the charge, in gaol, whilst subsisting on the prison allowance, and utterly without the means of even pleading not guilty, the Crown Prosecutors were reduced to the necessity of applying to their prisoner, to let Mr. LITCHFIELD, the *Crown Solicitor*, appear and enter a plea for him. To induce him to do so, he was promised that Mr. LITCHFIELD would bring it forward for him at the next Chester Assizes, *without expense, OTHERWISE all the expenses would fall on himself*—a poor prisoner, living on bread and water! SWINDELLS accordingly signed an authority, as follows:—

(Copy)

IN THE KING'S BENCH.

The KING against ROBERT SWINDELLS.

I, the above-named Defendant, do hereby authorize HENRY CHARLES LITCHFIELD, Esq., to cause an Appearance and Plea of *Not Guilty* to be entered for me to this Information.

ROBERT SWINDELLS.

Dated 23 July, 1817.

This being signed, he was liberated on giving his future residence, or an address where he could be sent to. On what day he left Chester Castle I do not know, but the prosecution still proceeded, as appears by the following notice:—

(Copy)

IN THE KING'S BENCH.

The KING against ROBERT SWINDELLS.

Take notice, that the issue joined upon this Information will be *tried at the next Great Session and Assizes* to be holden in and for the county of Chester.

Dated 25 July, 1817.

H. C. LITCHFIELD,
Solicitor for the Prosecution.

To ROBERT SWINDELLS,
the above-named Defendant.

This was followed by another---

(Copy)

IN THE KING'S BENCH.

The KING against ROBERT SWINDELLS.

I hereby give you notice that the issue joined in this prosecution will *not* be tried at the next Great Session and Assizes to be holden in and for the county of Chester—the notice of trial being countermanded.

Dated 1st August, 1817.

H. C. LITCHFIELD,
Solicitor for the Prosecution.

To ROBERT SWINDELLS,
the above-named Defendant.

This was communicated to me as soon as received by the following letter:--

(Copy)

Macclesfield, August 4.

SIR,

I received this by Mr. GRIMSDITCH's clerk, who said his master had received a letter, of which he was ordered to leave me a copy. Now I should be glad to know *whether I must sit down with the losses and usage I have had, or not.* So I wait your answer, and am your obedient servant,

ROBERT SWINDELLS.

*Parsonage Street, Macclesfield,
Cheshire.*

P. S. Being at a loss how to proceed, I should be glad for your instructions.—Please to excuse all freedom.

As a Rule of Court had been obtained to nominate a *Chester Special Jury* at the Crown-Office in the Temple, *London*, and Thursday, the 14th, at 11 o'clock, was appointed by Mr. LUSHINGTON, at the Crown-Office, peremptorily to reduce, I attended there on behalf of SWINDELLS at that hour, and then found, by the non-appearance of Mr. LITCHFIELD to reduce the Jury, and the representation of the clerk, that no Jury had been nominated, and the prosecution was considered as abandoned.

The offence charged against SWINDELLS is the *publishing* on the *tenth* of March, which is the day whereon, at midnight, his

house was forcibly beset and ransacked; and the *publishing* doubtless consists in his then having the alleged libels in his possession, of which, amongst other things, he was robbed by the persons who entered and deliberately packed up his books and carried them off. Talk of an Englishman's house being his castle, indeed! Here is a poor man, who, disabled in the service of his country, retires to a humble dwelling, to taste the sweets of domestic life; and, in a season of general calamity, almost, if not entirely, destitute of other employ, he endeavours to obtain bread for his wife and child by selling a few cheap pamphlets. On a sudden, and at night, the sanctity of his little home is outraged with such brutal violence, that his wife and infant are driven, in tears, and distress, and naked, from their bed, whilst every corner of the cottage, and every description of property, are ransacked and ravaged. Even the unfinished garments which the fond mother had been providing for her unborn offspring are examined, and scattered amongst the wreck of the household stuff of her unprotected family. The poor woman, shivering in the bitter cold of a winter night, without covering, tending the sleeping child she escaped with from her bed, and terrified to agony by fears for her husband's safety, and by the sudden and causeless devastation committed on her comforts—this hapless wife, on the departure of the marauders, declares to her husband, and repeatedly afterwards to others, that the affrighting scene of that night will work her death—her health declines—

she sustains a preternatural delivery—and *she dies*, leaving her new-born infant, and that which she fondled on the fatal night, without a mother! The unfortunate SWINDELLS, in the midst of this distress, is visited by a Government Prosecution, served with process upon process, his last-born babe *perishes* for want of maternal care, and he is himself carried to Chester Castle, as a Crown Prisoner; whilst all that remains to him of all that is dear in this life, his little lone child, is deposited in that grave of hope, a parish poor-house! Here is *distress*! Here is *ruin*! What! is the publication of *any* pamphlet, however vile, to be visited, before trial, with sufferings such as this poor man's? Having sustained an unconstitutional imprisonment, and not merely the separation of his family, but the *destruction* of it, he has been liberated without trial, and without redress!

I present this case to you now, Sir FRANCIS, as one which is scarcely exceeded in misery by that of a poor woman near Spalding, who, a few weeks ago, destitute of food for herself and three children, fetched a bucket full of grains, used in feeding swine, and throwing them on the floor, as food to her famishing babes, rushed out of doors, and in the agony of despair, committed suicide! To you, Sir FRANCIS, as the eloquent advocate for recompense to individual suffering, and the firmest and ablest claimant in the House of Commons for Reform in that House, I am sure this appeal to procure poor SWINDELLS justice, will not be made in vain. His is one of the instances which exemplify the

lawlessness and cruelty of power, under a corrupt state of the Representation.

With *you* for our champion, we, the People of England, will not despair of our country, or of the cause of Reform. On the 15th day of June, 1809, you presented a *Specific Plan of Reform* to the House of Commons, that thenceforward, as you then observed,* “it might be fully and “clearly understood *how far you* “*really meant to go*, and at what “point you meant to *stop*,” and from that day unto this, the necessity of Reform has become more and more apparent, from one end of the kingdom to the other. On the first day of the last session, January 28th, you arrived from Leicestershire at your own house, and, *after being engaged there on the subject nearest our hearts*, you then proceeded to the House of Commons, and there, before even the REGENT's speech from the throne was read by the Speaker, you rose and said, “I rise thus early to give notice, that on this day month I shall bring forward a motion *for a REFORM in this House of Parliament*.”† On Tuesday, February the 25th, at the Westminster Meeting to petition against the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, on the hustings in Palace-yard, I heard you deliver a speech, with Lord COCHRANE on your right hand; next to his Lordship stood Major CARTWRIGHT; next to the Major Mr. HENRY HUNT; *all of whom listened in silence* to that part of the speech which is recorded in these words:—

* See Sir FRANCIS BURDETT's Plan of Reform, in the *Register*, Vol. I. No. 3.

† *Register*, Vol. I, p. 6.

"So long as that House (the House of Commons), should remain under the control of a set of *borough proprietors*, there was no more security for the wholesome use of the prerogative, than for the enjoyment of popular rights. The Crown was as much under their control as the country; and until that bond which they affected to call a bond between the governor and governed, but which he (Sir F. BURDETT) called a *bond of infamy, and a bond of corruption*, under which, if not dissolved, they must all become bondmen, should be destroyed—until such a *Reform* in the Commons House of Parliament should be effected, as would preserve the majority independent of the Treasury Bench, he certainly could hold out to them but a very faint prospect of success. To that object, therefore, above all others, their endeavours ought to be incessantly directed. He knew of no right that any set of men could claim to be governors perpetually, unless it was that which had been formerly known by the name of divine right; and what had been said of that monstrous doctrine by a great man who lost his life in defence of English freedom—he meant SIDNEY—might be fairly applied to the influence of the borough proprietors—he never could believe in the principle of divine right, until he could be persuaded that some men were born with the mark of a saddle on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them" [Loud Applause].*

* See Speech at length, in Vol. I. No. 6.

[Mr. HENRY HUNT, who spoke at the Meeting, having stated that a Resolution proposed by LORD COCHRANE, on the second night of the meeting, fell to the ground for want of a seconder—that no ONE Member had been found in the Honourable House to second it—the assertion was taken to be in pointed allusion to Sir F. BURDETT, who noticed it as follows:—]

"A gentleman who had spoken before him (Mr. HUNT), had called in question his conduct in Parliament. Now he did not think himself accountable to that gentleman for the motives of his proceedings there; but in the present instance, he had no hesitation in saying, that the *motion* of his noble colleague (Lord COCHRANE) HAD BEEN SUBMITTED TO HIM, and he advised him not to bring it forward at that time. That motion, which was not seconded, was brought forward at so late a time of the night, that he and the greater part of the Members had left the House.* It would have been better, he imagined, if that amendment had been submitted by the Noble Lord (Lord COCHRANE) the next day, as a substantive proposition. While he sat in Parliament, which would be so long as he had the confidence of his constituents [*applause*], he should act according to the

* Lord COCHRANE moved his Resolution after the division, at half past three in the morning, when the Members were leaving the House, and even after some of the Reporters, who concluded the business was over, had left the House; and thus the *British Press*, and some other newspapers, do not even notice his Lordship's having spoken.

best of his discretion. His constituents might not at all times know all the circumstances, whether this or that line of conduct, in many cases, were most advisable [*applause.*]—They might, however, judge from the whole tenor of his conduct, whether he was deserving of their confidence, and when they judged that he was no longer worthy of it, whether they had yearly or weekly Parliaments, the seat which he now filled should be at their disposal [*loud applause*]. But Mr. HUNT had gone much farther—he had prescribed not only what his (Sir FRANCIS BURDETT'S) conduct should be, but what he should say. Really this was outrageous. He had rather be the tool of a Court, than be moved as a PUPPET, and commanded when to speak, and when to hold his tongue."

On your celebrated motion for REFORM in the House of Commons, June 15, 1809, it appears by the following quotation from COBBETT'S *Political Register*, the division was as follows:—

"For Sir FRANCIS BURDETT'S Motion. 15

"Against it 74

"Majority against the Motion..... 59

"LIST OF THE MINORITY.

" Adams, Charles	" Maxwell, W.
" Burdett, Sir F.	" Moore, Peter
" Campbell, General	" Thornton, Henry
" Combe, Harvey	" Tracey, Hanbury
" Cuthbert, J. R.	" Turton, Sir T.
" Hutchinson, C.	" Wardle, G. L.
" Knapp, G.	" Western, C. C.
" Lefevre, C. S.	" Wharton, John
" Madocks, W. A.	

"*LORD COCHRANE* was accidentally out of the House at the time of the division."

In this way, it is stated by Mr. COBBETT, in his *Political Re-*

gister, vol. 15, for 1809, p. 981, that *your motion* was disposed of, and supported.

In your last motion for Reform in the House of Commons, on the 20th of May, keeping steadily to your object, you asked, "Was it to be borne, then, that instead of being governed by laws made by our own consent, instead of seeing a full and free representation, instead of seeing the majority of the People deputing those who were to legislate for them, the nation was to be ruled by a few boroughmongers? Would it be said that no representation of the People was intended, but that those men were to enjoy all the powers of the Constitution in their own hands, that they were to be the real sovereigns of England, and dispose of our lives, liberty, and property, at their pleasure? Different writers, according to their taste, their education, or their peculiar bias, had pointed out the advantages, and supported the excellence of different species of Government. The republican, the aristocratical, and the monarchial form of administration had all had their panegyrists; but no author that ever he heard of had ever praised an oligarchy."*

You on this occasion, according to Parliamentary usage, in all matters of serious abuse, moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the Representation, and to report to the House thereon; and the division was

For the Motion - - - 77

Against it - - - - - 265

Majority - - - - 188

* See Sir FRANCIS BURDETT'S Speech, at length, in *Register*, Vol. 1. No. 19.

On the 23d of May, three days afterwards, you dined at the Crown-and-Anchor Tavern, with your constituents, to celebrate the anniversary of your election, and the "Triumph of Westminster;" and I find in the newspaper report, your speech concludes as follows: "The Country Gentlemen, to whom he (Sir F. BURDETT) was always willing to direct his attention, would, he hoped, see that it was from *prodigality and corruption*, not from the People, that they had to apprehend danger; that they were like a simple countryman hustled by pickpockets, who pretended to be his most zealous friends, while they contrived to convey away his purse (*Applause*). In the cause of REFORM, those who now co-operated would, he trusted, continue to act together with mutual forbearance, mutual moderation, and united efforts; and they might strive to turn the helm to reach that haven, towards which they had long endeavoured to steer the vessel of the state, and to which he now looked with more sanguine hope than at any former period of a life, which, though not long, had not been, as a political life, very short."

If any thing were wanting to assure us of your steady perseverance in behalf of the Constitutional rights of the People, we have but to recollect your daily attendance on the trials of the prisoners for high treason, and your vigilant watchfulness of the proceedings in Court; your presence, previously, on the trials of Mr. WOOLER; and your visiting Ireland to bear testimony in a Court of Justice to the honour of an excellent man, hunted by power, and enduring persecution,

all his life, and, on this occasion, singled out as the victim to an infamous conspiracy.

REFORM is surely safe in the hands of him who has alike disdained the threats and blandishments of the corrupt and the mighty, and been unmoved by the shout of the multitude --- whose constituents, unbought, unbribed, and unbiassed, return him to Parliament, without solicitation, as the representative and guardian of their best interests; whom they denominate, for his services, Westminster's pride; and whom we, the People, with twenty years' experience and admiration of his consistency and public worth, still look up to with delight as *England's hope*.

I am, Sir,

With respect and sincerity,
Your obedient faithful Servant,

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,

24th September, 1817.

THE

Manchester Blanketeers.

To Mr. HONE.

Manchester, Sept. 12, 1817.

SIR,

As you had the kindness to insert the account of the prosecution against the *Manchester Blanketeers*, you have now offered for insertion in your valuable *Register*, the ulterior proceedings of the sons of Corruption against those men. After writing the statement here alluded to, some gentlemen, friends of Reform, whose conduct on this occasion deserves the highest encomiums, in commiseration of their friendless situation, ordered a plea to be entered in the Court

of King's Bench, and the trial came on on Saturday, September the 6th, at Lancaster; when Mr. WILLIAMS, Counsel for the Prisoners, objected to two Jurors, Colonel CAWTHORNE, of Lancaster, and General GASCOIGNE, of Liverpool. Mr. TOPPING, for the Crown, stated, that it was not the intention of Government to proceed against the prisoners; that at the time of their arrest, Manchester was in a very disturbed state, but on account of the new tone that things had assumed, his Majesty's Government, never desirous of prosecuting the King's subjects, but in cases where the public justice demanded it, thought it unnecessary to press any thing against the Defendants. In consequence of this, Baron WOOD ordered the Prisoners to be immediately discharged. But although this order was given at nine o'clock in the morning, it was six o'clock at night before those in prison were liberated.

And now, sir, that this scene is wound up, and the buffoons of Corruption had quitted the stage, I will thank either you, or any unprejudiced Englishman, to take a deliberate survey of the concern, from its commencement to its conclusion, and then say, if any but the veriest tools of tyranny and oppression could have acted as the *persecutors* in this case have done. They commenced with lawlessly trampling under foot all order and even the very appearance of justice, and concluded by cowardly sneaking behind the scenes, and leaving the Crown Lawyers to plaster over their dirty work.

The tools of Corruption knew, that if they brought the Defendants to a fair trial, it would

have been proved, upon the oath of respectable evidences, that the meeting of the 10th of March was both legal and peaceable; and that no act of disorder was committed, till Mr. WITHINGTON, Chief Constable, and NADIN, his worthy deputy, came with a body of military, who, taking the word of command from WITHINGTON, instantly charged an unarmed multitude, at full gallop, trampling all under the feet of their horses who could not get out of their way, and laying about them with their swords at the same time. There it would have been proved, that hundreds of this defenceless multitude (which consisted of at least 60,000), were trod under the feet of the dragoon's horses; their two worthy and Quixotic chiefs beating all who came within their reach with their whips or sticks at the same time.

No, my good Mr. TOPPING, it was not because *Government* (as the thing is called) did not wish to bring forward this prosecution; it was because they knew these damning facts would be substantiated, and that an eternal stigma would rest upon the actors in this never-to-be-forgotten scandalous transaction. The performers in the scene before us will certainly rank as high in the list of Corruption, as either a CASTLES or an OLIVER; and when she distributes her favours, it is humbly hoped those candidates for candle-ends and cheese-parings, will be remembered; and it is also hoped, that when the reckoning day arrives, they will be brought forth. So then it should seem, Mr. TOPPING, that it was merciful in the *persecutors* to abandon this prosecution, was

it? The *Blanketeers* did not think so; *they* wished for a fair trial, in the open face of day and heaven; they had repeatedly refused any favours from the sons of Tyranny and Corruption; and the only favour *they* requested, was, for the Crown Lawyers to proceed with the prosecution, that their countrymen might decide betwixt them and their accusers. But a public exposure was what those gentlemen above all things wished to avoid; they loved darkness, because light would have cursed them. Why, sir, had the *Blanketeers* wished to have compromised this affair, it had been done prior to its coming into Court; they had had innumerable proposals made to them, to be liberated on their own bail to keep the peace; and made, too, both by friends in disguise, and open foes, out of prison and *in the prison*; from the Governor down to the lowest scullion, had been set on to sound them; and all kinds of threats and promises were employed by these living machines, who crawl about the cells, but without effect; and the firmness and moderation of those patriotic (though *poor men*), have triumphed over lawless and tyrannic power.

Never, Mr. HONE, will the transaction of this memorable day be forgotten in Manchester. Posterity will scarcely credit the account, when they read, that a most wanton and desperate attack was planned and executed upon a peaceable meeting, consisting of sixty thousand people; and that about 150 or 200 dragoons were allowed to trample hundreds under the feet of their horses, and wound numbers with

their swords; * and that all this was done without any physical resistance whatever. The imps of tyranny know, that had the people been disposed to use force, the whole of their myrmidons must have been destroyed in an hour. What evidence is wanting, more than this fact, to prove the peaceable disposition of the Reformers, and give a complete negative to the enemies of Reform? There were also, at that very moment, at least *three spies*, or rather fomenters of riots, busily at work, endeavouring to create disturbances; but nothing could induce the people to swerve from a peaceable demeanour, or cause them to commit a single breach of the peace! This was the *rub*! this is the pinching point! What, not a single riotous act! Intolerable! not to be endured! Sure, the people are metamorphosed into stocks or stones; go forth, our brave *specials*, and bring before us those *riotous dogs*! Away they go, carrying tumult and disorder in their train; and woe to the man who comes in their way with a ragged coat on, or a bundle in his hands. Some they beat with their truncheons, and some they take to gaol. But *still* no disturbance, still no resistance; not the smallest tumult, save what themselves produced! The cause was hopeless, their affairs became desperate—something must be done. The town is now made a barrack; and to keep up the farce, the Lying-in-Hospital and Auction Mart filled with soldiers. But *this* was not enough; taking military possession of the town was not a *riot*. In this

* There were two men died soon after of their wounds.

dreadful emergency, comes forth the redoubtable knight, OLIVER, and then appear the two esquires, WADDINGTON of Bolton, and LOMAS of Manchester, with all the *red-collared* gentry into the bargain, and away they go among the Reformers, ransacking every hovel of misery through the county; denouncing armies of Reformers as ready to rise at a stamp of the foot, and destroy the soldiers, and take the barracks, and finally set fire to Manchester, and involve all in one common ruin. Our worthy Magistrates assured us they had positive information that the town was to be fired; and we were very grateful for the care they took of us. And now comes the upshot of the business; they knew, *positively* knew, where the rebel army was to rendezvous! and accordingly one second chieftain in the list of constables, with a suitable civil and military force, hastened to the scene of rebellion, where, according to the foreknowledge of the Magistrates, the whole army of the conspirators were assembled! The spies give the signal! the constables and the military rush forth, and lay hold of their prey! The whole of the rebels were made prisoners, consisting of two or three *spies*, and six or seven of their dupes. This was rare work; the prisoners were conducted with military honours to the jail; and the *spies*, poor innocent creatures, *being men of good moral character*, were set at liberty. Here ended the Manchester plot-makers' conspiracy; and if any Member of Parliament deems the facts here alluded to of importance, he may be put in a way to substantiate them all.

We certify, that as far as this is connected with our case, it is true.

PETER LEVER.
WILLIAM STANDRING.
GEORGE GRIMSHAW.
MATTHEW LYTHGO.
JOHN WILLIAMS.
WILLIAM WOOD.
GEORGE MURRAY.

NEW LORD MAYOR.

FOR HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER.

*To the Independent Livery of
London.*

GENTLEMEN,

The time is fast approaching, when you will be called upon to elect your Chief Magistrate for the *ensuing year*, and most probably the same spirit which was manifested, and the same exertions which were made last year, will be again necessary for the securing to the civic chair a *man worthy of your confidence, and who has never sacrificed that confidence at the shrine of his own interest*. This must be kept in view, because, by keeping it in view, the plan to be pursued will be easy, and the result certain. A few questions may be necessary to ask you, and as I address *only* those who pride themselves on principle, and that principle integrity and consistency, I shall at the same time *answer* them.

FIRST,---Is it to your *interest*, individually or collectively, to have a Lord Mayor whose *apostacy*, next to his imbecility, is the delineation of his character, and whose merits consist in *supporting every measure* which tends to deprive you of your rights? With confidence I may answer, NO! Will you then have Mr. *Alderman* CHRISTOPHER SMITH?

SECONDLY,---Will you have for

your Chief Magistrate a man whose *humanity* was evident in sanctioning the flogging of a POOR UNPROTECTED sailor-boy; and who tells you, as a REPRESENTATIVE, INSTRUCT me to do what *you* please, I will do as *I* please? With the same confidence I will answer, GOD FORBID! Will you then have Mr. Alderman ATKINS?

Do you want a man who will not, at the *nod* of the Ministry, surrender into their hands your rights and privileges? Do you want a man, who, as an Alderman, has conducted himself upon all occasions with integrity, and as a careful guardian of your interests? I answer, YES! Such then is ALDERMAN GOODBEHERE.

Thus have you a choice; and let me beseech you to be firm, and secure your choice. If any of my brother Liverymen are lukewarm and indifferent upon the subject, and ask, what matters it who we have, so as we have a *Lord Mayor*! him I beg to ask, does it not matter whether we have a *friend to Corruption*, or an enemy to it? At all times the selection of an upright man is of importance; at *this* time it is of the utmost consequence! Have we not in the present year witnessed the importance, in the case of the persons tried at Westminster for High Treason. Where was the alleged offence against the State committed? IN THE CITY! Who was it, that with *four others*, put to the rout, FALSTAFF and his brave associates? Who was it that received the examinations of these Quixotic rebels? Who was it forwarded all the "*official communications to the Secretary of State*," but the present worthy Chief Magistrate? He alone was ostensibly the witness to prove the crime, and he was *never examined*! and why? Solely, because he would have, "*told the truth, the whole truth,*

and *nothing* but the truth;" which, on a trial for life or death, is of no importance to some persons. Had Mr. CHRISTOPHER SMITH been Lord Mayor (and here I must congratulate the Livery that he was not), would not the effect have been totally different? Would *he* have dared attack the motley grouse? Would *he* not have exclaimed,—

"Now my cold blood runs shiv'ring to my heart,

"As at some *phantom*, that in dead of night

"With dreadful action stalks around my bed."

If the *officers* had secured the rioters, how different would have been the result. The present Lord Mayor's discrimination perceived a "*plentiful lack*" of *treasonable matter* in the GREEN BAG, and he was not examined! Had Mr. CHRISTOPHER SMITH been Lord Mayor, what would have been his discrimination? Would not *he* have been examined? Suppose the present Lord Mayor and Mr. CHRISTOPHER SMITH in a witness-box, which would be most like the witness at Lewes Assizes, who, when asked by Counsel what he had to say, replied, "*Any thing you please, sir!*" A LORD MAYOR, by virtue of that office a "*Right Honourable*," and by virtue of the Honourable the House of Commons, an "*Honourable*,"---the Jury could not question the evidence of *such* a witness; and who cannot see, that with some persons in those distinguished situations, the result must have been, that the men who were acquitted, and are now living, would have been convicted, condemned, and I need not add *executed*! But here would not have finished the tragedy, which happily has been *damned*, and, in the eyes of most men, every actor in it; for many honest, industrious, and starving peo-

ple would have suffered also. Thus I may say, by the honesty of your present *Chief Magistrate*, the intended executions were prevented, and the lives of other helpless beings preserved from jeopardy. Are we in a better situation than before these results? Are not the *Gagging Bills*---*Seditious Meeting Bills*, in force? And as to these, I cannot help wishing they had been called into action when the *Ministerial Meetings* were held for *suspending* the dearest of our rights, the bulwark of our Constitution---the *Habeas Corpus Act*. Those were the *seditious* meetings, and then the *gag* should have been applied. Have you, brother Liverymen, any security from past conduct, that another *CASTLES* may not be employed to irritate the minds of the much-injured people (for every engine is still *KEPT*, and *can*, and *MAY* be again used)? and if so, in the name of common sense, while you have it in your power, render the sting of your cruel enemy harmless, by electing **ALDERMAN GOODBEHERE**.

I am sure that no one will for one moment wish the Livery to *compromise their principles*, by allowing Alderman CHRISTOPHER SMITH to be Lord Mayor. I know it has been thought impossible to overthrow the *routine* of two Aldermen, and that it is better to have SMITH than ATKINS. If we were **COMPELLED** to have *one* of the two *evils*, I would readily accede to it; but I have said, and I repeat it, it is an insult to the Livery to say they *must* have an evil when a good can be had. The task, gentlemen and brother Liverymen, is *easy*;

return the LORD MAYOR and Alderman GOODBEHERE to the Court of Aldermen, and if Alderman SMITH dares *trouble* the Livery, by demanding a *POLL*,---

" 'Tis easy to beat HIM *once more*,

" Who shamefully was beat *before* !"

If Mr. Alderman ATKINS likewise polls, let him have just as many votes as he had before, viz. **FOURTEEN**! No fear of being beaten by the *LOYAL Liverymen*, ought for a moment harbour in your breasts. Attend to your duties on *Monday next*, the 29th, and I again ask you to return the LORD MAYOR and Mr. Alderman GOODBEHERE; if a poll is demanded by the *routine* Aldermen, **DO NOT GIVE PLUMPERS** either to the Lord MAYOR or Mr. Alderman GOODBEHERE, but vote for them *jointly*. This is **ALL** you have to do, and when you have done this, you have done your duty.

Let this city continue to be the city whose intuitive discernment, like the spear of Ithuriel, first displays the demon of tyranny in its native deformity! Let it not be said the city has mental deficiency. No! Let it be a light to direct the benighted traveller in safety through the bewildering shades of ignorance. Let it be the needle ever constant to its invisible ruler in the North, to guide him through the raging ocean. Then oppression come on! then despotism we defy thee! must be our exclamation.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your humble Servant,

J. C. HITCHINS.

Aldermanbury Postern,

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1817.

[Vol. II.

THE

GUTTLERS,

AND THE NEW

LORD MAYOR.

THE LONDON GUTTLERS, the Supporters of what is established, described—*The Naked Boy at the Corner of Cock Lane—The Monument—Barbarous Transformations in GUILDHALL—Nomination of the present LORD MAYOR, and Alderman GOODBEHERE, for the New Lord Mayor—Mr. HITCHINS and Mr. WOOLER'S Speeches—Interrupted by the New Sheriff DESANGES—Old DANIEL DE FOE'S severe Characters of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, &c. in 1705—Merits of the present Lord Mayor—Plots in Queen Anne's Reign; viz. the Little House Plot; the Band-box Plot; the Mohocks' Plot—Scene between De Foe and the Judges, in the King's Bench—The Screw Plot—The Virtue of the Livery of London—Can they resist Aldermen in Chains, and Castards?*
A BOROUGHMONGER'S DICTIONARY preparing, thoroughly exposing Boroughmongers, Boroughmongering Practices, and Parliamentary Corruption.
SLAVE-DEALERS AND STOCK-HOLDERS, by a West Country Labourer.

THERE are certain animals in the City of London, who go on

two legs, and by the aid of a tailor and a barber and a hat, are called men. Their leading propensity is to *get money*, which they love better than any thing in the world, except a large protuberance beneath the stomach, which they call a belly, and love better still. They hold the head very erect, and have a bold, unmeaning, impudent look, especially if their accumulation of property is large; and, when it is above a certain amount, they are called *good men*. As they look very grave, they are taken by the vulgar to be wise, and by a strange misapplication of terms, are called respectable. But their wisdom consists in concealing their ignorance; and their respectability is nothing more than the power they possess of doing harm—their abstaining from it, which is very rare, is their supreme virtue. They float above the level of their fellow-citizens; as the drowned and swollen carcass rises, in its putrefying state, to the surface of the water, and is borne along by the stream.—Knowing that they have been generated by the present system, they would perpetuate it; like the maggot, which, bred in rotten flesh, becoming a fly, seeks its native carrion to deposit its eggs, and breed other maggots. They are the regular supporters of every thing *established*, because

it has been in their time. Corruption is *established*, and they support it, because they have fattened under it. They find the image of a little bloated naked boy, put up at the corner of Cock Lane, which bears an inscription, purporting that the great Fire of London was occasioned by the "horrible sin of *gluttony*," and they preserve this image—because it is *established*; and *that* notwithstanding the inscription on the Monument at Fish Street Hill says the fire was occasioned "by the *Papists*,"—but they also preserve the Monument, because *that* is established. They crawl about the city, before the election of a Lord Mayor, like toads in a garden walk, before rain; and keep Lord Mayor's Day, for one of the reasons they do Good Friday—because it is *established*; for another—because they can indulge in gormandizing at the expense of others. Eating to repletion, and drinking to excess, nothing *stands* in their way—soups, and flesh, and fowl, all are remorselessly and ravenously devoured by these mountains of mummy. They would stick a knife into the Prince Regent, were he before them in *blanc-mange*—and dare any one to doubt their loyalty: they would swallow bumpers of *Lachryma Christi* in the presence of the Attorney-General—and defy a charge of blasphemy. They do all this annually in the Guildhall; which, from a noble form of the Gothic order, has been altered with less taste than our grandmothers had when they worked Solomon's Temple in a sampler; or than a Dutch ginger-

bread-baker would show in designing and making the same celebrated edifice "in all its glory." A row of counting-house windows, in plain plaster walls, let in the light above the fretted arches of the ancient architecture. The top of the great stained glass windows at each end of the hall, are cut off to accommodate a new flat plaster roof;—the old Gothic one, with its rich groining and carved work, could not be renewed but at the expense of at least two *guttles*! In this hall, disfigured by their avarice, but conspicuously fine in whitewash and paint, and gold leaf, they carve their way up to civic honours—speculating upon the consequences of each others voracity, for fresh openings to their ambition. *These* are the advocates of what is *established*; and it is to aid such as these, that the *Courier* newspaper of last night, noticing the pending election for Lord Mayor, talks of a design to unsettle "confidence in what has been long *established*." The *Courier* mentions this *design*, as if it was a discovery made by itself. There *is* such a design. It has been, and is, and will continue to be avowed, and to be acted upon, too. It is necessary to show

"It is the *abject property* of most,
That being parcel of the common mass,
And destitute of means to raise themselves,
They *sink and settle lower than they need*."*

To break down the reverence for hoary-headed *established* abuse, the independent portion of the Livery are now making a stand for the right of choosing their Lord Mayor, and this has irritated the *Courier*. The

animating *Letter* of Mr. HITCHINS, to his brother Liverymen, inserted in the last *Register*, and afterwards copied from it into other papers, was well calculated to arouse them to the exercise of their elective franchise. Accordingly, he had the satisfaction of meeting a respectable Common-Hall, on Monday, and nominating the present Worthy LORD MAYOR, and Mr. Alderman GOOD-BEHERE, as deserving to be returned by them to the Court of Aldermen. Mr. HITCHINS'S purpose was generally known, and the Livery expressed their satisfaction by every demonstration. The hall literally *rang* with shouts of applause. His speech abounded with excellent observations. Adverting to the independence of controul the Livery manifested last year, by choosing the present Chief Magistrate a second time, he remarked on the importance of their exercising their right to choose out of the line of rotation, by inquiring,—

Who could, on *that* occasion, have anticipated the events which had since occurred, and which were of so much moment to this city—to the country at large, and to the world—who could have anticipated the various misconduct of the Government, or that such dark and diabolical transactions would have taken place—that liberty itself would have been immolated to gratify the thirst for power and oppression which marked the character of *Ministers*, at once *the most imbecile and arbitrary that ever afflicted this or perhaps any other civilized nation*. He had, indeed, no hesitation in

saying, that through the machinations of those Ministers, this country was subjected to an absolute *Despotism*. That the admirers and retainers of Administration should not like the word *Despotism*, however much they valued the *power* which that despotism conferred upon their patrons, was a thing perfectly natural, because they were well aware that despotism must revolt the feelings of Englishmen. The advocates of Government disliked a charge which they must know to be just, lest the repetition and proof of that charge should lead to consequences to them unpleasant; and perhaps the apprehension was not altogether groundless. Perhaps the People would yet universally feel their condition, and that the restoration of freedom was nearer at hand than Ministerial tools would wish to believe. Such, indeed, was his hope and calculation; for the country was so situated that it was quite impossible the People of England would shrink from any necessary struggle to recover their Constitution, unless they had utterly lost the spirit and the judgment which distinguished their ancestors. There was a maxim in politics always held so sacred in England, that even the admirers of Ministers could not refuse to recognize its force, namely, *Salus Populi suprema lex*, that is, that the health or welfare of the People was the supreme law. But how was this maxim consulted by those who took *immense sums out of the pockets*

of the People, to supply the extravagances of the Court? and yet such was notoriously the case in every arbitrary monarchy. The monarchy of this country was no doubt nominal, and professedly limited; but it was obvious, that through the corruption of those who called themselves the Representatives of the People, seconded, in some degree, by the apathy of the People themselves, that monarchy had become as arbitrary and as corrupt as any in Europe [applause, mixed with cries of "off, off, off!"]. He appealed to candour, to common sense, and to the evidence of history, whether any Government on earth, however armed with the engine of arbitrary power, had ever drained so much money from its unfortunate subjects, as that of Great Britain had done, within the last fifty years. Yet all this money was squandered in profligacy and war—in undermining the civil rights and moral principles of our own people, or in overturning the liberty and independence of other nations. Was it possible that such profusion and criminality could be viewed without indignation by any but those vultures who fattened upon the blood of the People?

Mr. DESANGES, one of the NEW Sheriffs, here thought proper to interrupt Mr. HITCHINS. He called him to order. Mr. Sheriff DESANGES said he was wandering from the question; that the Livery were assembled to choose a Lord Mayor, and not to enter into political discussions. Mr. Sheriff DESANGES

said he thought that on such an occasion there ought to be no allusion to politics. The Livery, however, thought otherwise. They called on Mr. HITCHINS to resume his speech, in opposition to the new Sheriff's opinion; and Mr. Sheriff DESANGES was himself called to order by the Livery.

Mr. HITCHINS maintained the relevancy of political discussion, and his right to enter into it upon this occasion. The character and qualifications of a Magistrate were, he submitted, of the utmost importance in the present circumstances of the country, and it was incumbent upon the People to exercise a vigilant jealousy in scrutinizing the pretensions of those few among the Magistracy whom they were permitted to elect. Such jealousy, indeed, should peculiarly apply to the political principle of any candidate for the Magistracy who sought his election through popular favour. For the People must be aware of the extraordinary authority of a Magistrate, especially extended as that authority had lately been by a decree of the executive power. The People must also be aware how liable the authority of a Magistrate was to gross abuse, from the case of OLIVER, whom a Magistrate had permitted to escape, while he committed the unhappy victims of that ministerial spy's nefarious artifice to the horrors of a dungeon.

[Loud applauses, mixed with some hisses, and a cry of "no politics," in which cry Sheriff DESANGES joined.]

But it was particularly material at the present crisis to select a fit and proper person to fill the important office of Lord Mayor in this great city for the ensuing year; for it was to be remembered that a GENERAL ELECTION must be looked for within that year, and the influence of our Chief Magistrate upon such an occasion was notorious. What, then, was to be apprehended, should that influence be committed to the hands of any man *adverse to the civil liberty of his fellow-citizens?*—and he felt it unnecessary to characterize the probable conduct of Mr. Alderman CHRISTOPHER SMITH—that gentleman was decidedly rejected by the Livery at the last election, in consequence of his *political* principles, which were aggravated by his *notorious apostacy*. And had this Alderman since the last election manifested any disposition to change his conduct, and to return to good principles? On the contrary, he had, *through thick and through thin*, supported the Minister in all his exertions to suspend the constitutional freedom of his country, while the struggles of the Worthy Magistrate whom the Livery had so laudably preferred at the last election, and whom he trusted they would also prefer on this occasion, were *uniformly on the side of liberty*. It became the Livery, indeed, in a peculiar degree to guard against the election of Alderman SMITH, if they wished to testify that opinion of his conduct which he firmly believed to

be universal—if they desired to assure the Minister in the most impressive manner, that *his proceedings were disapproved of by the electors of this great metropolis*—if they were anxious to rescue the country from oppression—if not to save it from ultimate ruin [*applause.*] Therefore he would recommend the Livery to return the name of Alderman GOODBETTER with that of the Lord Mayor to the Board of Aldermen, in order that *one* of these Worthy Magistrates should be chosen, whose devotion to popular principles was proved beyond all doubt. He hoped and trusted that such would be the decision; and that instead of attending to that system of *routine* which the Aldermanic Board had, in his opinion, most improperly, and even arrogantly, established *for its own advantage*, the Livery would assert its rights by selecting their Chief Magistrate from a consideration of his *merit* and capacity to discharge the *duties* of that important office.

These being some of the sentiments expressed by Mr. HITCHINS, were received by the Livery with great approbation. There was occasionally a hissing intermixed; for the *enemies of Reform*, the friends of Aldermen SMITH and ATKINS, evidently derived courage from the interference of Mr. Sheriff DESANGES.

Mr. WOOLER, our excellent friend, whose energies will, I hope, be long devoted to the service of his country, now stepped forward to second the nomination of the LORD MAYOR and

Mr. Alderman GOODBEHERE. The effect of his appearance was electric. Shouts of gladness burst from the assemblage; and Mr. SAMUEL DIXON looked as dismayed as he would have done if the Minister had refused to give his son a place. As soon as he could recover himself, he requested Mr. *Sheriff* DESANGES to ask Mr. WOOLER if he was a Liveryman, who answered in the affirmative; and Mr. DIXON and Mr. *Sheriff* DESANGES were compelled to remain silent.

Mr. WOOLER, after several preliminary remarks, said, he could not concede the present as a mere question with regard to the comparative merits of two or three individuals; but as an important contest between a great portion of the British People, and the Minister of the Crown. The system of that Minister was but too well known. It was most sensibly felt throughout the empire; and the distress it had produced, as well as the evils it threatened, were obvious to every man. *It had scattered misery through the land, and menaced the ultimate ruin of the country* [applauses, and some cries of "No politics"]. The cry of "*No politics*" was very naturally raised by some persons, as the *political system* of our Ministers could not endure investigation. For that system was radically bad; but although so bad for the nation, it was good for many individuals—for those who fattened upon its corruption—for those who participated of the loaves and fishes. But he begged even those persons to reflect

upon the condition of the country—to consider that although this vicious system afforded wealth to them, it threatened to entail misery upon their descendants. He hoped, therefore, that these persons would cast an eye beyond the circle of their own enjoyments—would look around them, and feel somewhat for others.

Mr. *Sheriff* DESANGES here thought proper to interrupt Mr. WOOLER in the line of remark he was submitting to the Livery, which that gentleman noticed by looking for an instant at the new *Sheriff*'s well dressed hair and nicely adjusted shirt collar, and then proceeded by observing that—

While he would not interrupt any individual in the expression of his sentiments, he hoped that he should be free from any further interruption himself. He then at considerable length animadverted on the state in which Ministers had placed the country, and on Mr. Alderman SMITH's support of them; and concluded by observing that it was not his business to impugn the private character of Alderman SMITH, and as to his *public* character, it might perhaps be said of the worthy Alderman, that such as he had was notoriously *bad*, while the other Gentlemen proposed to the Meeting were tried, steady friends of Reform, not mere weathercocks, or the pledged followers of any party. Having said so much, he should only add, that it was for every one who heard him to vote according to his own judgment, upon

a review of all the circumstances of the case; and he should not regret the loss of those votes which might be given in opposition to the worthy Aldermen whom he had the honour to support, for he really could not consider such voters as any acquisition to his cause.

A Mr. OLIVER came forward to nominate Aldermen ATKINS and SMITH, and contended, that "though Alderman SMITH had not been faultless," it would be "*persecution*" in the Livery to keep him out of the Mayoralty any longer; thereby contending, that though Alderman SMITH, by his votes in the House of Commons, supports the Ministry, and opposes the wishes of the People, he nevertheless ought to be chosen Lord Mayor by them. A Mr. WILLIAMS seconded this nomination; affirming that Mr. Alderman SMITH's apostacy from the People to the Ministry, was "*getting out of darkness into light*;" and therefore, if they returned him, he would give them universal satisfaction.

On the show of hands, very few were held up for Mr. Alderman ATKINS; a considerable number for Mr. Alderman SMITH; a still greater number for Mr. Alderman GOODBEHERE; and for the Lord Mayor, an immense number, accompanied by shouts that rent the air. A poll being demanded, it was proceeded in for an hour; and at the adjournment, there being a general cry for Mr. WOOLER, he stepped forward, amidst greetings of applauses, which lasted several minutes; and from his speech I extract as follows:—

It was proper, Mr. WOOLER said,

that the Liverymen should be informed of what line of conduct the *Aldermanic* body, and especially one of them, Alderman HEYGATE, had followed, who had this day voted for Alderman SMITH, and thus shown, that *he* also was attached to the modern doctrine of *rotation*. It ought ever, however, to be borne in mind, that this doctrine of rotation was founded on the grossest absurdity that could possibly be imagined; for the only sure basis of right resulted from the choice, the free and uncontrolled choice of the People. The Livery were annually convened for the purpose of electing their Chief Magistrate, and certainly the fact of their being convened showed they had a legitimate right to elect that Magistrate. To suppose the case otherwise, *to suppose the Aldermen had a right to the Chair in rotation, was absurd; for why then were the Livery at all convened?* If rotation was to be the standard to go by, then there was no use for *convening the Livery* at all, as they would thus only meet to *do a work which had been done* for them. He had this day been particularly struck with the conduct of an *official servant of the public* (Mr. Sheriff DESANGES), who, *ere he was scarcely sworn into office*, had the audacity to express a *doubt*, where, in fact, no doubt did exist. When such was the conduct of men who held their authority more immediately from the People—when this instance of a public officer to extend his authority beyond

its lawful bounds was considered, surely the People must feel what they ought to do; surely they ought then to see that the *source* of the authority was more than the *authority* itself, and on that account to be cautious to whom this authority was *entrusted*. Never was there an era in the history of Britain more portentous than the present. The statue of corruption was now staggering on its pedestal, and the united efforts of the friends of Liberty and Reform would soon dash it, as it deserved, to the ground. The friends of *Reform* had become formidable by their numbers—by the irrefragable arguments they advanced in support of their cause—a cause which they had to support in opposition to a class of men who had *also* become formidable, and *how*? By their talents, by their numbers, or their abilities? Oh, no; they had become formidable solely *by the supineness and indifference of the People*. Let, then, the friends of the People's rights but once more resume their spirit; let them be true to themselves, their country, and posterity, and they would see the glorious issue. Their rights would be then restored, without the danger of being ever torn from them, provided they were faithful, honest and independent.

As soon as the applause manifested to Mr. WOOLER had subsided, Mr. Sheriff DESANGES felt it prudent to notice Mr. WOOLER's allusion as to the new-made Sheriff's "doubt, where in fact no doubt did exist." This allusion

was in consequence of Mr. Sheriff DESANGES professing to entertain a doubt whether the majority on the show of hands was for Mr. Alderman GOODBEHERE or Mr. Alderman SMITH. Notwithstanding the majority was decidedly and largely for Mr. Alderman GOODBEHERE, as his colleague, Mr. Sheriff ALDERSON, promptly and positively affirmed, Mr. Sheriff DESANGES insisted on saying he doubted, and on having the show of hands repeated, which were nearly two to one in favour of Mr. Alderman GOODBEHERE. In consequence of Mr. WOOLER's allusion to this, Mr. Sheriff DESANGES professed to have *no bias* one way or the other; at which the Livery laughed and hissed; and Mr. Sheriff DESANGES, after a word or two more, withdrew.

Whatever be the result of this contest, the right of rotation has *already* been set aside; that which the *Courier* would call the *established* right, has been broken in upon. Yet there is a great mass in the Livery of London whom

"neither proof
Of sad experience, nor examples set
By some whose patriot virtue has prevail'd,
Can even *now*, when they are grown mature
In wisdom, and with philosophic deeds
Familiar, serve t' emancipate the rest!
Such dupes are men to *custom*, and so prone
To reverence what is *ancient*, and can plead
A course of *long observance* for its use,
That even *servitude*, the worst of ills,
Because deliver'd down from sire to son,
Is kept and guarded as a *sacred thing*."

The right claimed by the Aldermen of succeeding to the civic Chair according to seniority, has been clearly shown by Mr.

WOOLER, in his speech, to have no existence, inasmuch as the Livery are called in for the express purpose of having a choice; but I am not very sanguine in expecting outrageous virtue in the commonalty of such a Corporation as London, where there are various conflicting and sordid interests, and overpowering influence. It is curious to look a little at London in former times. A satire, written in 1705, by a citizen and one of the closest observers of mankind,* lashes London, and the Magistrates of that day, thus,—

LORD MAYOR, &c.

Old venerable *Jeph*, with trembling air,
Ancient in sin, and *Father of the Chair*,
Forsook by vices he had lov'd so long,
Can now be vicious only with his tongue :
Yet talks of ancient lewdness with delight,
And loves to be the justice of the night :
On bawdy tales with pleasure he reflects,
And lewdly smiles at vices he corrects.
The feeble tottering Magistrate appears,
Willing to wickedness in spite of years ;
Struggles his age and weakness to resist,
And fain would sin, but nature won't assist.

Fur——e, for so sometimes unrighteous fate,

Erects a madman for a magistrate ;
Equipt with lewdness, oaths and impudence,
Supplies with vices his defects of sense ;
Abandon'd to ill manners, he retains
His want of grace, as well as want of brains.
Early debauch'd, in Satan's steps he mov'd,
And all mechanic vices he improv'd ;
At first he did his Sovereign's rights invade,
And rais'd his fortunes by clandestine trade :
Stealing of customs did his profits bring ;
And 'twas his calling to *defraud his King* :
This is the man that helps to rule the state,
The City's new-reforming Magistrate,
To execute the justice of the law,
And keep less villains than himself in awe ;
Take money of the *rich*, and hang the *poor*,
And lash the strumpet he debauch'd before.

* DANIEL DE FGE.

So for small crimes poor thieves destruction find,

And leave the rogues of quality behind.

THE SHERIFFS.

Search all the Christian climes, from pole to pole,

And match for Sheriffs *S—ple* and *C—le* :
Equal in character and dignity,
This fam'd for justice, that for modesty :
By merit chosen for the chair of state,
This fit for *Bridewell*, that for *Billingsgate* :
That richly clad to grace the gaudy day,
For which his father's creditors must pay :
This from the fluxing *bagnio* just dismiss'd,
Rides out to make himself the City jest,
From some *lascivious dish-clout* to the Chair,
To punish lewdness, and disorders there :
The brute he rides on wou'd his crime detest,
For that's the animal, and *this* the beast :
And yet some reformation he began,
For Magistrates ne'er bear the sword in vain.
His avarice his appetite oppress,
Base like the man, and brutish like the lust :
Concise in sinning, Nature's call supplied,
And in one act two vices gratified.
See what good husbandry in vice can do,
Oblige the lecher and the niggard too ;
Never was oyster, beggar, cinder w——
So much caressed by Magistrate before.

THE RECORDER.

L—I, the *pander* of thy judgment-seat,
Has neither manners, honesty, nor wit,
Instead of which he's plenteously supply'd
With nonsense, noise, impertinence, and pride ;
The *City-mouth*, with eloquence endu'd,
To mountebank the list'ning multitude ;
Sometimes he tunes his tongue to soft harangues,
To banter Common-Halls, and flatter kings :
And all but with an odd indifferent grace,
With jingle on his tongue, and coxcomb in his face ;
Definitive in law, without appeal,
He always serves the hand who pays him well :
And this one maxim always goes before,
He never hangs the rich, nor saves the poor.
God-like, he nods upon the bench of state ;
His smiles are life, and if he frown 'tis fate :

With awkward scornful phiz, and vile
grimace,
The genuine talents of an ugly face ;
He with proud tone insults the wretch that
dies,
And sports with his approaching miseries !

London, if e'er thou wilt reform thy gates,
'T must be another set of Magistrates :
In practice just, and in possession sound ;
But God knows where the men are to be
found.

In all thy numerous streets, 'tis hard to tell,
Where the few men of faith and honour
dwell :

Poor and despised so seldom they appear,
The *Cynick's* lantern would be useful here.

No city in the spacious universe
Boasts of religion more, or minds it less ;
Of reformation talks, and government,
Backt with an hundred Acts of Parliament :
Those useless scare-crows of neglected laws,
That miss th' effect by missing first the
cause :

Thy Magistrates, who should reform the
town,

Punish the poor men's faults, but hide their
own.

Ask but how well the drunken plowman
looks,

Set by the swearing Justice in the stocks,
And poor street w—— in *Bridewell* feel
their fate,

While *Harlot M—n* rides in coach of state.
The mercenary scouts in every street,
Bring all *that have no money* to your feet ;
And if you lash a strumpet of the town,
She only smarts *for want of half a crown* :
Your annual lists of criminals appear,
But no Sir HARRY, or Sir CHARLES is there.

No man, but he that is as vile as they,
Can all the tricks and cheats of *Trade*
survey.

Some in clandestine companies combine,
Erect new stocks to trade beyond the line :
With air and empty names beguile the town,
And raise new credits first, then cry 'em
down :

Divide the empty nothing into shares,
To set the town together by the ears.

The sham protectors and the brokers join,
And both the cully merchant undermine ;

First he must be drawn in, and then be-
tray'd,

And they demolish the machine they made :
So conjuring chemists, with their charm
and spell,

Some wondrous liquid wondrously exhale ;
But when the gaping mob their money pay,
The cheat's dissolv'd, the vapour flies away :
The wondring bubbles stand amaz'd to see
Their money mountebank'd to *Mercury*.

Some fit out ships, and double freight
insure,

And burn the ships, to make the voyage
secure ;

Promiscuous plunders thro' the world
commit,

And *with the money* buy their safe retreat.

Yet *London* boasts of her regeneration,
And tells us wondrous tales of reformation ;
How against *vice* she has been so severe,
That none *but men of quality* may swear :
How public lewdness is expell'd the nation,
That *private w——g* may be more in
fashion :

How Parish Magistrates, like pious elves,
Let none be drunk a Sundays but *them-
selves*.

And hackney-coachmen durst not ply the
street

In sermon-time, till they had paid the
State.

It is curious, I say, to look a
little at things as they were re-
presented by honest DANIEL DE
FOE in that day ; and we should
be especially careful, by a con-
scientious discharge of our duty,
in choosing honest Magistrates,
to prevent the evils resulting
from the weakness of idiocy, or
the craft of knavery. The liber-
ties of the whole kingdom may
depend on the propriety of con-
duct in a Lord Mayor of London.
Our present Chief Magistrate can
never be forgotten, for refusing
to examine in private some of the
persons who were afterwards
tried for high treason. He in-
sisted upon *publicly* examining
them at the Mansion-House : and

it should ever be recollected, that he did examine them publicly, and that he did not deliver the men up to be examined by Secretaries of State and Privy Counsellors, in secret. It is to the Lord Mayor's determined conduct that we are indebted for a full knowledge of the contemptible Pie-House Plot, and Spa-Field's Riot, which, by private examination, and secret instruction, might have been manufactured into a horribly extensive conspiracy and rebellion, and enabled Ministers to have passed acts still more oppressive than the *Gugging and Suspension Bills*, and consigned hundreds of men to solitary cells; whilst others, who after being kept in prison for many months have been dismissed without trial, might have died on scaffolds. His Lordship for these services not only deserves the gratitude of the whole country, but he has it.

In DE FOE's time, the Ministry were busy manufacturers of Plots, to keep the People's attention from matters of real moment. Three young German gentlemen, walking near the Queen's little house, at Windsor, were challenged by a sentry.—Not understanding him, and supposing they were intruding too far, they took to their heels, which formed a pretence for doubling her Majesty's guards, and giving out that there was a treasonable plot against her life. This was called the *Little-House Plot*. Another plot was discovered a few days before, against the *Minister's* life. A band-box was accidentally opened by the celebrated SWIFT, in which it was

said there were pistols, charged, with the triggers tied to the lid of the box, which being lifted up, the pistols would go off, and kill the opeper. JONATHAN, however, preserved his own life, and the Minister's, who gave him the Deanery of St. Patrick's; and it soon got wind that the pistols were a common pistol stock, with a steel to strike a light into a tinder box, and two old inkhorns. This was called the *Band-box Plot*. At this time, a number of young rakes, not having the Society for Reformation of Manners in proper esteem, got tipsy at night, and beat the watchmen and peaceable people. These nocturnal disturbers were called *Mohocks*, and the Ministry alarmed the town by giving out, that they were persons disaffected to her Majesty's Government. This was the *Mohocks' Plot*. These three plots were all started fresh in the course of as many months, at a time when, by our experience, sham plots are most favourable to the liberties of the People, namely, during a period of *Ministerial plotting* for and obtaining suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act. The *Press* too was in jeopardy, and poor DE FOE was taken into custody, and committed to Newgate, upon a warrant of the Lord Chief Justice of that day, charged with writing three libellous pamphlets. DE FOE having procured excessive bail, went into Court the first day of term, when the Attorney-General appeared to prosecute the publications as scandalous, wicked, and treasonable libels; which DE FOE denied them to be, and argued ably, that they were

mere *irony*, as in truth they were, and written in defence of the principles of the Government that prosecuted him; but Judges of law are sometimes very bad judges of other matters; and Judge Powis from the bench entered into long and learned arguments, to *prove* that they were not irony, and told DE FOE he might be hanged, drawn, and quartered for them. It is hazardous for an author to argue in the Court of King's Bench with a Judge who has no relish for humour. The Lord Chief Justice helped his brother, by handing to DE FOE two numbers of a periodical work, in one sheet, called the *Review*, being very similar in plan to this *Register*. DE FOE acknowledging this *Review* to be his writing, the Lord Chief Justice declared they were insolent libels on him in particular, and on the laws generally; and submitted it to his brother Powis, and the other Judges, to do what *they* pleased. Brother Powis and his brethren were pleased to declare poor DE FOE's *Review* highly insolent to brother PARKER; and that they might get rid of his bail, they called it "*Contempt of Court*", and committed him to the King's Bench prison. These, the reader will perceive, are just such plots and practices as have been conjured up and performed in our time. But I had almost forgotten one which in impudence exceeded them all, and which is registered in the London Gazette for 1710, by an advertisement from Whitehall, signed by the Secretary of State, offering a reward for the apprehension of certain wretches who had *taken the screws out of the great timbers*

of the west roof of St. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, for the purpose of letting the roof fall upon and kill Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen ANNE, upon her going thither on the Thanksgiving-day, but which most bloody design was most happily prevented by a most timely *discovery*! After the kingdom was alarmed to the hearts' content of Ministers, the *Whigs*, who were charged with being the Conspirators, obtained access to the Cathedral, and discovered that the roof was in the same state as when the church was built; that there had never been *screws* where they were alleged to have been taken from, and that the whole was an impudent barefaced fabrication, notwithstanding the Secretary of State's advertisement. This was called the *Screw Plot*! All these plots were invented or encouraged by Ministers, to divert the People's attention; and such a plot as the Screw Plot, sanctioned by the signature in the London Gazette of the then Secretary, the great Lord BOLINGBROKE, was not to be withstood by the timid and undiscerning; who like gudgeons, greedily swallowed the bait. Thus it is that the People are accessories to their own ruin:

"They know not what it is to feel within
A comprehensive faculty, that grasps
Great purposes with ease, that turns and
wields

Almost without an effort, plans too vast
For their conception, which they cannot
move.

Conscious of impotence, they soon grow
drunk

With gazing, when they see an able man
Step forth to notice; and, besotted thus,
Build him a pedestal, and say, 'stand there,
'And be our admiration and our praise.'

They roll themselves before him in the dust,
Then most deserving in their own account,
When most extravagant in his applause,
As if exalting him they rais'd themselves.*

The present Lord Mayor uniting honesty to ability, has eminently stood forth the People's friend; and the Livery ought to return him and Mr. Alderman GOODBEHERE for their Magistrate, without regard to rotation, or any other pretence set up to lull those easily to rest, whom the knavish wish to rob of their privileges without opposition. If there be *virtue* enough in the Livery, they may free themselves for ever from the trammels of Aldermen in rotation. If they have not sufficient spirit to help themselves when they have the *power*—if they are dazzled by scarlet robes and processions, and coaxed by hand-squeezing and professions, and enticed by dinners and balls, and fascinated by aldermen in chains and custards---if they cannot resist such vulgar enticements as these, they deserve to have for Lord Mayor this year Mr. Alderman ATKINS, who said in the Common Council last year, he would, if he thought proper, help to *fix* the Property Tax; at the same time swearing "*he would not be restricted in his opinions BY GOD!*" If they cannot resist such blandishments as these, they *must* have him for their Lord Mayor, or else Mr. Alderman CHRISTOPHER SMITH, who, when the Livery have met in Common Halls, and passed Resolutions, has been carried off by a junta, and stuck in a Chair at the London Tavern, like a Guy Fawkes

on a Pope day, to sanction Counter-Resolutions; and where, in a private room, his upholders huddle round him as cunning boys do round their "Guy," for fear he should be *smuggled*! Both these rotation Aldermen are Members of the House of Commons, where we find *the root of all evil*. To a REFORM of that House, strenuous and unceasing efforts should be directed. Every body ought to know *how* the Honourable House is constituted. I am now engaged in preparing a *Boroughmonger's Dictionary*, or a guide for the People to the present state of the Representation of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; containing an account of every County, City, and other place sending Members to Parliament, and especially of all the Rotten Boroughs; also the number of Electors in each, and the names of the Patrons and Proprietors; with complete lists of the Members of both Houses, the Places or Pensions held by them or their relations or dependants, and the Sums they receive out of the Public Money annually. This will be a thorough Exposure of Borough-mongering Practices and Parliamentary Corruption. No means are so likely to assist in obtaining REFORM, as those which tend to convince *every body* of its necessity.

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,

1st October, 1817.

* Cowper's Task, Book 5.

SLAVE-DEALERS

AND

STOCK-HOLDERS.

Sept. 10, 1817.

SIR,

If agreeable to your plan, the insertion of the following will oblige a constant reader, your well-wisher, and the public's most obedient servant,

BATHAMANUENSIS.

TO MR. HONE.

Thoughts on Slavery, and particularly that which now overwhelms while it exhausts Europe.

It will scarcely be believed in ages to come, that the renowned and enlightened English nation was ever so blind and infatuated as to be at one and the same time abolishing slavery in one quarter of the world; and building it up at home; yet, strange to say, such folly pervades her councils, and her people are either blind or supine under the stigma of such inconsistency.

I presume it will not be disputed that the object of a slave-dealer or planter, in the purchase of a slave, is to receive a benefit in his labour, or in the produce of his labour.

If a person borrows money, he does not expect the accommodation without giving an equivalent in the shape of interest, or, in other words, a benefit in the productive powers of the loan; and if the capital, by mischance or otherwise, becomes extinct,

then the borrower becomes responsible with his remaining property, which, in proportion as it dissipates by repeated drains, leaves him to depend upon the productive powers of his labour to furnish the interest required: and it must be by mere miracle that in such a situation he can ever repay the principal or capital borrowed, because, if he could *only* live and *pay the interest*, whilst the capital, with its corresponding credit and impetus, were joined with his industry, now that he has but one of the three sources of revenue left, it can be by a miracle alone that he can ever repay the capital.

Now as we leave out, in all calculations of sanity, the idea of recovering by miracle, the argument stands thus:—*The borrower is a perpetual labourer for the lender, and if bound by law so to abide, must for ever be his slave, and his children slaves in reversion: for the borrower has bought the reversionary interest in the productive labour of generations unborn* (how far this may accord with Christianity, or even Mosaic legislation, I leave others to determine); and if the price of his labour should happen to be so small as to allow only the quota of the creditor, he then depends for life and liberty upon the mercy of his creditor. I ask, then, in what respect such a person differs from the condition of an absolute personal slave, the victim of conquest or purchase? Nay, is he not rather in a worse state of degradation, the victim of knavery and over-reaching cunning, without even the chance of a personal struggle?

Now to this state of slavery

are most of the European states reduced, not excepting our own. The capitals borrowed in the name of the commonwealth are *sunk*—the energies, the impulse and corresponding credit, desirable from the employment of such capital, are also gone—the industry alone remains, and that at a very low rate of payment; and the reversionary interest in the productive powers of the community is bought by the fundholders in perpetuity; and as it is quite certain the capitals can never be repaid (for I treat the Sinking Fund as something worse than a nonentity—the same as a private person may be so much worse than worth nothing), the fundholder is virtually become the purchaser of the blood, and bone, and sinew, of the labouring community, as it is impossible he can have any other claims than upon the productive powers of their labour.

It is clear, then, that the condition of the labouring poor (comprising, perhaps, three fourths of the population) is sheer downright perpetual slavery, and but slightly disguised; and slavery, too, worse than African or West-Indian, about which so much has been of late said by all parties on every side, and on account of which legislative enactments favourable to humanity have taken

place in this country: but where shall we look for advocates for the defenceless, the injured victims of extortion and corruption—to whom shall we make the once affecting appeal, ‘Am I not a man and a brother,’ on behalf of the insulted Petitioners for Reform? If we address our supplications to Parliament, we are called ‘traitors,’ ‘madmen,’ ‘impatient of taxation,’ ‘jacobins,’ &c. If we address the royal ear, we are accused of ‘insulting Majesty;’ if the middle branch of the legislative, ‘with sedition and rebellion:’ but as we may as well be without life as without feelings that deserve respect, we will make one more appeal, and that to the humanity, the virtue, and patriotism of the country gentlemen of England—they cannot but feel some misgivings that all is not right—some presentiment that vice, unfeeling, insolent, domineering, avaricious vice, must speedily fall like Dagon before the ark, and be utterly broken, never to recover. We invite you, gentlemen, to look at our state, compare, judge, and “inwardly digest,” and pronounce upon it, whether it be bearable any longer—whether it be even decent, in a Christian country, to strain the little remnant of nerve left, to the last degree of tension possible:—

COMPARISON.

Personal Slavery,

AND *Slavery under the Funding System.*

THE WEST-INDIA SLAVE-DEALER'S only object is to have the entire disposal of the produce of the labour of his slave.

THE FUNDHOLDER buys the reversionary interest in the produce of the labour of the *taxed slave*, and thereby possesses the right of disposal.

The West India Slave-Dealer is obliged, for his ownsake, to feed, lodge, and clothe his slave.

— can exercise the whip or chain, to produce more labour, but if to the loss of life or limb, is a loser himself, and liable to a capital punishment.

— can sell his slave to the highest bidder.

— cannot, upon his mere *ipse dixit*, hang or convict a slave of capital offences.

The West-India Slave-dealer works his slave *under* the extreme degree of tension of nerve, lest he should be incapacitated for procreation.

— has been compelled by law to limit the supply.

In short, the personal slave has from the moment of notice of danger a chance of escape by personal prowess, but the social order slave is doomed before born—is incarcerated if he resist.

Such, Gentlemen of England, is the picture of your country. Polyphemus, the one-eyed Cyclops, has you also enclosed in his den, and gives you the conso-

The Fundholder has no interest or feeling in the '*social order*' slave, nor is he obliged to feed, clothe, or lodge him in any degree of proportion to his actual wants.

— seizes the doubly-earned mouthful from the '*social order*' slave, till the ratio of tax be paid, and if life becomes extinct in consequence; suffers no individual loss, and is not accountable to any earthly power for his death by starvation.

— can sell the reversionary interest in the life and limb of the '*social order*' slave.

— compels (by a train of inevitable consequences, the result of his own measures), the *victim of taxation to hang or bestarved*, and is under no control of law in this infernal process.

The Fundholder and Corruptionist not only calculates *the extreme degree of tension the nerves of labour can bear without breakage*, but claims a right to introduce *new checks on population*.

The '*social order*' Slave-merchant's market is overstocked, and the avarice of a despotic oligarchy continually allows them a fresh supply.

lation of Ulysses, to be devoured the last.

Your well-wisher,
A WEST-COUNTRY LABOURER.

THE REGISTER
OF LAST SATURDAY,
CONTAINS
A LETTER

TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 12.]

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1817.

[Vol. II.]

PECULATORS

AND

PLUNDERERS.

THE APPROACHING CHANGE,
Reform, Revolution, or Despotism
—£270,000. of the Public Money
pocketed by **DEFAULTERS**, just
discovered--De Lancey, a Defaulter
of £97,000. rewarded with a Pen-
sion of £2000. a Year—Alexander
Davison tried for Bribery and Cor-
ruption, and found Guilty; gives
Dinners to the Prince of Wales;
made Treasurer of the Ordnance;
tried again for Fraud, and found
Guilty—His Partner Hanged—Mr.
Steele, the Privy Councillor and
Army Pay-Master, takes £19,800
of the Public Money, and uses it for
Seven Years---Proposal for the
Hangman to Whip a Rascal in
Ruffles---J. Proud's Cruel Case---
A Bountiful Harvest---Food enough
for all the People---A Prediction---
Government cautioned against let-
ting the People Starve this Winter.

EVERY hour that passes brings
us nearer to our crisis—the turn

of our disorder. It will end in
real Reform, or in Revolution,
or in Despotism. It is not now
in the power either of the Go-
vernment or the People to stop
its progress. The Government
dreads Reform, because it
thinks the Reformists desire Re-
volution; and the Reformists
dread Revolution, because they
love Order, and the Liberty with
which the Constitution hath made
them free. They know, how-
ever, that Government, under
colour of preserving liberty, may
erect itself into a cruel tyranny,
with all the forms of law; and
this renders the Reformists still
more anxious for Reform. The
boundless taxation, the state of
the finances, the luxury of the
rich, the frightful extent of cor-
ruption, the rapid increase of the
poor, the sufferings of the Peo-
ple, their endurance of neglect
and wrong when they had more
than common right to protection
and relief, the unexpected ex-
posure of abuses, and the sub-
dued but solemn murmurings
throughout the country, like the
sudden belchings and subterra-
nean noises of Vesuvius, before
an eruption—all these portend
the change. Let us cast our eyes
upon one of these omens, a fresh
instance of delinquency in pub-
lic officers, where the People, as
usual, are the sufferers.

There is a Board appointed to

audit the accounts of persons who held public situations in, or whose offices were connected with, the West Indies and South America. The duty of this Board is to examine all the items of such accounts, and the proofs and vouchers verifying their accuracy. The Board and its establishment at home consists of three Commissioners, a Secretary, two Inspectors, three Assistant Inspectors, and 13 Clerks, beside a Foreign Commissioner, with a Secretary and three Clerks; so that it appears there is a great deal of examination to go through. These Commissioners have just made a Report, which shows that large sums of money are due to the public from certain persons whose accounts have been examined, and who therefore swell the list of *Public Defaulters*. One of these persons, a Mr. JOHN GLASFURD, drew bills on the Treasury to the amount of nearly *Six Millions* of public money, which bills the Treasury paid, as he died without having made up any general account current; and the Commissioners say they "have been collecting a mass of vouchers, documents, and evidence, for the purpose of making out the account; the result of which, and of the final examination of the account, will probably establish a very large balance being due by Mr. GLASFURD to the public." The Report further states, that one Mr. PHIPPS, a Deputy Pay-Master-General in the West Indies, has had more than *Three Millions* of the public money through his hands, and is a defaulter to the amount of nearly *Seventy Thousand pounds*; and a certain Mr.

VALENTINE JONES has died a defaulter to the amount of more than *Two Hundred Thousand pounds*. Mr. GLASFURD, and Mr. PHIPPS, and Mr. JONES, were all very loyal men—no men in or out of England more loyal.—These defaulters desired no alteration. They said with Sir WILLIAM CURTIS, "things are very well as they are." They could not see what good Reform would do; *they* thought it would do a great deal of harm; that it would breed a great deal of confusion; that it would lead to *Revolution*; and therefore they opposed Reform, and hated Reformists, and admired Mr. PITT, and drank his health with three times three, when he was alive; and when he was dead, they drank his memory in silence, with nine expressive waves of the hand, and sang "the Pilot that weather'd the Storm." It is natural that such men as GLASFURD, and PHIPPS, and JONES, should do thus; they knew that Reform would do harm to *them*; that it would confound their practices; that it would cause a Revolution in *their* affairs; that they would be called to account quickly, and be ruined. Their only safety, therefore, was in opposing Reform and Reformists, and supporting Mr. PITT, who supported *them*.

There is nothing new in such discoveries as are made, and will be made, by the West India Commissioners. They are of a piece with the mal-practices of Mr. PITT's friends; not that all, or a hundredth part, of the peculating and plundering has seen, or ever will see light. He himself took good care to keep

in darkness what he could. Many years before Mr PITT's death, information was sent to him, in writing, of various frauds and embezzlements being committed in the West Indies, by a man who bore high rank. It was offered to be proved to Mr. PITT, that this person had plundered the country to an immense amount—that he had even built himself a house on one of the islands, all the materials of which were King's stores; every nail that was driven, and the very glass in the windows, having the broad arrow marked upon them. Mr. PITT took no notice of this communication, although the name of the delinquent was mentioned, and it was stated that his pillage of public property amounted to near a *Hundred Thousand pounds*. The charges were drawn out at length, and signed by the party making them, with his real name and address; but Mr. PITT took no notice of them whatever. He did not even return a common civil acknowledgment that they had been received; nor, although numerous written applications were made to him, and personal interviews applied for, could a line be obtained from him, or from any body about him; and access was wholly denied. I looked in the Reports of Committees of the House of Commons as they were made, year after year, for some notice of this enormous peculation; supposing Mr. PITT had referred the papers to one of these Boards of Inquiry; but not a word—all was as silent as the grave, in which Mr. PITT and the denounced robber rest from their labours. The

"great man, now no more," as he is called, saved this speculator, who died immensely rich, from such an exposure as GLASFORD, JONES, and PHIPPS, have suffered.

Under Mr. PITT, Corruption flourished as in a hot-bed, and all the robbers were *loyal*, every man of them. One CHINNERY, a defaulter, was one of the most *loyal* men alive, gave sumptuous dinners, and entertainments, and balls, and pocketed a large amount of the public money. VILLIERS, another *defaulter*, which is a polite term for a man who gets the public money into his possession and keeps it, was no *petty-larceny* rogue, but a man of style, who lived like a nabob till he was found out, and then ran away like a vagabond. Then there was the famous WOODFORD, who, because he was suffered to retire greatly in debt to the public, is also called a *defaulter*; he was of unbounded *loyalty*, and unrivalled by any man of his rank in the splendour of his establishment. He received, and appropriated to the purposes of luxurious enjoyment, immense sums of the public money. All these men were PITTITES, the children of Mr. PITT's system, *loyal* Pittites, as loyal as the late Lord MELVILLE, who was a Minister, with the disposal of the best things in the gift of the Crown to his own countrymen, who enjoyed the influence and patronage of all Scotland, and who was privy to and connived at the withdrawing from the Bank of England, for purposes of private interest or emolument, sums of the public money, issued to him as a Minister, and placed to his account in the Bank, thereby

being guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty.

Under the administration of the heaven-born PITT, and this loyal Lord MELVILLE, there were two loan contractors, named BOYD and BENFIELD, to whom Mr. PITT, in conjunction with the loyal Lord MELVILLE, lent forty thousand pounds of the PUBLIC MONEY, *without interest*, for a whole twelvemonth, towards enabling this BOYD and BENFIELD to pay up an instalment on the loan in the autumn of 1796. BENFIELD was a Member of the House of Commons, where, in one Parliament, he sat with *eight* Members at his back, of his own making. BURKE described him as "a criminal, who long since ought to have fattened the region kites with his offal."

General DE LANCEY, *Barrack-Master-General*, another of the PITT school, in an account laid before the Military Commissioners, in 1806, acknowledged to have drawn from the Treasury Six *Thousand* eight hundred and sixty-five pounds four shillings, being so much beyond the amount due to him; but the Commissioners, upon investigating the account, reported that he had overdrawn from the Treasury the sum of *Ninety-Seven Thousand* four hundred and fifteen pounds, public money; and the Commissioners actually discovered, that of this amount, a sum of eleven thousand and ninety-six pounds, was received for General DE LANCEY, from the Treasury, by GREENWOOD, the Army Agent, *on account of the public service*; which, instead of being carried by GREENWOOD to

the *Barrack* account, was immediately placed by GREENWOOD to General DE LANCEY's own *private* account. General DE LANCEY, beside his pay as Barrack-Master-General, and allowances for travelling expenses, received pay as Colonel of the 17th Regiment of Dragoons, *with the pay of a Lieutenant-General on the Staff*, amounting together to an income of about *Nine Thousand pounds* sterling, per annum, at the time of his having obtained this enormous sum of £97,415. A statement of the concerns of Mr. GREENWOOD, the Army-Agent, or, as he is called, the DUKE OF YORK'S GREENWOOD, shows what sums have been got out of the public in the army-agency line:

MR. GREENWOOD,

Agent

- To 174 Battalions of the Line.
- 21 Battalions of Militia.
- the Royal Artillery.
- the Royal Engineers.
- the Veterans.
- the Waggon Train.

Mr. GREENWOOD's salary was 530l. a year; but he cleared by his agencies at least SIXTY THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR, besides receiving the immense sums issued for the pay and allowances of the officers of all those regiments, and the purchase-money of all commissions, which were lodged with him *by order of the DUKE OF YORK, as Commander in Chief*. It is impossible to estimate the *profits* from such a floating capital as this, in the hands of the DUKE OF YORK'S GREENWOOD; nor can it be ascertained who *went partners* with him in the concern; but it is

clear that Mr. GREENWOOD was a very confidential agent of General DE LANCEY, by placing the 11,096*l.* which he, GREENWOOD, received from the Treasury, for the use of the *Barrack Department*, to DE LANCEY's *private account*, instead of his public account as Barrack-Master-General; all this is as clear as that DE LANCEY himself pocketed 97,415*l.* of the public money, as set forth very minutely in the Commissioners' Report, which shows on what pretences he obtained it from the Treasury. The *loyalty* of General DE LANCEY is unquestionable; he had *much* to be loyal for, as the freemen of *Maidstone* will testify. He was their member; he bought them, and paid for them. What he did for them, and what he did for the country, we know, as far as the pocketing of the *ninety-seven thousand four hundred and fifteen pounds* will show. It is pretty evident that his constituents at Maidstone had their share of the money: for when he had none to give them, they did not return him to represent their corruption and venality in Parliament.

There is another gentleman who ought not to be forgotten, because he was a friend of General DE LANCEY's—one ALEXANDER DAVISON, *Esquire*. This person was very conspicuous under the PITT administration as a Banker, a Boroughmonger, a Member of Parliament, a Contractor, a Peculator, and a Loyalist. In May, 1804, ALEXANDER DAVISON, Esq. with two other persons, named PARSONS and HOPPING, having been found guilty of bribing divers voters of the borough of *Ilchester* with sums of thirty

pounds per man, and by conspiracy erecting many houses to increase the number of voters, whom they also bribed; Mr. Justice GROSE passed the sentence of the Court of King's Bench upon them. In addressing DAVISON, he said, "Instead of being in any doubt of the commission of the offence, we are astonished that ordinary prudence did not lead you to take some pains to disguise this *extensive system of corruption*; your crimes are complicated; they involve both conspiracy and bribery; and in that of bribery, seems to be included the corrupt and malevolent intention of leading the unhappy objects who were incapable of resisting the *temptation* you offered them, to the foul crime of wilful and *corrupt perjury*. While you may look down with contempt upon the unfortunate wretch who disposes of his conscience to you, for the support of his family, *compare with him the FLAGRANTIOUS CORRUPTOR*, who is perverting the rights, and *undermining the CONSTITUTION of his country*. We cannot ascertain if the objects of you, the defendant DAVISON, were to gratify insatiable avarice, or inordinate ambition, or if there were others behind the curtain, yet more rich and more powerful, by whom you were employed; but if we may form any judgment of the *magnitude of your means*, and of the extent of your projects, by the *sums* you have expended in this atrocious attempt, we need not wonder at the dangers to which the *Constitution* is exposed." Sir NASH GROSE, after these excellent remarks, sentenced the loyal ALEXANDER DAVISON, Esq., and

his confederates, to a year's imprisonment; at the expiration of which sentence, DAVISON returned to his house in St. James's Square, and his banking-house, in Pall Mall, and again put himself at the head of the volunteer corps of Loyal North Britons, of which he was the commander. He had raised this corps amidst the praises of the loyal and the puffs of the newspapers, who chose to take his money and paragraph him as one of the most spirited, and loyal, and disinterested, and noble-minded men in England. His name was put into subscription lists, and nobody doubted his charitable views and benevolence—except those who know how easy it is to *purchase* the “bubble reputation,” of all colours and sizes, according to the taste and liberality of the purchaser. It was a sad cut upon this *loyal* chieftain, to be prosecuted like a smuggler or a swindler; and then the distress of the *Loyal North Britons*—sighing for their poor dear Colonel—what a shocking thing that he should be *found out*! Only think of a commander of a volunteer corps being indicted, tried, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment, like a pickpocket;—for ought that many of his Loyal North Britons knew, doomed to peep through iron gratings against a brown brick wall; forced to go to chapel daily with other convicts; to admit the visits of the clergyman at all hours, and to hear lectures on the heinousness of his offence, concluded with pious exhortations to renounce the devil and all his works, and to lead a godly, righteous, and sober life, in this

wicked world. Though the confinement of the *loyal* ALEXANDER DAVISON was not quite so bad as this, still it was mortifying enough to him. On his liberation, he resumed his consequence, did immense business as an army-contractor, and in a few months had influence enough to get appointed *Treasurer of the Ordnance*, a place of rank, trust, and responsibility—three or four millions then passing through that officer's hands annually. This was a master-stroke, in a man lately escaped from a prison. He resumed his sumptuous entertainments, and was honoured by the company of the PRINCE OF WALES, Earl MOIRA, Col. McMAHON, and the Prince's friends, and became eager for a *Baronetcy*. Whilst DAVISON was going on swimmingly, carrying all before him in the way of contract, and cash-handling, and basking in the smiles of the Prince himself, the Commissioners of Military Inquiry were silently examining DE LANCEY's barrack accounts; and just about the time DAVISON's *Baronetcy* was talked of, they issued their third Report, which put an end to all hopes on that head, as the following stubborn facts will show.—By an agreement entered into between the *loyal* General DE LANCEY, and the *loyal* ALEXANDER DAVISON, Esq. in the year 1795, Colonel DAVISON undertook to supply the Barrack Department with beds, bedding, sheets, blankets, towels, ironmongery, candles, beer, and forage, at a commission of two and a half per cent. Coals he was to supply on his own account, as a merchant; to be delivered at the wholesale dealers' prices, which

were to be certified as the fair market prices, under the hands of respectable merchants. As the accounts of DAVISON the *loyal* were to be checked by D. LANCEY the *loyal*, the reader will guess that something happened. DAVISON the *loyal*, who, it will be remembered, was a *banker* as well as a contractor, drew immense sums of the public money, amounting, perhaps, to near a MILLION, before the articles were wanted, and he *overcharged the articles*. Not that the Commissioners could detect overcharges with certainty, on the goods he supplied by *commission*—the nature of the goods almost precluded the possibility of such detection; but on the *coals*, the detection was complete. For instance:—

On the 23d day of January, 1799, Mr. HARGRAVES, a coal-merchant at Brighton, delivered at the barracks there sixty chaldrons of coals, on account of Mr. DAVISON, and charged him 46s. per chaldron, and drew a bill for the same, £138. at forty days; *the self-same Mr. HARGRAVES certified the price that day to be 58s. and 2s. for carriage, making 60s. per chaldron*; and this the public paid. Mr. GEO. LEITH, of Walmer, delivered sixty-nine chaldrons and six bushels into the barracks, for which he charged 72s. including all expenses. The certificate, *signed by two inhabitants of Deal*, stated the price on the same day to be 90s. and the carriage 2s. 6d. more, by which Mr. DAVISON had a profit of 20s. 6d. per chaldron, or about 30 per cent. on the cost price.—RICHARD EMERSON and Co. charged Mr. DAVISON 45s. and 9s. 6d. more

for carriage from Dover to Deal, making 54s. 6d. The certificate was made out at 60s. and cartage 17s. 8d. in all 77s. 8d. per chaldron; giving DAVISON 23s. 2d. per chaldron profit, above 40 per cent. In the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, the certificates were generally signed by a person of the name of GEORGE RICHARD WALKER, a dealer in coals, who was *concerned with DAVISON*, under an agreement, or contract, in supplying coals for the barracks in Guernsey, and the adjacent islands, for about four years. He was afterwards DAVISON's *agent*, for about two years more, in the same business, at a commission of two and a half per cent. on an estimated price of the coals delivered. He was also DAVISON's agent in supplying *candles* during the whole time. This person had therefore a direct interest in certifying *high prices*; and he had also an interest in the *quantity* delivered in; for while he acted as DAVISON's agent, he received a commission of two and a half per cent. on an agreed valuation of 65s. per chaldron, on all the coals measured into the barracks. During this period a great increase on the cargoes sent to these islands appeared. This RICHARD GEORGE WALKER, the confidential agent of DAVISON, was convicted of forging the will of a Major HAWKINS, of Guernsey, and *executed*. After his execution, the Commissioners obtained his ledger, from which some of the deliveries of coals are extracted, showing the prices paid by DAVISON to WALKER, and those charged by DAVISON, and allowed by the Barrack-Office, under certificate.

EXTRACT FROM WALKER'S LEDGER.

GUERNSEY.

Date of Delivery.	Quantity.		Price paid by Davison.	Prices charged by Davison, certified by Walker.		Davison's Profit.	
1799.	Chal.	Bush.	per chal.	s.	d.	s.	d.
May 22	158	12	at 55s.	76	11	21	11
June 7	194	16	at 55	69	4	14	4
July 4	92	3	at 55	68	3½	13	0½
Aug. 12	170	0	at 65	65	0½	0	0½
Sept. 16	54	26	at 65	75	7½	10	7½
Oct. 16	135	30	at 65	75	7½	10	7½
Nov. 10	138	32	at 65	75	7½	10	7½
Nov. 18	153	2	at 65	90	3	25	3
Dec. 6	75	0	at 74	90	3	16	3
Dec. 11	104	0	at 74	90	3	16	3
Dec. 19	115	10	at 74	90	3	16	3
Dec. 23	95	35	at 74	90	3	16	3

JERSEY.

1799.							
Jan. 1	37	12	at 50	92	4½	42	4½
Feb. 18	194	16	at 86	90	4½	4	4½
Mar. 18	361	4	at 86	90	4½	4	4
May 20	97	8	at 55	74	4½	19	4½
June 10	166	24	at 55	74	4½	19	4½
July 20	83	12	at 55	74	4½	19	4½
Aug. 6	222	8	at 55	74	4½	19	4½
Sept. 30	388	32	at 65	74	4½	19	4½
Sept. 17	52	12	at 65	74	4½	19	4½
Oct. 28	166	24	at 65	90	3	25	3
Nov. 18	225	0	at 65	90	3	25	3
Nov. 30	277	9	at 74	90	3	16	3
Dec. 24	136	0	at 74	90	3	16	3

This table is merely a *specimen* of the prices paid by DAVISON for the coals, and certified by WALKER to be the first prices; from which it appears, that the average price DAVISON paid for the coals, is *sixty-one* shillings per chaldron, and the average price he charged to the public, is *eighty-one* shillings per chaldron, giving this *loyal* contractor a gain of twenty-five per cent. But there was a still further gain of five per cent. because on every twenty chaldrons there should be an allowance of one chaldron, as *ingrain*, which not being allowed by DAVISON, the fraud on the public was to the extent of thirty per cent. It was offered to be proved to the Commissioners, that in the article of coals alone, DAVISON defrauded the public to the extent of *One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds*. Then as to the other articles—the beds and bedding, and sheets and blankets, towels, ironmongery, candles, beer, and forage, which he supplied at a commission of *two and a half per cent.* it is not likely that he would be *satisfied* with that commission. What enormous sums this banking contractor must have had continually passing through his hands! His gains are beyond estimate, and known only to himself. But the disclosure of the *coals* was a thorough stop on the Baronetcy. A prosecution being instituted against him, he was tried, and found guilty. I cannot now lay my hand on the sentence he received for this second public delinquency, nor do I recollect it, but I know the impression on my mind at the time was, that

he *got off very well*. There were many attended to give him a character, which at the Old Bailey is the wretches' last hope, and where the alleged criminality is doubtful, former good character goes a long way; but in this case the crime was notorious, and the delinquent had been tried before. Yet this man actually called evidence to character, and the following persons were examined, namely:—

Earl MOIRA.

The Hon. WELLESLEY POLE.

Sir ANDREW SNAPE HAMMOND.

Sir EVAN NEPEAN.

The Rt. Hon. CHAS. LONG, and Mr. HUSKISSON.

I do not recollect reading that any of these witnesses were brow-beaten by the Counsel for the Crown, or even cross-examined, or that a single question was asked them by the Court respecting the prisoner's *former conviction*; and yet, if the loyal Colonel ALEXANDER DAVISON, Banker, Member of Parliament, Contractor, and Treasurer of the Ordnance, had prosecuted one of his own clerks, on an indictment for applying the property of the said ALEXANDER the *loyal* to his own use, much such a scene as this might have ensued:—

Recorder.

Prisoner, what have you to say in your defence?

Prisoner.

I don't know my Lord. I've no money to employ Counsel; but I have witnesses waiting to speak for me.

Recorder.

Witnesses! What witnesses?

Prisoner.

Witnesses to my character, my Lord.

Recorder.

Character! oh, aye! I dare say you've a *character*. Every body that stands where you do *has a character*.—Well, where are they?—call 'em.

Enter the Witnesses.

Recorder.

(*To a Witness*) Well, what do you know of the Prisoner at the bar?

Witness.

I have known him a long time, my Lord. I never knew any harm of him.

Recorder.

He never robbed *you*, I suppose?

Witness.

No, my Lord, I cannot say that ever he did.

Recorder.

Well, you may get down.—Oh, here's *another*, is there? (*to second Witness*) What have you to say?

Second Witness.

My Lord, I have known the Prisoner from a child; but he became bound for a friend, who ran away, and his wife is lying on a sick bed, with a large family, and——

Recorder.

That does not justify his *robbing his master*, does it?—There, go down.

Gentlemen of the Jury,

If these pretences were to be allowed, we should not sleep in our beds; masters would never be safe from the dishonesty of their servants. You have heard the evidence, and if you think there can be any doubt of the Prisoner's guilt, acquit him; but if you think as I do, that he is guilty, you will find him so.

The Jury bring him in guilty;

but recommend him to mercy, on account of his former good *character*.

Recorder.

Character, Gentlemen, has nothing to do with the crime of which you have found him guilty. What you say shall be attended to; but it really has little weight. Take the Prisoner away.

Suppose, however, an *equally poor* Prisoner with the last *had been tried before*, and on being tried for his second offence, instead of bringing a Peer, and two or three Privy Councillors, and Members of Parliament, as ALEXANDER the *loyal* did, *they* being ALEXANDER's friends, moving in the same circles with himself, and his *dinner* friends; suppose, I say, a before-convicted prisoner to produce witnesses to character of the like condition in life with himself, it would in all probability be said to the poor wretch, "Your face is known here; this is *not the first time* you have been at that bar; you must not expect to remain in *this* country. In all probability your witnesses are a gang of thieves, as bad as yourself; or they would not come here to give you a good character, knowing, as they must, that you have been tried and found guilty in that place before." It is certain that nothing of this sort was intimated to ALEXANDER DAVISON, or to his witnesses to character. Yet before he produced them, he would have done well to recollect the words, which, on his first conviction, he heard Mr. Justice GROSE utter to his confederate, PARSONS, with whom he was then receiving the sentence of the

Court. After severely animadverting on the profligacy of DAVISON the *loyal*, the learned Judge turned to PARSONS, who had recommended the *bribery*, and encouraged the *perjury*, and thus addressed him on the affidavits produced to his *character*:—"Notwithstanding this violation of duty, it is sworn your *character* is that of a FAIR MAN; that your pursuits tend to *ameliorate the condition of your fellow creatures*; and that you have *impaired your fortune in this honourable endeavour*. One of these deponents ventures to say, that *no temptation* could induce you to do what is *morally or politically wrong*! Considering this deposition, we are obliged to conclude, after the conviction, that this is a wilful misrepresentation, or that you have acted the part of a CONSUMMATE HYPOCRITE." If ALEXANDER the *loyal* recollected this, he did not heed it, as we see; for, notwithstanding it was offered to be proved to the Commissioners, that he had robbed the public to the extent of at least ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS, in only one of his concerns with Government, and though it was notorious he had been before convicted as a briber and corruptor of the public morals, yet the very Ministers themselves, as if *in spite* of this robbery and subornation of perjury, attended to give him a *good character*. Notwithstanding which, the Jury found him guilty; and the Ministers who gave him the good character were obliged to remove him from his place of Treasurer of the Ordnance, which place they did not give him till after he

had been convicted of poisoning the very source of legislation, and been imprisoned for it. What portion of his *fraudulent gains* he has been compelled to disgorge, is unknown to me.

I have dwelt at length on this case of DAVISON the *loyal*, because it is unsurpassed in rapacity and scoundrelism by any other. It is necessary to keep it always before our eyes, as a specimen of the species of villany encouraged by the PITT system, the system under which we are permitted to live, and move, and have our being, as by sufferance, and be called *disloyal*, because we will not fall down and worship, and kneel before those who rob and spoil us. The West India Commissioners' Report does not show that there is the same turpitude in the cases of GLASFURD, JONES, and PHIPPS, as in that of DAVISON; but setting aside GLASFURD's *expected large balance*, it shows that VALENTINE JONES and PHIPPS alone have received TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY THOUSAND POUNDS of the public money, which is *still owing*, on which I shall not observe until I have noticed one more transaction, which ought not to be omitted in this enumeration of a few of the abuses of the PITT system.

On the 10th of February, 1806, at the close of Mr. PITT's administration, occasioned by that Minister's death, two of the senior clerks of the Army Pay-Office went to the Right Hon. GEORGE ROSE, who was one of the joint Pay-Masters, and then leaving office, and acquainted him that the Right Hon. THOMAS STEELE, a Pay-Master, six years

before, had, without any authority from the Treasury or the War-Office, taken two sums of 7000*l.* and 12,500*l.* out of the public money, to his own private account, and given his own receipt for the same to the Deputy Cashier. Mr. ROSE saw Mr. STEELE on the subject, who declined entering into particulars; he said he *did not feel himself at liberty to do it*; that the advances were made to a person, for services of a *secret* nature; that the whole would be re-paid; but he could not exactly fix the time; and he acknowledged that he had no warrant or other authority for the issue. Mr. ROSE advised Mr. STEELE by all means to acquaint Lord GRENVILLE, the new first Lord of the Treasury, with it immediately, rather than wait the detection; urging to his friend STEELE, that as the matter was already publicly known at the office, he should do so at once, *as it would soon become a topic out of doors*. It does not appear that Mr. STEELE made such communication to Lord GRENVILLE, nor did Mr. ROSE say a word about the matter, till the 9th of February, 1807, exactly a twelvemonth afterwards, when he received a letter from Lord TEMPLE, the new Pay-Master, telling him he had discovered Mr. STEELE's misappropriation of the money, and as he found the circumstance was communicated to Mr. ROSE, some days before he left the office, he requested Mr. ROSE would refer him to any minute or memorandum made by Mr. ROSE in the office books, relative to the transaction; Mr. ROSE had made no minute or memorandum,

as it was his duty to do, and therefore could not refer Lord TEMPLE to any. Mr. STEELE was then examined by the Finance Committee of the House of Commons, and said, "he had no hesitation in stating the money *was not taken for the public service*; he was urged to it by *private* considerations of a very *popular* nature, and he thought that by directing the sums to *be issued to himself, and making himself responsible for them, that he could not by possibility incur the suspicion of concealment, or fraud; it was his intention that they should have been replaced in a very short time; but it was not in his power to accomplish it.*" The affair ended by these two sums, amounting to *Nineteen Thousand Eight Hundred Pounds*, being re-paid, with interest, after a lapse of seven years from the time they were taken out by Mr. STEELE, for private purposes, and upwards of a year after the disclosure of the transaction to Mr. ROSE. There was no doubt great alarm at the Pay-Office, at the time of the disclosure, lest the officers of the *new* administration, under Mr. Fox, should detect this trick of one of the officers of the *old* administration, under Mr. PITT; and this apprehension was the real reason for the communication to Mr. ROSE, who seems to have treated the matter very lightly; for he told the Committee of Finance, he thought no more about it, from the time he saw Mr. STEELE, until Lord TEMPLE's letter reminded him of it. Mr. STEELE's opinion of his own conduct is of very little consequence;

for he said he would enter into no particulars, because he did not feel himself *at liberty* to do it; but he found himself *at liberty* to take the public money for his own purposes, and as a public officer, was bound to *explain*, at least. Was he afraid of the Act of Parliament, which makes it felony for servants to embezzle the property of their masters; and did he dread transportation? If it were discovered that a servant, who made up his accounts and left his situation, had previously obtained sums of money, without applying them to the use of his master, he would be liable to be prosecuted to conviction, even though he should offer to return the money. Mr. STEELE caused the Cashier to give him drafts for Nineteen Thousand Eight Hundred Pounds, on account of the *Army Extraordinaries*, which sums he kept for his *private purposes*, for seven years: yet this *Right Hon. THOMAS STEELE* was then a Privy Councillor of England—he is so still; and he also, at this very hour, holds a place of trust, confidence, and emolument, under the Crown, being King's Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer, with a salary of *Eight Hundred and Thirty Pounds per annum*, for life, besides fees.

This is sadly partial work. A man thinks upon it till he is in a stupor, and he almost supposes he may have been dreaming. He inquires by what law the helpless are punished, and the powerful go free; and he respects law less, and becomes more jealous of power. There is a love of justice in our bosoms, like that which a fond youth bears to his mistress—

he would rather hear of her death than of her falsehood, or her violation. Better were justice in her grave, than she should have favourites, and hold her scales uneven, and mete out her punishments with a leering eye. The end of legislation is defeated, if legislators so enact, that the weak only are punished with severity, and the strong and powerful villain escape with half his stripes. One rascal in ruffles whipped by the common hangman would be a greater example to wrong doers, than all the shoeless wretches who have writhed beneath the lash since the verdicts of Coroners' Inquests have declared Death by Starvation, to be Death by the Visitation of God; or since misfortune has been punished as a crime. Without reference to the effect of the Poor Laws, and the Laws against Vagrants, I affirm that our present system generates individual ill, creates poverty, and scourges its own offspring as *a sin*. ALEXANDER DAVISON, the *rich*, after seducing the objects of his corruption at Ilchester, sat as legislator in Parliament, and then surrendered them, as victims to the vengeance of a rival legislator, who putting the helpless wretches, and all their families, into a work-house, manufactured a community of paupers for life, and a marketable seat in the House of Commons for ever. DAVISON, after this, held a place of high trust, and greater emolument, and more profitable influence, than the Secretary of State. Then came the discovery of the frauds in his coal contracts, accompanied by a long train of shocking details not

mentioned here, and yet he is rich; whilst another person, who entered into coal contracts on the public account, endured an intensity of suffering, which those who saw him, as I saw him, would shudder at any Government on earth having the power to prolong for a single hour.

This person is JOHN PROUD, who caused a Petition to be addressed to the Prince Regent, from the King's Bench Prison, dated the 1st of August last. His case is as follows:—

PROUD entered into a contract, in June, 1813, to supply the barracks, in Middlesex, with COALS, for one year, at 2l. 7s. 4d. per chaldron, free of charges; which he performed up to the period of the *unusually severe frost*, which commenced in December following, and continued until the end of February, 1814; during the continuance of which *frost*, coals rose to upwards of 8l. 8s. per chaldron; whereby he sustained an average loss of six pounds upon every chaldron he continued to supply the barracks with; by means his private fortune (amounting to upwards of three thousand pounds) was exhausted. *The Commissary in Chief caused purchases to be made on PROUD's account at immense prices; the difference between which and the contract price CREATED A DEBT of 712l. 9s. 7d. for which he was sued and detained a prisoner, as debtor to the Crown, it being the only detainer against him. He was closely confined within the walls of the Prison from the 21st of June, 1814, making a total of 1135 days, without resources of any kind, but the mite of his fellow prisoners---naked and despairing---without any crime but the accidents of fortune.*

As a prisoner of the Crown, however distressed and wretched the state of the prisoner---three of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury must certify under their

hands, their consent to his release. but PROUD having originally procured *two sureties*, for the due fulfilment of the contract, they, in order to avoid a Writ of Extent, undertook to pay the debt of 712l. 9s. 7d. by instalments of fifty pounds every twelve months, and the Commissioners, to Proud's earnest supplications, returned for answer---they could not liberate him without liberating his sureties. *One of the sureties becoming bankrupt*, reduced the future instalments to 25l. per annum; it would consequently require the dreadful space of *Ten Thousand Four Hundred and Two days (Twenty-eight years and upwards)* to pay off the debt. *If this be the administration of British jurisprudence, the case of a felon is preferable to that of a debtor to the Crown, inasmuch as perpetual transportation is more congenial with an Englishman's feelings than perpetual imprisonment.* Had PROUD been confined at the suit of a subject, he would have been liberated, as a matter of common justice, *One Thousand and Twenty-one days* before the date of this Petition.

The avowed end of all punishment is example, but PROUD's case has long ceased to be conspicuous; he felt himself forgotten by the world, and by those with whom he formerly associated---he was neglected, and no longer held in remembrance---and if by a sound mind he had not become the prey of despair, yet he might be said to have been *literally buried alive*; having been confined to his room in the day-time from want of clothing to cover his nakedness; and most likely forgotten by those who sent him to his prison.

PROUD is now liberated; but only think on his misfortunes, his ruin, his forlorn and destitute condition, and his sufferings, perpetuated for so great a length of time by the associates of the Rt. Hon. THOMAS STEELE---that same STEELE who took £19,800. of the

public money, and kept it for seven years. Think also on *Two Hundred and Seventy Thousand* pounds of the public money, received and detained by JONES and PHIPPS, besides the large balance expected to be due from GLASFURD; and all this actually discovered whilst PROUD was enduring three years' confinement, because there was a *hard frost*. The innocent are the scape-goats bearing upon their backs not only the crimes, but the punishments of the guilty. DAVISON's was a crime nine times died, and he is still wealthy. DE LANCEY, after attempting to detain to his own use upwards of *ninety thousand pounds* of the public money, sits down with a reward; yes, a *reward; a pension; A PENSION OF TWO THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR, FOR LIFE!!!*

There must be an end to this. There *must*. There has been a most shocking delay in bringing forward the public accounts, and not a day more should be lost. The Finance Committee of 1807 complained that notwithstanding the observations made on the subject by the Committee of Finance in 1797 and 1798, *not one account of any Paymaster-General had been finally settled and declared, or made ready for declaration, in the nine or ten years which afterwards elapsed*. Parts of the accounts and vouchers for the year 1782, were delivered to the auditors in 1783, 1789, 1791, and 1798! parts of those for 1783 were delivered to them in 1792 and 1798! part of those for 1784, in 1794! and part of those for 1785, in 1797! It appeared also that a supplementary account of the Paymaster-General, from the 24th of April,

to the 24th of December, 1782 and a supplementary account for 1783, were delivered into their office, together with the attested accounts for 1784 and 1785, no earlier than on the 9th of Feb. 1807! The Committee did not expect that the account of the Paymaster-General for 1782 would be finally audited until Christmas, then next, that is, Christmas, 1807—*twenty-five years* after the charges had been incurred! This is a specimen of Ministerial mismanagement almost without remedy, except in good hands. We shall soon see if the present Ministers are competent to the task.

GLASFURD's expected large balance, and JONES and PHIPPS's actually ascertained balances of *two hundred and seventy thousand pounds*, should not remain without looking after directly. There is great blame incurred, if application was not made for the money the instant the balances were ascertained. Two hundred and seventy thousand pounds of the People's Money, due in two sums, and thousands of the People themselves in distress! Why this is sufficient to keep life in *five thousand families for a twelve-month*.

Not one of the People's lives ought to be lost *this year*. Not one of the People to whom this money is due ought to be starved to death *this year*. I hear a great deal of Government having no money to spare to relieve the distresses. Here is more than a quarter of a million of the public money, which Government has let its own officers draw from the Treasury, and keep in their hands for many years; *this must be got in, and the shelterless and hun-*

gry, poor and wretched, weak and wounded, sick and sore, of the People, must be supported with this, their own money, through the winter. It is sufficient to keep tens of thousands for that period. It will not be a dispensation of charity, but a distribution of justice.

But if this money be not instantly recoverable, other means must be resorted to by Government for the relief of our countrymen. I say this, because there are many now falling victims, as others have fallen. *The Government must step in and stop this.* The earth, like a bountiful mother to her children, has blessed us with an abundant harvest, gloriously ripened during a fine autumn, and well got in; and *there must be no dying for want, in the midst of plenty.* There is enough in the country for all, and *all must live.* The Government must provide that no one class exercise the *power* of starving those of another. It must take care that he who has enough, and to spare, give with a liberal hand to him that is ready to perish. It must not suffer a man, woman, or child, to die of hunger. It must no longer allow the cruelties of man to his fellow man, to be charged upon Providence. It must not tolerate the blasphemy of the Giver of every good and perfect gift, by allowing verdicts of Death by the Visitation of God to be brought in on those who die by its own neglect. Government must prevent this. It must provide for

the distribution of the means of life sufficient for every individual—if not by legislation, by active exertion and influence. I have no base or vulgar feelings whilst thus expressing my opinion. I know what Government can, and what it cannot do. It cannot make food, but it can *distribute* it. It cannot interfere with the rights of property, but it can with its wrongs. Government can and must compel the wealthy to provide for the necessities. Government is an institution for the preservation of the lives and liberties of the People—I say nothing about the *liberties*—but the *lives*;—if it *preserve not the LIVES of ALL the People, it is not a Government.*

I make these remarks, because though the produce of the year is bountiful to profusion, yet if the People are left to themselves as they were *last winter*, and have been during the summer, *I foresee the present winter will be a season of terrible distress.* Ministers must provide employment or food. They must *save the LIVES of the People.* If they are incapable of doing this, they are incapable of governing. Again I say, *there is food enough in the country for ALL, and to spare*; and therefore, on every human being who dies for want of it, the People, as a Grand Inquest, will pronounce a verdict of *Wilful Murder against Ministers.*

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey,
8th October, 1817.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 13.]

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1817.

[Vol. II.]

G I N,

AND THE CLERK OF BRIDEWELL,

MR. POYNDER.

LAW CLERKS

Defended from Mr. Poynder's Charge of Drinking and Dishonesty—Mr. COBBETT'S Account of himself when he was a Law Clerk—Their wretched Salaries; demoralizing Employment; and Injustice of their Employers—Drinking not the Cause of Crime---Effects of Drinking on different Persons; viz. on Mr. Poynder; a Murderer and a Preacher; Mr. Pitt; Lord Melville; Judge Blackstone; Mozart—Burke on Spirit-drinking—Mr. Poynder's Assertion, that Drinking and Newspapers encourage Sedition and Treason, denied—Loyalty of Drunkards—Loyal Names given to Gin—Sobriety of the Irish during the Rebellion—Sir W. Curtis, the Anacreon of the City—Long-tooth Liverymen---Regular Dustmen---Causes of Crime.

Exposure of the SPY SYSTEM in Lancashire, in the former Disturbances.

POETRY—Puppy of Stutgard, a sublime Poetical Epistle to Lady Castlereagh's Dog.

Evidence of James Bly, on the Distribution of BLOOD-MONEY in the Country.

It appears by the second Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the State

of the Police of the Metropolis that Mr. JOHN POYNDER, Attorney at Law, Clerk and Solicitor to the Royal Hospital of Bethlem, also Clerk and Solicitor to the Royal Hospital of Bridewell, and late Under-Sheriff of London and Middlesex, was called on to give evidence before the Committee.

This gentleman stated that he had been Clerk of Bridewell for twelve years, and Under-Sheriff for three years; and had made observations on the police in various ways, "*chiefly from intercourse with the prisoners in Newgate,*" and was decidedly of opinion, that "*the evil of DRINKING, but especially of drinking spirits, lies at the root of all other evils in this City, and elsewhere.*" It is necessary to observe from whence Mr. POYNDER states his information to be chiefly derived, namely, *from intercourse with prisoners in Newgate*, which is a confined and corrupt source of knowledge on such a topic; and it cannot escape notice, that the words "*drinking spirits lies at the root of all other evils,*" very vaguely express his meaning; which I take to be, that drinking spirits is the *root itself* of all other evils, which I deny. Although Mr. POYNDER relates that Mr. BONAR's murderer was fierce and violent when he had been drinking, which I do not deny; and that

WILLIAMSON, who murdered the family of the MARR's, at Ratcliff-Highway, had been drinking the *strongest kind* of gin; and that there are numerous instances of other culprits being spirit drinkers, which likewise I do not deny; yet I do deny his inference, that drinking is the *root* of crime. It is in many instances one of the *means* to more effectual perpetration—and in a few it increases indifference to the consequences; but deficiency of moral principle is the *root* of crime.

Mr. POYNTER says that—“cases of violated trust in *Law* “*Clerks*, arising from their habit “of drinking, were constantly “occurring.” I will ask Mr. POYNTER what *salaries* are paid to Law Clerks, by their employers. He is an Attorney, and can tell. The hours of attendance for *Law Clerks*, are from nine o'clock in the morning until eight or nine in the evening, with the exception of dinner hours only. They give up the whole of their time to a sedentary employment—that of copying law papers and pleadings, and contract pulmonary complaints, from constantly sitting in a bent posture. There is no avocation more cheerless and destitute of recreation or variety. Mr. COBBETT, who had been a Law Clerk, in his “*Life*, written by himself,” says:—

“No part of my life has been totally unattended with pleasure, except the eight or nine months I passed in Gray's Inn. The office (for so the dungeon where I wrote was called) was so dark, that on cloudy days we were obliged to burn candle. I worked

like a galley slave, from five in the morning till eight or nine at night, and sometimes all night long. How many quarrels have I assisted to foment and perpetuate between those poor innocent fellows, John Doe and Richard Roe! How many times (God forgive me!) have I set them to assault each other, with guns, swords, staves, and pitchforks, and then brought them to answer for their misdeeds before our Sovereign Lord the King, seated in his Court at Westminster! When I think of the *soids* and *so-forths*, and the counts of tautology that I scribbled over; when I think of those sheets of seventy-two words, and those lines two inches a-part, my brain turns.—Gracious heaven! if I am doomed to be wretched, bury me beneath Iceland snows, and let me feed on blubber; stretch me under the burning line, and deny me thy propitious dews; nay, if it be thy will, suffocate me with the infected and pestilential air of a democratic club-room; but save me from the desk of an attorney!”

The unfortunate persons who are doomed to this wretched condition are paid worse than journeymen bricklayers. The employment of an Attorney's Clerk is at variance with all others, and unfits him for it; there is no *prospect* before him, during life, but a wearisome repetition of the same dreary task; he sees that if he dare to marry with the chance of an offspring, his means are insufficient to their support; should the unfortunate man make the discovery after he has entered into the estate, he is wretched for ever. Under these anticipations

and views, the mind of the *Law Clerk* sometimes gives way; he derives no comfort from intellectual resources; if he increase his knowledge, he increaseth his sorrow, and he insensibly acquires a habit of drowning his care with a dram. This class of persons should have been the last for Mr. POYNTER to reproach with the vice of drinking, or the crime of violating their trust. It is wonderful to me that they exist upon any terms. The Attornies make them slaves, and reward them insufficiently; and yet they expect them to be without the vices of slavery. What is there in an Attorney's office, to fascinate the Clerk with its duties, or add to the strength of his morality? He is an accessory to the knavish client, who shelters himself under the forms of law from the demands of equity. He helps to protract the Chancery suit of a century, during the term of the present Solicitor's natural life. He knows *why* there must be other parties added to the fiftieth time amended bill; and *why*, on the death of one suitor, the suit itself must fall, without a Bill of Revivor, and a commencement of the whole proceedings *de novo*. He sees that bare right is powerless against property with might. He sees the bolstering up of unjust claims, and the rejection of real ones, effected by the strength of the purse. He is the labourer who helps to forward the mechanism, which is turned, and polished, and dove-tailed, by the Attorney, and Solicitor, and Conveyancer, and Special Pleader, and Chamber Counsel. He is the drudge to do the rough work of toilsome form, and endless chicanery.

He sees justice slaughtered and exposed for sale in the shambles, and he knows that those who have no money to purchase must go without. There is not a worse paid, or a more ill-used, or a more harmless class of persons than Law Clerks. The Attornies work them hard, and keep them hungry, and Mr. POYNTER expects them to be grateful. They are behind the scenes of the most demoralizing of our institutions, and he expects them to be moral. They *are* moral. They are more moral than a *moralist* could expect. Mr. POYNTER says *they are almost universally addicted to drinking*. It is not true. An Attorney's business could not go on with an office full of drunken Clerks—they would ruin him. If a few take to drinking, they expire for want of employment. Those who contrive to maintain their independence for a time, cannot do so during the natural term of life. A Clerk advanced in years, in an Attorney's office, is a rarity. Their health is mostly exhausted in middle age, against which their insufficient salaries do not enable them to make provision. They are then treated like worn-out *hacks*. Being no longer serviceable, they are no longer kept; and they crawl off, and die in holes and corners, victims to the avarice and injustice of their employers.

Mr. POYNTER says, "there is perhaps *less of gross drunkenness* brought before the public eye, than when beer was the national liquor; but there is probably, on that very account, so much more drinking, and so much more *crime*." I know, from observation, that there is

much less drunkenness, and I believe, also from observation, that there is much less drinking, that is, less *gin-drinking*, amongst the working classes. There may be nearly as great a consumption of spirits as formerly, because less wine being drank, spirits are substituted for it in private families; but still not amongst those whom Mr. POYN- DER imagines are rendered criminal by drinking. "I am per- suaded," continues Mr. POYN- DER, "that *the actual increase of crime will alone explain the increased length of sessions and assizes; and that the great cause of the increase of crime itself is to be traced to drinking.*" Drinking is not the *cause* of crime. A highwayman on horse- back robs on the road with fire- arms, and a pickpocket inflames himself with liquor before he goes out to rifle; yet if I were to see Mr. POYN- DER on Ludgate Hill, elevated by wine, I should not thrust my hands into my pockets, expecting that *he* had a design upon my handkerchief and snuff-box; nor were I to meet him on horseback, though it were by Duval's Lane, and I even knew he had a pistol in his pocket, should I expect *he* would ride up and put it at my head, and demand my pocket-book. He must have still more and closer *intercourse with the prisoners in Newgate*, before I should suspect him of this. Ardent spirits are drank by those who *are* criminal, and by those who *are not*. It is not more bad in one man to drink spirits, and less bad in another. Gin is *not* the *cause* of crime. The man is criminal *before* he drinks, as

he who designs to shoot another is criminal before he buys the pistol;—were the evil in the instrument, the cutler of whom OWEN bought the knife with which he made the brutal at- tack on the JONES's and their servant last week, ought to be tried with him, for making the weapon of the intended murder. The mischief is not in gin, but in the *gin-drinker*. A man badly educated, of bad morals, and violent temper, meditates a murder, drinks, and commits it. Another properly educated, and otherwise well qualified, medi- tates the instruction of his fellow creatures, drinks, mounts the pulpit, and preaches all the better. The great moralist JON- SON, who under the influence of liquor would never have become criminal, was accustomed to ine- briate himself with twenty or thirty cups of tea, and astonish his hearers with his powers of mind. Mr. PITT, and his friend DUNDAS, the late Lord MELVILLE, were both hard drinkers, and to *excess*. Mr. POYN- DER is of their school in politics, and would laugh to scorn the supposition that, even in their cups, *they* could commit grand larceny or high treason. Sir WILLIAM BLACK- STONE wrote his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* with a bottle of wine before him. It is related of MOZART, the celebrated musical composer, that he post- poned the composition of the overture to his opera of *Don Giovanni* until the last moment. This overture is esteemed a mas- ter-piece of genius and science. The last grand rehearsal of the opera took place without it, although the public performance

was fixed for the next day. MOZART's friends, his wife, and above all the Manager, were in a state of alarm easily to be conceived: they represented to him the ruinous consequences, to the theatre as well as to himself, which must result from an eventual disappointment; and conjured him not to blast his greatest work by so wanton a procrastination. "I shall write the overture this afternoon; I have it all in my head," was the answer given to them. The afternoon came; but MOZART, seduced by the fineness of the weather, took a trip into the country, and made merry, returned in the evening, and sat down—to a bowl of *punch*, with some friends, who trembled at the idea of his situation. It was midnight before he left this jovial party, in a state so little calculated for mental exertion, that he determined to lie down for an hour, at the same time charging Mrs. MOZART to call him at the expiration of that time. The fond wife, seeing him in the sweetest slumber, and conscious of his power, suffered him to lie two hours, called him up, made a bowl of *punch*, his favourite beverage, put pen, ink, and staves before him, sat down by his side, and while filling the glass, entertained the composer with a number of laughable stories, in the telling of which she possessed a peculiar talent. MOZART listened with the greatest glee, and laughed till the tears trickled down his eyes. All at once the divine spark within him brightened into radiant flame; he felt "full of the God," and exclaimed, "Now is the

time, CONSTANTIA; now we are in trim for it." Showers of crotchets and quavers now gushed from the rapid pen. At times, however, and in the midst of writing, nature would assert her sway, and cause the composer to relapse into a nod or two. To these, it is generally pretended, the leading passage in the overture, turned, repeated, and modulated into a hundred varied shapes, owed its origin. The somnolent fits, however, soon gave way to the cheerful converse of CONSTANTIA, and the excellent *punch* which formed its accompaniment. The overture was completed before breakfast, and the copyists scarcely had time to write out the score. A rehearsal being thus out of the question, the orchestra played it at the public representation in the evening without previous trial; and it is no small eulogium on their talents to add, that the execution electrified the audience, who with thunders of applause called for a repetition.*

The cause of crime is to be looked for in men of depraved minds and corrupted morals; in ignorance of duty, more than heedlessness of punishment. He who abstains from crime because he is convinced that to be criminal is to be miserable, governs himself. He who has never been taught that "honesty is the best policy," and whom fear of imprisonment, and transportation, and the gallows, alone restrain, has no self-government. The one drinking to conviviality will

* This anecdote of MOZART I have given in the language of the *Examiner*: it is subjoined to the Critique on *Don Juan*, in the paper of Sunday, April 20th.

heighten the pleasures of the table, and if he carry arms, use them but to defend himself; the other drinking to raise his spirits becomes debauched, and points his pistol at the first person he meets. The one will abstain from depredation, though liquor-shops keep their doors coaxingly ajar, and fire-arms be publicly exposed; the other would rob and murder, though liquor-shops were abolished, and arms not allowed to be sold. "As to what is said," observes BURKE, "in a physical and moral view, against the home consumption of spirits, experience has long since taught me very little to respect the declamations on that subject. Whether the thunder of the laws or the thunder of eloquence 'is hurled on *gin*,' always I am thunder-proof. The alembic, in my mind, has furnished the world a far greater benefit and blessing than if the *opus maximum* had been really found by chemistry, and, like Midas, we could turn every thing into gold.—Undoubtedly there may be a dangerous abuse in the excess of spirits; and at one time I am ready to believe the abuse was great. When spirits are cheap, the business of drunkenness is achieved with little time or labour; but the evil I consider to be wholly done away. Observation for the last forty years, and very particularly for the last thirty, has furnished me with ten instances of drunkenness from other causes, for one from this. Ardent spirit is a great *medicine*, often to remove distempers—much more frequently to prevent them, or to chase them away in their begin-

nings. It is not nutritive in any great degree. But if not food, it greatly alleviates the want of it. It invigorates the stomach for the digestion of poor meagre diet, not easily alliable to the human constitution. Wine the poor cannot touch. Beer, as applied to many occasions (as among seamen and fishermen, for instance), will by no means do the business. Let me add what wits inspired with champagne and claret will turn into ridicule—it is a *medicine for the mind*. Under the pressure of the cares and sorrows of our mortal condition, men have at all times, and in all countries, called in some *physical aid* to their moral consolations—wine, beer, opium, brandy, or tobacco."

Had Mr. POYNTER related any *new* facts in proof of his opinions, his evidence would have been so far valuable; but he has not cited one case which had not been in print. Three years' *intercourse with the prisoners in Newgate* was badly employed by Mr. Under-Sheriff POYNTER, if he cannot add a multitude of instances to those we know. I am inclined to think he has brought himself up in a bad school to very little advantage. Surrounded by convicted criminals, who drank gin, and swore when they were drunk, he concluded drinking to be the cause of their vices. It is the *effect*. I said Mr. POYNTER adduced no new instances. I forgot one which appears to me to have in great measure occasioned his mistaking the effect for the cause. One wicked rascal in Newgate told Mr. POYNTER he could not enter his house in the dead of night unless

he got *well primed* first. I have no doubt Mr. POYNTER shuddered at every wine-vaults he passed on his way home, and decided that there would be no security for the future, till they were all abolished. I am not quite so certain if the housebreaker had told him that he could not enter his house in the dead of night, if he was ever so well primed, without a *wrenching-iron*, that therefore Mr. POYNTER would abolish the sale of ironmongery; and yet a crow-bar would be more necessary to a housebreaker than gin. Indeed I am persuaded that habits of drinking in criminals lead to their detection. If a criminal could abstain from drinking, he would add years of guilt to his life before he became a convict, and might perhaps die at home in his bed. The depredator who drinks plans insecurely, and hangs because he cannot keep himself sober.

There is a portion of Mr. POYNTER's evidence which shows that his twelve years' acquaintance with the vagrants and prostitutes and petty thieves in Bridewell, and his three years' intercourse with the prisoners in Newgate, have confined his views of the consequences of crime to these little homes of villany. His observation of wickedness has never extended beyond that which he has heard of from its perpetrators within the walls, or from the turnkeys, of the prisons. His remarks upon what he has seen of second-hand sin are useless, and upon what he has imagined to be perpetrated are mischievous. The part of his evidence I more immediately allude to is as follows:—

“ I would further observe, that the continuance of the present system of *drinking* has appeared to me calculated to encourage and perpetuate habits of IN-SUBORDINATION AND SEDITION. and I feel strongly persuaded that *the Government loses infinitely more in the alienation of the minds of its people, that it can ever gain by the largest contribution to its revenue*, CASHMAN, the rioter, who was lately executed in London, assured me, the day before his death, that he had been drinking spirits repeatedly before he joined the mob,—As far as *my own experience goes, as to the disaffection and discontent prevailing here*, I am convinced, that the most fertile source of contempt for human law, as well as divine, is to be found in the *drinking of spirits*; the mind is soured and irritated in consequence of perpetual excitement; it is ill at ease in itself, and vents its resentment upon all around: among the causes of offence which such a man finds, it is natural he should manifest most impatience at what restrains him most; and as *government, and law, and order, are (for the general good) imposing perpetual obstacles in his way*, he will hate and *vilify* them, and seek to *render authority contemptible by all the means in his power*. The morning dram-shop and the evening public-house are well calculated to form and cultivate such a state of mind; FACTIOUS NEWS-PAPERS, AS WELL AS OTHER PERNICIOUS PUBLICATIONS, help to mislead

“and seduce those who wish to
 “be deceived, and *such as cannot*
 “*read, hear others read; SEDI-*
 “*TIOUS* companions keep each
 “other in countenance, and
 “TREASON assumes a confi-
 “dence and courage which it
 “would never otherwise acquire;
 “hence *the MOST unlawful com-*
 “*binations, and the MOST horrid*
 “*oaths*; hence facilities are af-
 “forded to such persons for
 “collecting together from night
 “to night, which their own houses
 “would not supply. In these
 “cases, it is not to be denied that
 “the *liquor* which is furnished
 “forms one great source of at-
 “traction, *leads to false and per-*
 “*verted reasonings*, to late hours,
 “and to increased expenses, in
 “instances where expense can
 “be so ill afforded; not even the
 “pause of one day in the week
 “is allowed; but the SUNDAY
 “NEWSPAPER presents an in-
 “ducement when the business
 “of the week is over, and *assists*
 “in keeping up the same round of
 “political and moral mischief.
 “It cannot be expected, that
 “with such *incentives to evil*, the
 “slave of his appetites will either
 “fear God or *honour the King*.
 “We find, accordingly, that in
 “throwing off the divine govern-
 “ment, *human allegiance* has
 “been sensibly affected in the
 “lower ranks of society.”

I can scarcely bring myself to condescend a remark upon this. Mr. POYNTER appears to think that opinion is superior to fact, and that fact is not a necessary ground of opinion. If he is thus deficient to himself in respect, he has no claim upon others to respect his sayings. He who concludes dissatisfaction with the

measures of Government to proceed from *drinking*, is a poor observer of the habits and nature of man. Instances of what Mr. POYNTER would call *disloyalty*, are rare amongst gin-drinkers—your downright drunkards are as *loyal* as the Clerk and Solicitor to the Royal Hospitals of Bethlem and Bridewell; and keepers of wine-vaults increase the sale of their drams by giving them *loyal* names. A few years ago the outside of every spirit-shop was inscribed with “*Fine Royal Gin*.” As rival distillers arose, Royalty gave way to inscriptions of “*Booth’s fine Gin*”—“*Hodges’s best*”—“*Deady’s Entire*,” &c. But withinside there is *loyalty* for every barrel, butt, and bottle. As political events transpired, gin had different political designations; a few of which I recollect, namely:—

Camperdown.

Nelson’s Balls.

The Regent’s Cordial.

The Regent’s Delight.

Prime Cobourg.

Princess Charlotte’s Fancy.

Boney’s Defeat.

Waterloo Eye Water.

&c. &c. &c.

These are all *loyal* names, and all suitable to the enfeebled and degraded minds of the castaways who drink drams—they are all names corresponding to the *dispositions* of prostitutes and pick-pockets, and desperadoes, and the other *loyal* customers of the gin-shop. I almost forgot the name of *Wellington*, which is usually painted on the *largest* cask in the collection, to denote superior quality. I stated in a former *Register*, that criminals are the most *loyal* class of his Majesty’s

subjects, and they have ever been so, as long as I can recollect to have heard or read of them. In the time of the Commonwealth, the *highwaymen* were Royalists, and delighted in plundering the Roundheads—the Judges who tried them were often insulted by their political ribaldry; and from that time to the present, the most depraved bravos have professed *loyal principles*. In Ireland, respecting which unhappy country even Mr. POYNDER professes to have an opinion, experience wholly falsifies his daring assumption, that drinking creates political discontent.

In the year 1793, the *Whig Club*, amongst which was LORD CASTLEREAGH, recommended to the People of Ireland to form themselves into a *Brotherly Society*, of all religious persuasions, for the purpose of obtaining Parliamentary Reform, Catholic Emancipation, and a Commutation of Tithes—the national name of *United Irishmen* was considered as an appropriate title. The British Cabinet, and the Irish Government, dreaded the consequences that would accrue by division being banished from the People—the oath of the *United Irishmen*, by a vote of the Irish Parliament, became a capital crime, and those convicted were to suffer death without the benefit of clergy.

The *United Irishmen*, abandoning all hopes of Reform, came to a resolution to obtain independence by force. I presume Mr. POYNDER will admit there was *dissatisfaction* enough in that. Instead, however, of indulging in habits of intoxication, they considered it an *evil* to be dreaded; and

they actually refrained from drinking spirits, in order to ensure each others prudence. It is a fact which I defy Mr. POYNDER to disprove, that few men can recollect to have seen an Irishman drunk or quarrelling at that period. So much was the principle of sobriety *dreaded*, that Irish Magistrates were heard to declare that they could not think themselves safe *until the People began to drink and fight again*.

No, Mr. POYNDER; the *drunken* rogues and rascals are *yours*; they are all on *your* side; the consumers of the *liquor* which “leads to false and perverted reasonings,” are the *loyal*. Nothing is less likely to encourage discontent than drink, and it never creates it. No man is better satisfied with himself, and those about him, than a drunkard. Moderate drinking and cheerfulness are inseparable. Let a mob guzzle, and their mirth will be outrageous. I shall never forget the drunken rabble on the Jubilee night, seven years ago; they had swilled parish beer till they were bursting with *loyalty*. Then, Mr. POYNDER, walk into the City. There is *drinking*! Look at Alderman Sir WILLIAM CURTIS; look at him; look at him well; look at him thoroughly; look at his fair round belly; look at his face! Why he is the very Anacreon of a City Feast; the Silenus of the Social Board. Is *he* disloyal. Is *he* discontented. Does not he say “things are very well as they are.” Is there any man who drinks, who does not say so too? Is not the act of *drinking* with a view to enjoy the time present; and are not drinkers careless and indifferent of

past or future? The *sots* are yours, Mr. POYNTER. As to the "swearing the *MOST* horrible oaths," I should like a little explanation; but I do hope it will not be forgotten, that Mr. Alderman ATKINS, when perfectly sober, and actually discharging one of the functions of Magistracy, did actually, in open Hall, swear "BY GOD!" There was a Common Councilman, too, who complained of being compelled to sit in a *cursed cold church*. I do not hear that these gentlemen, or Sir WILLIAM CURTIS, or the Wardens and *long-tooth* Liverymen of the rich Companies who lay in their own stock of wines, and drink from night till dewy morn, are likely to come to the gallows, in consequence of their *drinking*.

Before I conclude, I will just relate a little affair, somewhat connected with the subject. Last Christmas I received a printed notice as follows:—

(Copy)

To the Worthy Inhabitants of this Parish.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The *regular Dustmen* of this parish, who are employed by the Commissioners of the City, present their humble respects to the Inhabitants, and think it their duty to apprize them, in order to prevent imposition, that the *regular* men, whose names are subscribed, may be known by presenting a *pewter medal*, on which is a likeness of SELINA COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON; on the reverse, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," *encircled with laurel*; and they hope and trust you will give no Christmas Boxes to any other persons.

JOHN BLINKO.

WM. MARTIN.

The poor fellows made their

appearance in due time, somewhat the worse for *drink*, certifying their being the *regular* dustmen, by presenting the *pewter medal*, bearing the "likeness of Selina Countess of Huntingdon, and on the reverse "I know that my Redeemer "liveth," encircled with laurel:" they were men of gravity and good nature, and *loyal*. From their odd medal, they were called the "Evangelical Dustmen;" and they are, I hope, as far from *crime* as their betters, though they had been *drinking*.

I do not stand forth the advocate of drinking, which is a vice; but I oppose the supposition that drinking is the root of crime. Bad habits, depravity, and crime, are the offspring of ignorance and neglected morals; of over-meddling and contradictory legislation; and of want of paternal care in the Government. I have no opportunity of remarking on Mr. POYNTER's sayings about "factious newspapers, and other pernicious publications," nor have I much inclination. With the exception of the RECORDER's, in the first Report, Mr. POYNTER's is the most inconsequential evidence before the Police Committee. It has not a single new idea, and is of no value, but as an instance of the patience which the Members exercised during its delivery.

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey, 15th Oct. 1817.

EXPOSURE

Of the *Spy System* in Lancashire,
IN THE FORMER DISTURBANCES.

To the Reader.

Having inserted in a former Register, p. 310, a Communica-

tion from some of the Manchester sufferers, who were indicted and discharged at the last Lancaster assizes, without being brought to trial, it appears to me proper to introduce a statement relative to the practices of the SPIES, in the Lancashire manufacturing districts, during the disturbances there five years ago, namely, early in 1812. Numerous executions and banishments succeeded the operations of these wretches, notwithstanding Dr. ROBERT TAYLOR, a respectable physician of Bolton-le-Moors, successfully exposed their diabolical arts to ensnare the unwary. This gentleman's services were rewarded by the inhabitants of Bolton voting to him, at a public meeting, a piece of plate, value 100 guineas; the inscription on which stated, that it was presented to Dr. TAYLOR "by the Friends of Freedom, in Bolton and its vicinity, as a testimonial of their approbation of his public conduct in general, and particularly for the spirit evinced by him, in stepping forward to defend the character of the inhabitants from gross misrepresentation, and for contributing to the *successful exposure in Parliament of a detestable system of ESPIONNAGE, highly dangerous and alarming.*"

From the statement of Dr. TAYLOR, it appears:—

That during the period of the disturbances in the neighbourhood of Bolton-le-Moors, in the year 1812, the *hired spies* were more regular in their attendance on the nocturnal meetings, and more active in raising recruits, than any other persons!

That *they* were the only persons who were in the habit of attending these meetings ARMED!

That these *spies* did frequently recommend, and vehemently urge the perpetration of unlawful and felonious acts, such as the destruction of property by burning, and even private assassination!

That *they* were the persons who organized the meetings, who divided them into classes, and who appointed Captains or Representatives of the Classes.

That *they* did themselves act as Captains of Classes, under feigned names, such as WHITBREAD, GREY, and WARDLE; thereby giving to these insignificant and paltry meetings an air of magnitude and importance, and political feeling, to which they had otherwise no pretension!

That *they* fixed the times and places of future meetings, and gave out the *pass-words* and *countersigns*, and sent notices or summonses to individuals to attend these meetings, assailing, with loud reproaches and violent threats, those who expressed any disinclination to attend them!

That the *spies* were also active in collecting the miserable two-penny subscriptions, so much talked of, and in furthering the administration of the unlawful oath, and in distributing copies of the said oath, for the purpose of setting it a-going in distant places!

That *they* encouraged the attendance on the meetings, by making false reports of the number of recruits raised, and by intimating that arms would be provided for all who should be in want of them, and also by exhibiting fire-arms, with which they declared their determination to shoot any constables who should come to disturb or to disperse them!

That *they* did, by violent reproaches, and the exhibition of fire-arms, and threats of instant death, compel individuals to remain at the meetings, who, through fear, or dislike of the proceedings, wished to retire from them!

That *they* did, in several instances,

go so far as to lend or distribute fire-arms amongst their deluded associates, for the avowed purpose of being employed in the perpetration of unlawful acts !

That *these spies* were in general men in the lowest stations of life, several of them paupers ; and that it therefore becomes matter of serious inquiry how, or where, or by whom, they were furnished with fire-arms for these purposes !

That, for the purpose of better carrying on the deception, these *spies* proposed to attack and destroy the house of their *reputed employer*, Mr. FLETCHER, and pointed out times when the absence of the military seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for effecting this !

That one of the *spies* has repeatedly gone the length of proposing the assassination of Mr. FLETCHER himself, and has actually produced pistols for this pretended purpose, in the execution of which he himself offered to assist !

That the *spies* were, by some persons yet unknown, supplied very lavishly with money, which was often expended in giving free drink to those whom they wished to seduce from their duty !

That the wages of these *spies*, which have been publicly stated at from 30s. to 50s. per week, have, in some instances, been paid at the rate of from 12s. to 15s. per night !

That these extravagant wages are not rendered necessary by any supposed danger to the lives of the *spies* from the vengeance of the rioters !

That there is not the slightest ground for this crafty insinuation, as they go abroad publicly, and at all hours, and apparently without fear : and some of them, by their habitually riotous conduct, and the very peculiar insolence of their deportment, show that they feel confident of impunity and protection !

That there are amongst these *spies* veterans, who served their country in

this honourable way in the year 1801, and who, notwithstanding the alleged ferocity and blood-thirstiness of the rioters, have lived again to come forward in the same capacity in 1812.

That one only of the *spies* of 1801 has come to an untimely end, and that he did not fall a victim to the vengeance of the rioters, but (whether in consequence of some misbehaviour or mismanagement on his part, or some mistake or foul play on the part of his employers or associates) *was himself executed as a rioter* at Lancaster, at the close of the Special Commission in 1812 !

That at the Meeting on Dean Moor, on the 19th of April (on which much stress was laid), when there was a talk of destroying West Houghton factory, the *spies* attended in such numbers, as, according to their own account, *to constitute upwards of one-fourth of the meeting* ; and there is reason to believe that the proportion of *spies* was in reality even greater than this !

That *they* appeared on this occasion armed, and disguised with *blackened faces*, so as to excite much attention and curiosity !

That when there was an attempt to ascertain whether the strength of this meeting was competent to its object, some of the *spies* showed their pistols, and *offered themselves to be counted two or three times over*, so as to give the appearance of greater numbers than were really present, thereby encouraging the meeting to proceed to the perpetration of its intended mischief !

That when some persons wished to retire, on finding the wicked and dangerous service the meeting was proceeding upon, they were prevented from so doing, by a *rear-guard*, formed chiefly of the *armed spies*, and were *marched by force towards West Houghton*, where a considerable detachment of military are said to be in ambuscade, waiting their approach !

That on this occasion the *spies* were

provided with white caps, to put on their heads when they should meet the military, *that they might be recognized!*

That it was given out that the military were called suddenly to a considerable distance thereby affording to the riotous meeting an uncommonly safe opportunity for the execution of their project!

That the military had, in fact, proceeded by a circuitous and unusual route to West Houghton; the direct road from Bolton to West Houghton lying over Dean Moor, where the meeting was held!

That if the object of those who directed these matters had been solely to protect the factory, the military would, of course, have been ordered to proceed to West Houghton by the usual road, and would thereby have saved the factory, and dispersed the meeting, by one and the same movement; but it is said that the circuitous route was chosen for the express purpose of *not alarming the mob!*

Though it is not supposed that the military body thus sent was acquainted with the plans of the spies, or would condescend, knowingly, to act in concert with them, yet there was strong reason to suspect, from the conduct of the spies on this occasion, that it was their intention to lead their deluded associates into contact with the military. How the *White Caps* were to be made a protection to the spies themselves, is, of course, known only to a chosen few!

It appears, however, that this *judicious*, and *extraordinary*, and *loyal*, and *manly* scheme failed, owing to the cowardice or want of discipline in the white-faced part of the nocturnal meeting, which could not, either by encouragements, or threats, or the exertions of the rear-guard, be brought near the intended scene of action!

The military slang, introduced by the spies, did not suffice to inspire the weavers with military courage, and

desertion (or a disposition to lag, as was termed) was so prevalent in the ranks, that ultimately the black-faced part of the meeting appears to have been left alone!

A detachment of Local Militia, which was sent from Bolton in the middle of the night, for the apparent purpose of picking up stragglers, or fugitives, or wounded, succeeded in making prisoners a considerable number of the supposed Laddites; but lo! when these captives came to be examined, every man of them was proved to belong to the corps of *Black-faced Spies!*

The number of spies who attended this terrific meeting has not yet been exactly ascertained. If the printed accounts of the trial be correct, the Adjutant of the Bolton Local Militia declared upon oath, that he believed eight only were employed; whereas the spies themselves had previously sworn, that ten went in one body by the direction of the Adjutant himself, and an eleventh had sworn that he went alone by the same directions. It has been rumoured also, that the Adjutant himself was seen armed and disguised on the night of this meeting; but this was not proved in Court, and the tale depends for its credibility on rumour only; as does the assertion, that the whole number of spies employed on this occasion was at least 15. A similar uncertainty exists as to the exact numbers of the whole meeting. Some of the spies, in their evidence, estimated the whole number at 70 or 80, or near 100—but the most active of the spies, and the one who went to this meeting first, gave it as his opinion, that *there were near forty there*, and all admit that the numbers were very speedily reduced, by desertion, to *about forty!*—On the whole, the managers of this farce appear to have but very little reason to complain of the statement said to be made in Parliament, that the spies on this occasion were to the whole meeting in the

proportion of 25 per cent. As little, I think, can they complain, says Dr. TAYLOR, that they were described as the ringleaders of mischief, — as being exercised in the occupation, not of passive inspectors, but of active agents; not of reporting the work which was done, but of doing the work to be reported. When we see ten men appointed to watch, and to do something more than watch, thirty, whether this tactic came from Germany, or Spain, or Italy, we consider it equally an exotic, and equally foreign and uncongenial to the temper and genius of the Constitution.

Thus we have in this sheet, the exposure of the *Spy System* in Lancashire, in 1812, and in No. 10 of the *Register*, the finish of the new edition of the same system in 1817, communicated to me by the parties themselves, who, in the derangement of their families, the diminution of their property, and the imprisonment of their persons, having been its victims, are, with ROBERT SWINDELLS, deserving something more than mere every-day commiseration.

W. HONE.

Poetry.

17th Sept. 1817.

SIR,

The inclosed was written about the time that the awful circumstance (to which it alludes) came to pass. That circumstance, however, not turning out to be of the serious nature I had imagined, I threw it by, till some halting verse which I saw in an immaculate ministerial print, the other day, recalled it to my mind, with some little respect.

Possibly, not probably, it may serve to fill up a spare column in your *Register*; in which case, or indeed in any case, it is at your service.

I am Sir, with respect,

A CONSTANT READER.

To Mr. HONE.

THE

PUPPY OF STUTGARD,

A SUBLIME POETICAL ADDRESS

To Lady CASTLEREAGH's Dog.

PUPPY OF STUTGARD! smooth or rough,
Or black, or white, or brown, or buff,
Or gift of Stutgard's widow'd Queen,
Or what or where thou mayst have been,
Suabian whelp, thou now shalt be
Famous to all posterity!
Say, if thou canst, adventurous pup!
Say, if thou canst, what game was up,
When thou, with rash determin'd jaw,
Seiz'd on his Lordship's dexter paw?
That paw—that *hand*, to speak genteeler;
Though *Hamlet*, perhaps, might say that
“stealer.”

That *hand*, then, which could awe the
nations,

And deal to waiting Kings their rations;
Which could restore each ancient evil
That BONAPARTE had sent to th' Devil;
From the low depths of blue perdition,
Fish up the infernal Inquisition;
And with a giant strength restore
The blessings of the “Scarlet Whore;”
Which in the might of boroughs strong,
Could take a lion by the tongue;
Yea, GAG the roaring *British Lion*!
That hand a *German dog* dare fly on!
What! he, who'd din'd and supp'd with
Kings,

Generals, and Emperors, and—*things*;
And squander'd money without measure,
And cut and carv'd the world at pleasure;
Shut up NAPOLEON hard and fast,
Pinn'd by a *German pup* at last!
Didst thou not know—oh, son of bitch,
The noble Lord?—or didst thou itch
To gain a name in future story,
By spoiling 's Lordship's oratory?
When in St. Stephen's next he's babbling,
In top and tail disjointed gabbling,
How will he fill each frequent gap,
Without the customary *rap*?
His Lordship knows, to point the prattle,
That dexter fist was half the battle;
For when to find a thought he's able,
He clenches it upon the table!
And the table shows, by many a dent,
Th' force of his Lordship's argument.
Besides, it serves as a signal clear,
To HILEY or GEORGE, to cry, *hear! hear!*
But now, his fist will be so sore,
He cannot *clench* as heretofore;
Sir SAM will lift in vain his trump,
To catch the dictatorial *thump*;
HILEY and GEORGE, and under-strappers,
Missing the usual signal rappers,
Will be confused, without their cue;
Forget the work they have to do;
And BROUGHAM or BURDETT's next attack

May throw his Lordship on his back;
Corruption lose her mightiest chief,
 Just when she most will need relief;
Now! when the "Veteran Reformer"
 Is bringing up fresh force to storm her,
 In bands of twenties, staunch and loyal;
 'Gad, but 'twill be a dreadful trial.
 And *then*—this *bite*, she'll surely rue it;—
 Doubtless *the Major* bribed you to it!
 Perhaps, though, the famed TRIANGLE
 pickle,

With which they used raw backs to tickle,
 Of rebels, in the Emerald Isle,
 Might somewhat of his pain beguile;
But, there's a thought absorbs me fully—
 What if thou'rt mad!—illustrious bully?
Shouldst thou be touch'd with Hydrophobia,
 What ills this mourning land may know
 by ye!

But why, or wherefore, need'st thou care,
Should he be mad—as he can stare?
 Then pardon, puppy, this digression;
 My muse, resume thy self-possession.
 Veteran canine, of 'sage Ulysses!
 Thou'rt *nought* to such a dog as this is.
 Dog of Montargis! thou'rt forgotten;
 Thy mem'ry, like thy carcase—rotten.
 And thou, more recent, cur of Russia,
 Which bit his Highness WILL of Prussia;
 Thou and the puppy of Foot's-Cray
 Should ne'er be nam'd on self-same day.
 But *thou* of Stutgard! deed like thine,
 Shall far in future ages shine;
 For more 's been done by thy sharp tooth,
 Than all the force of giant truth;
 Thou'st made *Corruption's* champion reel;
 Taught even CASTLEREAGH to *feel*!
 And, mighty whelp, thou now shalt be
 Famous, to all posterity!

RALPHO.

BLOOD-MONEY.

Evidence of JAMES BLY, Police-Officer, relative to the division of Blood-Money in the Country.

Do you think it necessary for rewards to be given in case of CAPITAL CONVICTION?—*I do not think it necessary, provided there were other returns made to officers for their services, to enable them to do that which is necessary.*

Do the officers in general obtain the rewards, or are they shared by other persons?—*They are generally shared amongst the prosecutors, the*

witnesses, and the officers. I have a cause in point as to that, which lately occurred. I was sent by Mr. FIELDING, in the month of January last, to Yeovil, in Somersetshire, to detect and to bring to justice some depredators, who had night after night committed offences against the public, burglaries and larcenies, and minor offences, for a considerable time past; in consequence, I went there, and having been a few days incog. there, a burglary had been committed at West Coker, about four miles from Yeovil. I was immediately informed of it, and I went to the spot, and made an inventory of the articles that were stolen, and by persuading those gentlemen to take the thing up, as I was there, after the second day we got some search-warrants; the prosecutors, pursuing the advice I gave them, we detected two of the considerable offenders, with the property in their houses, which was stolen at the time; which two men were tried at the last Taunton assizes, and convicted; and I understand by the papers, that they are now left for execution. After the trial was over, I was called upon to sign a receipt for fifteen pounds, as part of the parliamentary reward.

How much did the whole reward come to?—*Eighty pounds.* I said it was too little; the prosecutor then (Mr. MOORE) condescended to allow me 2*l.* as part of my expenses, so that I received 17*l.*

Did that include the expenses of your journey?—*That was all I had for my trouble, from London and back again, and my expenses in the country; for he refused to pay any other expense.*

[*The witness delivered in a statement of the distribution of the reward, which was read as follows:*]

"The award of 80*l.* and two judges' certificates, made by Mr. THOMAS MOORE, the prosecutor, and Mr. EDMUND BATTEN, the magistrate's clerk at Yeovil, to the apprehender and

witnesses on the trial of ABRAHAM SLADE and THOMAS LANG, for a burglary committed by them, at West Coker, 23d. Jan. 1817, in the house of Mr. JOHN MOORE, an opulent farmer.

"To Mr. THOMAS MOORE, (the son of Mr. JOHN MOORE), an attorney, who prosecuted for his father, a ticket value 15*l.* and . . . 27 10 0

"To Mr. HENRY TALBOT MOORE, a brother of the prosecutor, and a gentleman of great property, whose evidence was unnecessary, as he could say only what the constables could prove, viz. the situation of the dwelling-house broken open, a ticket value 15*l.* and . . . 10 0 0

"To Mr. BATTON aforesaid, the brother-in-law of Mr. JOHN MOORE, and uncle to Messrs. THOMAS and HENRY MOORE, whose evidence was unnecessary, and who was reproved by the judge . . . 10 10 0

"To SARAH DAVEY, a servant to Mr. JOHN MOORE, who proved the identity of the stolen property. . . 5 0 0

"To JOHN PLIER, a butcher, who discovered Mr. MOORE's house broken open before day-light, on the 23d of Jan. 1817 . . . 5 0 0

"To JOHN BARBER, a constable, assisting in searching the prisoners' houses, taking possession of the stolen goods, and producing them on the trial . . . 5 0 0

"To JAMES BLY, for apprehending prisoners, coach-hire to and from London,

and all expenses incurred by him in the country, Mr. MOORE having refused to pay any part of his expenses . . . 17 0 0

£80 0 0

Have you known prosecutors to be very eager to obtain rewards themselves? --- Principally so.

Who made the award of the 80*l.*?--- Mr. BATTEN the justice's clerk, and Mr. JOHN MOORE the prosecutor, and their relations; indeed I was not bound over to appear, neither was I called upon oath at the time of the examination; I thought it was very extraordinary, especially as I had been the means of getting hold of the people. I never discovered what was the reason till afterwards, when, from other circumstances, I had no doubt it was to prevent me having a share of the reward.

Might you not have appealed to the judge for a larger share in the reward?---I might; but as I had a great respect for the gentlemen of the town, I thought I would let it go on, as I was not needy, and see whether they would do any thing more, and the judge was very busy.

Have you known attorneys eager in obtaining those rewards?---I very seldom found, where AN ATTORNEY was engaged, that a constable could get much more than his expenses, and hardly that. I was speaking of the distribution of those rewards at Yeovil, to a turnpike-man, and he said that he had seen these men before now with property coming home late at night; but that he had once been the means of getting a man to be apprehended, and he never got any thing for it; and therefore that he thought he should be only endangering himself without receiving any benefit.

Price Two-Pence.

HONE'S REFORMISTS' REGISTER, AND WEEKLY COMMENTARY.

No. 14.]

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1817.

[VOL. II

THE
DEATH-THROE
AND
FAREWELL!

*An essential Explanation relative to Mr. NICHOLLS, the Solicitor, of Bennett Street, Blackfriars Road--WILLIAM WOOD, the Village Hampden---Protracted Confinement of the EVANSES, Father and Son--Mrs. EVANS's affecting Appeal--Some Account of Messrs. EVANS---A call to the Rich Reformists to help the He'pless--Take your Choice; Gold or Liberty--Explanation of the Circumstances under which the REFORMISTS' REGISTER has been conducted--Republication of MURRAY'S Sermons to Asses, and of MR. CURRAN'S SPEECHES---
"We know what we are, but we know not what we may be"---Farewell!*

POETRY---Freedom's Field-Marshal---Gin and Jacky.

I sit down to this sheet with less pleasure than I have yet done. Before the reason for this reluctance appears, there are two or three subjects which I must introduce, and none with more willingness than the following; I therefore place it first.

It will be recollected, that whilst I was in the King's Bench Prison, the name of Mr. NICHOLLS, attorney, of No. 29, Bennett

Street, Blackfriars Road, appeared in a former *Register*,* which stated, that Messrs. HAY and TURNER, of Newcastle Street, Strand, printers, received the MS. of an inflammatory posting-bill, with a letter requesting them to print some thousand copies of it, and send them to Mr. NICHOLLS, 29, Bennett Street, Stamford Street, Blackfriars Road, and for which, when printed, they should receive £10. per thousand; that on the receipt of this inflammatory bill and letter, Messrs. HAY and TURNER addressed a letter to Mr. NICHOLLS, requesting the £10. to be remitted before they printed, which he did not answer; that after going to Bow Street, they went to the Secretary of State's office, and whilst waiting in an antichamber to see Lord SIDMOUTH, a person entered and sat down, and was afterwards familiarly beckoned into Lord SIDMOUTH; that they waited upwards of an hour in vain, expecting the person to come out, and then went away without seeing his Lordship; that they afterwards, to their astonishment, discovered that this person was Mr. NICHOLLS, the attorney, of No. 29, Bennett Street, Blackfriars Road, to whom they were to have sent the bills; and that letters and posting-bills to the like effect were also received by other printers, requesting the bills to be

* No. 23, Vol. I, p. 730.

printed and sent to the same Mr. NICHOLLS, whom Messrs. HAY and TURNER left closetted with Lord SIDMOUTH, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

It becomes my duty to state my positive conviction that not the slightest imputation should rest on Mr. NICHOLLS. Some malignant villain, by writing circulars to printers, requesting them to print inflammatory bills, and send them to Mr. NICHOLLS, placed that gentleman in a situation of extreme embarrassment. He neither answered Messrs. HAY and TURNER's letter, nor letters which, to his surprise, poured in upon him from other printers, in great numbers. Wholly ignorant of the object of these applications, he very properly took no notice of them, but went to the Secretary of State's office, to communicate the affair to Lord SIDMOUTH. When he got there, he found Messrs. HAY and TURNER. Other printers had previously communicated to Lord SIDMOUTH letters which they had received, ordering the printing of the bills. Mr. NICHOLLS gave such explanation to his Lordship as was in his power, which, however, was very little, inasmuch as he was wholly ignorant of the person who wrote the letters with his name, and who, from some unknown motive, occasioned him the uneasiness arising from many of the printers addressing him. This was the cause of Mr. NICHOLLS's attendance on Lord SIDMOUTH, with whom he remained about ten minutes. He passed Messrs. HAY and TURNER on quitting his Lordship's room.

I am extremely sorry for what-

ever inconvenience Mr. NICHOLLS has experienced from the mention of his name. The numerous letters were the fabrication of a vile incendiary, whose motives for writing them, and thus singling out Mr. NICHOLLS, with a view to render him an object of remark, I am wholly at a loss to conjecture. Mr. NICHOLLS is Solicitor to the Thatched-House Society, for the relief and discharge of prisoners confined for small debts; and his character in his profession, and conduct in life, are irreproachable. I believe that he has never been employed by or on account of Government, on any occasion, and is in no way politically connected or acquainted with members of the Government, farther than as any professional gentleman may be occasionally, whose practice is respectable. An endeavour to couple dishonour, or attach suspicion, to Mr. NICHOLLS's name, his connexions would treat with contempt. I make this statement after an investigation which has convinced me of its truth, and from a persuasion that I should not do justice to this gentleman, if I were to close the present sheet without saying what I have.

I now revert to another subject:—

Amongst the cases of individual suffering, through the wrongdoing and severity of power, I pointed out poor SWINDELLS, as crying aloud for commiseration and relief. The destruction of his family, and the cruelties inflicted on him, are related at length in the *Register* containing my *Letter to Sir FRANCIS BURDETT*. I do not hear whether any thing is doing for him or not; but those who have hearts

as well as property should help him immediately. Nothing is likely to be done by those through the execution of whose orders his wife and child were sent to their graves.

There is another claim, too, upon the pockets of those who have ability, in the case of the *Manchester men*, who were carried off by the Military, whilst in the act of considering Petitions for Parliamentary Reform, and relief from starvation. The following short extract from a letter written by WM. WOOD, one of the *petitioners*, who suffered a terrible confinement, tells the story, and relates his own sufferings, in a few words.

“I am only a few days liberated from Lancaster Castle. I was there confined, *along with six others*, from the 10th of March to the 7th of September. We were apprehended without warrant, at the will and pleasure of the Magistrates, for exercising the right of petition; which I will ever exercise, being the birthright of Britons, if it bring me to a prison again; and even the chains that I was sent to Lancaster in shall not deter me. When we were to have been brought to trial, we were all discharged, *refusing to give bail, knowing we had offended against no law*. We want the means to commence an action at common law, for false imprisonment, *to teach the Magistrates to act by some known law*; they having never read the Riot Act, nor given us time to quit the ground. We ourselves can do nothing, being robbed and ruined. When I was taken, I was confined along with 35 others *in a damp lock-up*, 13 days and nights, with nothing but the *bare flags to sleep on*, and then committed to Lancaster Castle, *in irons*; which usage brought on a pleurisy and fever. I was delirious nine days. I am in the 62d year of my age. My late disorder, which I

got through the usage I received at the New Bailey, Manchester, has left a stiffness in my limbs, which I am afraid will remain as long as I live.”

WILLIAM WOOD appears to be a “Village HAMPDEN;” and he, and such men as he, who look to Reform as the remedy for their grievances, are they whom Reformists should never forsake in the hour of trial, or forget after they they have passed through the fire of persecution.

Then there is the case of the Messrs. EVANSES, father and son, still confined in Horsemonger Lane Gaol:—

The affliction into which Mrs. EVANS is plunged, by the imprisonment *without trial* of her husband, Mr. THOMAS EVANS, and their only son (a mere youth, but twenty years of age), who have now been upwards of eight months in close confinement, has induced her to address the public on her situation:—she states that Mr. EVANS was a sufferer under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in the year 1798, having been then imprisoned nearly three years, in different gaols in various parts of England, treated worse than a common felon, and on a charge, too, *similar to the present*; so false, that the Parliament, in order to protect the *real delinquents*, passed an especial bill to indemnify (*or pardon*) the Ministers, and all subordinate agents concerned in the flagitious and illegal oppression of Mr. EVANS, and other persons, equally innocent, who had been imprisoned under the same circumstances. Mr. EVANS, on his liberation in 1801, being thus denied, by authority of Parliament, all redress of his grievances, his

connexions broken up, his affairs seriously involved, and never having received one shilling from any quarter on that account, at length commenced the manufacture of patent braces, and spiral steel springs; which business, at the time of his last arrest, he had carried on eight years in the city of London, and eight years at his late residence, No. 8, Newcastle Street, Strand, *where Mrs. EVANS still resides.* During the whole of this period, he was so closely attentive to his business as never to have indulged in two successive days of recreation, but was constantly to be seen publicly in his shop, from seven in the morning, till nine and ten at night. Nor had he frequented any political meetings of any kind, or belonged to any club for Parliamentary Reform, or any association whatever for political purposes; notwithstanding this, Mr. EVANS was again arrested, on Sunday, the 9th of February last, together with his son, on a pretended charge of high treason. When taken before the Privy Council, they were simply asked whether they knew Mr. THISTLEWOOD and Dr. WATSON? and this accident of personal acquaintance with these individuals has been the only cause ever hinted for their arrest and continued imprisonment. On every occasion they requested to know "what, or if any legal charge, was to be preferred against them, and who, or if any person, had made oath to such charge." This was the course they pursued invariably, although they were kept strictly separate, and denied every sort of intercourse. Though at first the commitment alleged that the

Messrs. EVANS were charged "*on oath,*" yet, on their asking Lord SIDMOUTH whether this assertion was founded in fact, his Lordship, not willing to declare positively that it was an utter falsehood, declined answering the question. On their final committal, his Lordship was candid enough voluntarily to withdraw this assertion.

It has, nevertheless, been insinuated by the proceedings, that there really is a legal charge against them. Hence the mockery of repeated examinations, as they were called, before Lord SIDMOUTH and Sir NATHANIEL CONANT; yet not one word *has ever been deposed*, calculated in the remotest degree to justify this pretended suspicion. Lord SIDMOUTH himself could not say so, when asked; nor upon any of the debates in the House of Commons, on the case of Mr. EVANS and his son, would any of the Ministers, or their compeers, venture a single expression to that effect, although in both their petitions to that *Honourable House*, they plainly charged Lord SIDMOUTH with wilful injustice and oppression, and denied that "*it was in the power of the Secretary of State to name any legal cause to justify the cruel persecution to which they are subjected.*"

Under such a heavy complication of suffering, what is to be the fate of Mrs. EVANS? She has hitherto managed, by selling a few pamphlets and newspapers, and by collecting some debts due to her husband, with about 10l. received in subscription by small sums, to preserve the lease of his premises; but the destruction of her husband and son's business, the loss

of property consequent on their abrupt and unexpected seizure, and other severe inflictions, render her unable to withstand the torrent of injury which is overwhelming her. In this situation, she appeals to the patriotic and benevolent to assist her in warding off this cruel calamity. She trusts that she will experience the support of all who know how to appreciate the peculiar calamities of her situation, and that at this crisis of our national liberties, when individual wrong is inseparably linked with general oppression and misery, she will not fail to have her sufferings mitigated by all who detest the horrid system of *lettres-de-cachet*, and the conversion of county-gaols of England into *State-Bastilles*; and that they will secure her from that distress which will otherwise overwhelm her. In making her affecting appeal, Mrs. EVANS states that she is *totally unable to provide for the following payments, due last Michaelmas-day, viz.—*

Half a Year's Rent, at			
£45 per Annum -	£22	10	0
One Year's King's			
Taxes - - - -	12	6	0
Ditto Parish Dues -	10	0	0

There are surely in Mrs. EVANS's *Appeal* most forcible grounds for her expectation of public support. It has always appeared to me that her situation has been sadly neglected by those who have the means to afford her assistance. I know very little of her husband, but through his pamphlet entitled *Christian Policy*, which fully explains the *Spencean System*, and which I think he had as much right to publish as the Rev. Mr. DIBDIN had to publish Sir THOMAS

MORE's *Utopia*, or Mr. GODWIN his *Political Justice*, or Mr. OWEN his *New View of Society*. I spoke to Mr. EVANS for the first time about a year ago, when I purchased of him his *Christian Policy*, which I believe Mrs. EVANS still continues to sell. When I was drawing up my *Account of the Riots in London*, on the 2d of December last, I was desirous of giving some particulars respecting the Spencean Plan; but as its principles were denounced in Parliament and by the newspapers, I did not think it proper to call public attention to the subject in a way that might be disagreeable to Mr. EVANS; I therefore wrote him to say what I intended to do, but that I would not do it if he thought it would excite unpleasant notice to himself. He answered me in writing directly, that he should be obliged by my noticing it in any way I pleased, as he was so far from being desirous to conceal the plan, that he wished it to have the utmost publicity. I afterwards called on him with a copy of the *Account of the Riots*, and that was the second time I saw him. The third and last time of my speaking to him was in February, when I bought of him a tract written by THOMAS SPENCE. On all these occasions he was at work in his shop, at No. 8, Newcastle Street, Strand, at his brace-making business, and he appeared to me one of the plainest and most honest-minded men I ever saw, and one of the last men in the world for a manufacturer of Treasons or Conspiracies. He had not a lean, pale, Cassius-looking countenance, but a round good healthy fat-looking face,

the very index of a manly mind; and his speech was as bold and English as his appearance. I saw him hundreds of times before, and scores of times afterwards, as I passed his shop, always engaged in his business; but except those three times, I never spoke to him. His son, of whom I knew as little, seemed a well-read studious youth, very modest in his demeanour, and of good speech. It is matter of astonishment to me, that these persons are detained in custody; and it must be matter of shame to those who having the means to help Mrs. EVANS, have let her remain helpless until now. I know nothing of her—I never spoke to her in my life, nor ever saw her but once, at her shop door, and should not remember her again. I have therefore no interest, either direct or indirect, in thus mentioning her case; but I say here, once for all, that if the relations of those who are persecuted for their opinions are suffered to fall into abject distress, the standers-by and lookers-on, who have the power to prevent it, are aiders and abettors of the persecution. The rich Reformist, who takes advantage of all the successes which the humble and the honest obtain for Reform, and who abandons them in their reverses, is a selfish niggard, and a political hypocrite. Slavery must be the portion of a People who will rather part with their liberty than their gold.

I now take a very unwilling leave of my readers. This is the last Register I shall publish. From the period of my arrest, in May last, under Lord ELLENBOROUGH'S warrants, I have continued the work under considerable dis-

advantages. Soon after my liberation, in July, my health fluctuated, and I experienced much mortification from the bad conduct of certain of my agents in the country. Some have punctually and honestly paid me. Others have not only not been punctual, but have not paid me, whilst my inability to regulate my accounts when I was in confinement, and the necessity I have been under of attending a little to what business I found when I came out, and to the writing of the *Register*, prevented me from taking such steps as a keen tradesman might have done to enforce payment. One person, by repeated representations of activity and connexion and good will, induced me to send him the *Register* in large quantities every week, besides other goods, agreeable to his orders. I repeatedly wrote him for money, and he always promised, and put off. Being loth to discontinue the sale of the *Register* in a populous district, and he being the only agent I had in the county of *Hants*, I continued to forward them to him regularly. I have never been able to get the money from him for what he has sold, or to get back the publications which remain unsold; he has not paid me a sixpence! This is to be sure the worst specimen of my usage, but there are others nearly as bad. These remarks, however, do not apply to the present vendors of the *Register* at Birmingham, Bath, Bury, Maidstone, Norwich, Nottingham, or Oxford; and I would especially except Mr. WROE, of Manchester, whose honourable conduct deserves my most honourable mention. The continuance of the *Register* with

decreased sale, and other inconveniences, added to the disadvantages I have mentioned, has become embarrassing to me. I have kept it on as long as I have been able, and longer, perhaps, than prudent persons will think I ought to have done. I shall now return to my business as a publisher; and having brought out last Saturday the first number of *Sermons to Asses*, by the late excellent and Rev. JAMES MURRAY, of Newcastle, the second will be published next Saturday; and on the following Saturday I purpose to publish the first number of *Speeches* by the late Mr. CURRAN, who, as an orator, and a champion of Irish freedom, has not left an equal behind him. My endeavour will be to give to the world, from time to time, publications that will enlighten and amuse. There is a list at the end of this sheet, which the reader will, perhaps, excuse me for presenting him with on this occasion, it being the last time we meet in this way.

Before parting, I would say a word or two further, in order to remove any thing of prejudice against me in the public mind, on account of my late prosecutions. The Parodies formerly published by me, I may perhaps be allowed to repeat, I always considered as mere *political squibs*, and nothing else. It is now two years and a half since I commenced to publish, in the course of which time I have issued upwards of one hundred and thirty pieces, chiefly my own production. Not a week has elapsed during that period, without my having compiled or written something; but whether it were prose or verse, or

“ Grave or gay, or lively or severe,”

I console myself with the reflection that, amidst all I have put on paper, there is

“ Not one immoral, one indecent thought,
One line, which dying, I could wish to blot;”

nor can there be found a single paragraph, or even sentence, of a profane or irreligious tendency, in any of my publications. With a lively conception of wit, and an irresistible propensity to humour; I have likewise so profound a regard for the well-being of society, and so great a reverence for public morals, that I know of no temptation capable of inducing me to pen a line injurious to social happiness, or offensive to private virtue.

I cannot conclude without expressing regret, that somewhat of a wayward fancy, and, occasionally, too much of strong feeling, excited by the distractions and cares of a little business, and a large family, and increased by the consequences of an inexpertness in certain trading requisites, have been unfavourable to the composition of the *Reformists' Register*. I have found that endeavours at abstraction, amidst daily regards, stultify the mind. Although, as some modern writer says, it is disgraceful not to be able to answer with certainty the simple questions, What will you be? What will you do? yet I am afraid they are questions I cannot answer. It is in vain for him who cannot be any thing, to attempt determining to be something. He whose lot has not been cast in pleasant places, cannot expect to walk beside the still waters. He who has fought the billows till he is exhausted, may desire

foot-hold; but if he cannot see shore, what rational hope has he of it? Under more favourable circumstances, I should have conducted the *Register* better to my own, and, perhaps, my readers' satisfaction; but I have sometimes caught myself, as now, more inclined to skim over morals, than to sail on the ocean of politics; and I incline to think, that greater leisure would have induced further excursions in the same track. Speculation on this head is ended—this is the death-throe of the *Register*, and with pain I bid my readers *farewell!*

WILLIAM HONE.

67, Old Bailey, 23d Oct. 1817.

FREEDOM'S FIELD-MARSHAL.

"Truth perch'd upon his brow, and felt secure
"As in a well-mann'd fortress!"

Blandford's "Victory," a Poem.

A PIGMY, standing on a rock,
Hurling his fiery darts around him;
Corruption felt a death-like shock,
And sent her harpies to surround him.
While Falsehood's phalanx, arm'd *en tete*,
Bade Tyranny decide his fate,
And Terror's fiercest force together drew;
When to Corruption's great surprise,
(Nor could she scarce believe her eyes),
This pigmy to a mighty giant grew,
And *spoke* more strength than *all* her minions knew!

With burning truth and facts his shield,
He paralyzed the savage host!
Dismay'd they fled, and left the field,
While his the great victorious boast!
Still so his well-strung bow is bent,
That his unerring arrows sent,
Are sure of mark!—would you, my friends,
have fuller

Report, of what's his true degree,—

A Dwarf—of sable aspect he;

But yet of intellect more bright

Than e'er yet shone with Freedom's light:—

This glorious champion's name, Truth's
pride, is WOOLER.

GIN AND JACKY.

LONG time I've toil'd,
In vain have broil'd,
O'er bill, plea, and rejoinder;
But all in sin,
Through drinking *Gin*,
For so swears JACKY P R.

Vacation long,

Oh, doleful song!

Repentance makes rejoinder;

A crust a treat,

I can't get meat,

Discharg'd by JACKY P R.

So now with *swipes* *

I wash my tripes,

And am a sober *Drag-on*;†

While JACKY—he,

With mirth and glee,

Topes off his *Spital Flagon*.

Though "Gin makes crime,"‡

Soon comes the time

Poor JACK may well remember,

When Lawyer's Clerks

Again are sparks,

And smile in dull November.‡

Let P R toil,

And fume, and broil,

Alone all next November;

And those whose name

He holds to shame,

His griping soul remember.

Let those who sin

By drinking *Gin*,

Leave JACK alone in *Bridewell*;

Plea, bill, and deed,

Himself to speed;

And see if he will thrive well.

No! sorely sad,

And crazy mad,

A *Bedlamite* you'll find him;

Without your help,

This *moral* whelp

His *Port* must leave behind him.

'Tis you alone

Who pick the bone

His larder has supplied well;

His civic wit

Is only fit

To beat Mill-Doll in *Bridewell*.

JUNIPER JORUM, *Cler. &c.*

From my Garret, in White's Alley,
Chancery Lane, Oct. 22, 1817.

* Small beer.

† A nick-name for a Lawyer's Fag.

‡ Michaelmas Term commences in November.

FINIS.

